

UNIFORM WITH THIS VOLUME

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OLIVER CROMWELL

by

Wilbur Cortez Abbott

Harvard University Press, 1929

The Writings and Speeches
of
OLIVER CROMWELL

VOLUME II

THE COMMONWEALTH
1649-1653

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OLIVER CROMWELL AT ABOUT THE AGE OF 52; FROM A VERY RARE MEZZOTINT ATTRIBUTED TO PRINCE RUPERT ON THE GROUND OF ITS CLOSE RESEMBLANCE TO WORK KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN DONE BY HIM. FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION (ACTUAL SIZE).

The Writings and Speeches of OLIVER CROMWELL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND AN
ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE

BY

WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT

FRANCIS LEE HIGGINSON PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, *AMERITUS* 188

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With the assistance of

CATHERINE D. CRANE

VOLUME II

THE COMMONWEALTH



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TO

A. A. B. JR.



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PREFACE

In offering this second volume of *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* to what the eighteenth century might have called "the indulgence of its readers," it is perhaps not improper to introduce it by considering the observations of the critics of the first volume, who, among their many kindly remarks, proffered various suggestions as to the scope, the method and the quality of the project.

It may be admitted at once, as various critics have pointed out, that a better title would have been *A Documentary Life of Oliver Cromwell*, for the necessity of explaining the circumstances of the man and his times in relation to his utterances compelled more than a "sketch" of his life. It may be admitted, also, that the printing of all the evidence relating to his long and eventful career, does not make for "popular" history. Inevitably it results in what has been called a "vast" project. But the difficulty is, as the worthy Mr. Betteredge observes in Wilkie Collins's masterpiece, "Persons and Things do turn up so vexatiously in this life and will in a manner insist on being noticed." It may be, too, as he quotes from his faithful *Robinson Crusoe*, "I saw, though too late, the Folly of beginning a Work before we count the Cost, and before we judge rightly of our own Strength to go through with it."

The facts are these. For many years the author and his assistant have spent no small part of their time in collecting materials relating to the life of Oliver Cromwell, embodied in a card-index or catalogue of references containing some twenty-five or thirty thousand items. From these was first derived a *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell* published some ten years since. In addition to this there has been collected from every source which suggested itself every remaining document bearing Cromwell's signature which could be obtained. All this was done before a line of this work was written, and from these materials the present work is being drawn.

The plan of that work has been first to gather all the evidence possible about its subject, then to set it down in chronological order, explaining, in so far as possible, the circumstances and events which might serve to make it more intelligible. That is a method common enough among scientists, and there seems no reason why the phenomena of the life of a human being like Oliver Cromwell should not have at least as adequate a record as those of fauna generally reckoned far lower in the scale of animate nature, of which "life histories" the literature of biology is full.

If to some readers it may seem that there is included in these pages a small infinity of insignificant and unimportant documents and a record of equally insignificant activities, there are two observations which may be made. The first is that of a modern writer, echoing an old aphorism, to the effect that "Man is prone to attach too much importance to the spectacular and not enough to the cumulative effect of little things." The second is the remark of a correspondent in regard to this work, that, in a lifetime devoted to the discovery and elucidation of historical material, he had never found an "unimportant" document. For what is of no value whatever to the literary historian may be of fundamental importance to his colleague in the economic field, and a diplomatic note which might interest neither of them would be regarded as of inestimable value to a student of international affairs. The scientist finds no phenomenon too minute or unimportant to be observed and recorded, and even the most trivial doings of the men of letters are often regarded as having an important bearing on the production of their masterpieces. There is no question but that the introduction of such a method into biography makes a book too long; but that is the fault of the subject rather than of the author, and—to continue the plea of confession and avoidance—there are far longer, and doubtless far more admirable, biographies of far lesser men which have been acceptable to generations less hurried than our own—and even to our own.

It is, then, no part of the business of one who seeks to present all the obtainable evidence to judge what may or may not be omitted. However insignificant some of it may seem, however it slows up the narrative, great and small, dramatic or dull, it all went to make up the life of Oliver Cromwell. It is all part of the record of that life; and it not seldom happens that a note, in itself of no apparent interest or value, sheds light on matters which may seem of vastly greater importance. In any event, the inclusion of all available material appears to be the only possible method of putting before the world all the facts necessary to a judgment of the man.

As to that judgment something may be said. It has seemed necessary to give some account of the doings not only of Cromwell but of the circumstances which produced his words and acts, and this has, insensibly and perhaps inevitably, led to a work far greater than that originally contemplated. It has led, as well, into evaluations of many other men and of the events among which he played his part; and though every effort has been made to keep those evaluations as nearly objective as possible, a personal equation has no doubt crept in here and there. That it is not great may be judged from the comment of one critic that the author's sympathies evidently lie with the Puritans and Parliamentarians, and of another that the King and his party have been done full justice and perhaps even more than justice. To

these may be added the remark of a third, that the author "carries his impartiality to a point beyond that which appears desirable even in a scientific biographer." That raises a large question, not to be discussed here, as to the point at which a scientist should leave off being "impartial" and sympathize with this molecule or that protozoon. The scientific parallel is, of course, not complete as we know nothing of the emotional, ethical and moral qualities—if any—of molecules and protozoa, but it may serve.

There is, however, another and more fundamental question raised by the problem of the Puritan Revolution and its champion. It is that of the political philosophy underlying that movement and its results. To the nineteenth century Liberal and his successors of a somewhat different school, "king" and "tyranny," even "aristocracy," have been anathema, while "liberty" and "democracy"—whatever metamorphoses in definition those hard-worked words have undergone—sufficed as at once an explanation and a defence of every action of their champions. Recent events have given a new turn to the age-long controversy, and new champions who, though their aims and principles are widely different, repeat the same watchwords, and are, no doubt, inspired by the same confidence in the approval of the Almighty.

There are, besides these, various other things which possibly ought to be explained. Perhaps the most important is the question of the text of the documents. In general the foot-notes indicate first the source whence the text was derived, then other places where the document has been printed. In so far as possible the present form goes back to the manuscript or to the first printed version when the manuscript has not survived. The text of Carlyle was, as is well known, his own production. Mrs. Lomas in her edition omitted or indicated the presence of many of Carlyle's interpolations. The present text is the result of an effort to reproduce, in so far as possible, the exact words of Cromwell, with such indicated changes as may help to make his often hastily-written and sometimes obscure letters more understandable. It has sometimes happened that the readings of a given passage may be doubtful, owing to the difficulties of the manuscript or to the existence of two or more versions of the same document. In such cases, wherever possible, those variants are indicated by reference to the sources, but limitations of space in such a work as this obviously make it impossible to edit them with the meticulousness lavished on the works of Shakespeare, nor has that seemed necessary. Great care has been taken to provide a text which makes the meaning clear and adheres as closely as possible to the best source available, with such notices of variations as may help make the matter clear, but there has been no tampering with the texts and no blind following of any previous versions. No doubt there

are minor defects, and equally no doubt there may be differing opinions of readings, but every effort has been made to make these texts as clear and accurate as possible, and it is hoped that no major errors have crept in, however many minute alterations may, and doubtless will, be suggested.

The next point is the question of footnotes. In most cases those relating directly to Cromwell are confined to source material on which the narrative is based. This does not mean that secondary accounts have not been used, and the reader who is concerned with them, especially with monographs and articles relating to particular episodes, will find by referring to the *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell*¹ which, in a sense, forms the first volume of this work, that these were neither unknown nor unused in this study. It is inevitable, of course, that errors will creep in; but it is the intention to make this as correct as well as comprehensive as possible; and it is expected to include in successive volumes such errors, whether of commission or of omission, as may be discovered in the preceding parts of the work, so that when it is finished it will be as accurate as the authors and the critics can make it. Finally, the first two volumes will be indexed in this part of the work which covers the history of Cromwell during his rise to power; and it is hoped that with the conclusion of the volumes on the Protectorate, which in some sort form a separate study, there will be a complete index to the whole work. It would, perhaps, have been preferable to index each volume as it came along, but for reasons of time and space that was impossible, and it is hoped that this plan will in some measure overcome that defect.

It remains to thank those who have assisted in this work by their contributions of documents, suggestions, criticisms, or in other ways, whose names are to be found in the footnotes. But in a very particular sense there should be included here that of Mr. A. A. Berle, Jr. who has done so much to encourage its continuance. Nor would it be proper to conclude without further recognition of the generous support of this project which has been afforded at all times by the Committee on Research in the Social Sciences of Harvard University.

¹ Wilbur C. Abbott, *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell*. (Harv. Univ. Press, 1929), pp. xxviii, 551 (including insert list of periodicals, addenda, corrigenda and delenda issued later).

The Writings and Speeches
of
OLIVER CROMWELL

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

When on that fatal winter afternoon of January 30, 1649, the masked executioner of Charles I held up the head of the English king to the crowd of soldiers and citizens which surrounded the scaffold before Whitehall, a thrill of horror ran through the spectators and thence throughout not only England but the European world. Whatever the fierce exultation which fired the hearts of those who brought him to the block, whatever the sentiments of the Puritans in England and beyond the seas, the masses of people everywhere were shocked by the death of Charles. That feeling was at once spread and strengthened by an extraordinary pamphlet which appeared almost simultaneously with his execution. It was called *Eikon Basilike: the Portraicture of His Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, and though nominally from the pen of Charles, and doubtless inspired if not in part written by him, was chiefly if not wholly the work of an Anglican divine, Dr. John Gauden. In simple and affecting language it pictured the dead king as a martyr to his devotion to the ancient government and the church; and from the moment of his death he assumed that character in the minds of most of his subjects and of many more outside his realm. So, in a sense, what he could not accomplish while he was alive, he achieved in death by strengthening the cause of monarchy.

It was the beginning of the bitterest of all the bitter controversies which the Puritan Revolution had thus far engendered. According to the biographer of Selden, Cromwell urged that eminent jurist to reply, but he refused, and the talents of the greatest literary champion of the Puritans, John Milton, were summoned to the task.¹ At the moment that a new government was being formed to take the place of monarchy, there appeared his defence of regicide, entitled *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is lawfull . . . for any who have the power to call to account A Tyrant or wicked King, and after due Conviction, to depose and put him to Death*. As its title

¹ Cp. David Wilkins' Life of Selden, prefixed to vol. i of *Joannis Seldeni, Opera Omnia* (1726), p. xliv, "et cum Cromwellius plus semel Seldenum hortatur ac per amicos rogaret, ut calamum adversus librum regi Carolo adscriptum *Eikon Basilike* stringeret contemptum ac per vivaci animo provinciam hanc detrectavit quam Miltonis regimionis parlamentarii defensor strenuus in se suscepit." On the other hand Guy Patin wrote Charles Spon on May 24, 1650, that Selden's reply to Salmasius had been stopped in the press. *Lettres de Gui Patin* (1846), ii, 17-18.

indicates, it upheld the thesis of the responsibility of monarchs not alone to God or their own consciences, but more directly and immediately to their subjects, and the right of those subjects—if they had the power—to call their rulers to account, or even put them to death. It was, in effect, a defence of the High Court of Justice; and to it, before the year was out, Milton added a more direct reply to the *Eikon Basilike* in his *Eikonoklastes*. In that he strove—with small success—to break down this new spiritual idol as his party had sought to destroy the more material idols of crosses, statues and stained-glass windows in their warfare against the older faiths—or “superstitions.”

These were not the only efforts to find literary champions. Wood relates at great length and in much detail how a certain Greaves, a librarian in Saint James's brought messages from Cromwell about this time to Merle Casaubon, urging him to write a history of the civil wars. This Casaubon refused to do because “his subject would force him to make such reflections as would be ungrateful if not injurious to his lordship.” The Lieutenant-General none the less persisted, and, as Wood says:

“Notwithstanding this answer, Cromwell seemed so sensible of his worth that tho' he could not win him over to his desires, yet he acknowledged a great respect for him, and as a testimony thereof, he ordered that upon the first demand there should be delivered three or four hundred pounds by a certain bookseller in London (whose name was Cromwell) whensoever his occasions should require, without acknowledging any benefactor at the receipt of it. But this offer, as I have been informed by our author's son John Casaubon a chirurgeon of Canterbury, he scorned to accept, tho' his condition was then mean. At the same time it was proposed by the said Greaves (who belonged to the library at S. James's) that if our author would gratify him in the foregoing request, Cromwell would restore unto him all his father's books, which were then in the royal library there, (given by king James, who had invited him into England) and withal a patent for 300 l. per an. to be paid to the family so long as the youngest son of Dr. Isaac Casaubon should live; but this also was refused.”²

Scores of publications reflected these conflicting sentiments as the presses were enlisted in another paper war while the great controversy widened and deepened over the grave of Charles. It was not confined to the British Isles. Among its many manifestations in many languages—Dutch, French, Latin and German—the most striking came from German pens; and among them an anonymous poet summed up the whole of the great argument in an imaginary conversation between Cromwell and Charles:

² Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis* (ed. Bliss, 1817), iii, 935. Cp. p. 494.

- König.* Ey Cromwel zäume dich du bist mein Unterthan
Greiff deinen König nicht mit solcher Bösheit an
Kennstu den Himmel nicht, der alles rächen kan?
- Cromwell.* Was Himmel! was Hölle! was König, was Knecht!
Ich führe den Degen und gebe das Recht,
Ich schlage den König und König's Geschlecht.
.....
- König.* Ihr suchet meinen Tod, wolan ich bin bereit
Was kann ich Mensch allein bei eurer Grausamkeit,
Was hilft es dass ein Lamm ins Wolfes Rachen schreyt?
- Cromwell.* Zum Tode, zum Tode, was warten wir viel?
Ihr müsset nun folgen wie Engeland wil,
Ihr habet verlohren, wir haben das Spiel.
.....
- Hier folgte der König dess Dieners Gebot,
Sein Sterben, mein Leben, sein Leben, mein Todt!
Nun Stuart enthalset, hat Cromwel nicht Noht!³

The spirit voiced by Gauden, Milton and the German ballad typified the issues at stake between the forces holding to the old system and those making for the new. There was on the one side the passion for order and the past; on the other for liberty and the future. On the one side was the feeling that national unity and order were embodied in a sovereign who was more than an individual, more even than the highest official of the state, whose person was sacred and whose office, whoever held it, was in some mystical fashion bound up with the life of the whole people. On the other was the sentiment of a national existence independent of the titular ruler, the belief that there was a "natural" law, that *Salus populi was suprema lex*, to which an individual, even though a king, was subject at all times, that the voice of the people was the voice of God and that this voice was to be found among its representatives. There was a deeper undercurrent and a more personal issue—there was the rising spirit of what men were to call "democracy" and the sentiment of self-preservation among its conscious or unconscious champions.

There was in this controversy still another element. It was the recognition of the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, who, by virtue of his ability and his determination, had come to play the chief part in this great revolutionary movement. To this the attacks on him attest—and to something more. From the Dutch caricature of *The Coronation of Oliver Cromwell* to the English satire *A Coffin for King Charles; a Crowne for Cromwell; a Pit for the People*, men thus early foresaw his rise to supreme power in the state. The fear of that

³ Wolfgang Michael, *Cromwell*, vol. i, App.

result was not confined to Royalists or Anglicans, it was felt by Levellers, Presbyterians and Republicans, as the dread of military dictatorship deepened in the minds of those who had combined to overthrow Charles only, as they now began to suspect, to contribute to the elevation of Cromwell.

None the less it was evident that they could not help themselves. The King was gone, but the revolutionary leaders and their cause were not yet safe. They were a minority in a hostile country; they had still the Irish and the Scots to reckon with; and, though he was an exile, there was still a king of England, Scotland and Ireland prepared to take advantage of dissension among the revolutionaries, or of their defeat. Like their famous successors, they were compelled to hang together or run the risk of hanging separately. To them Cromwell was indispensable. Without him, it seemed evident, the whole movement would collapse, and, whatever their opinions of him and his ambitions, whatever their fear of dictatorship, the future of their cause hung on his capacity.

As yet, indeed, the danger of his rising to supreme authority in name and fact was far from a reality, for, though it was apparent that he was easily the first among them, as yet Cromwell was nominally but one of the group which had come to power. None the less, his position, like that of his party, was profoundly changed. Thus far the activities of that group had been, naturally and inevitably, largely destructive in their character, but by no means wholly destructive. Like all such movements, the Puritan Revolution had begun with altering conditions of society and the rise of new theories and new schools of thought and emotion. These had, in turn, brought into existence various groups opposed, for one reason or another, to the existing order, and the coalescing of those groups into a party prepared to go to extremes to overthrow that order. That result had been attained by two civil wars, but the very process had entailed the setting up of an organization to carry on the business of war and government. The death of the King affected this situation but little. For seven years he had not been, in any real sense, the head of the State, whose affairs had been carried on by a shifting group of revolutionary leaders. Step by step the more moderate of those leaders had been eliminated from the conduct of affairs, as step by step the Presbyterians had been replaced by Independents.

Long before the death of Charles that group had faced the problem of replacing the monarchy, which they had finally determined to destroy, with some other form of government. As early as October, 1647, there had been drawn up a system embodied in the so-called *Agreement of the People*, finally accepted by the Council of Officers about the middle of January, 1649, and presented by them to the House on January 20, the day that the charges against Charles I

were laid before the High Court of Justice. Though the Commons had consented to take the plan under consideration and ordered the *Agreement* printed, they had laid aside its consideration in the face of "present weighty and urgent affairs"—that is to say the trial of the King—nor do they seem to have taken it up again in any formal fashion.⁴

None the less it became, as it were, the constitution of the new order. It had been officially preceded by a declaration of independence. On January 4 the House had passed three votes to the effect that the people of England were, under God, "the original of all just power"; that the Commons, chosen by and representing the people, had supreme authority; and that whatever it enacted or declared had the force of law without consent or concurrence of king or peers. Those votes it referred to a committee, of which Cromwell was a member, to be embodied in a declaration. The day before Charles' execution, a group of members, including Cromwell, declared their disapproval of the Commons' vote of December 5 that the King's proposals for the settlement of the kingdom were satisfactory. On the afternoon of his execution the Commons followed this by an Act forbidding the proclamation of his successor; an order to print the votes of January 4; and an Act for repealing "several former acts"—in effect those involving kingship. These were referred to a committee, of which Cromwell was again a member. Then, having considered Ireton's proposals as to the disposal of the King's body; having refused to send his Garter, George and seals to his son, "commonly called the Prince of Wales"; and having referred the thorny problem of London to a committee, of which Cromwell once more was one, the House made its way to a settlement of the Kingdom.

Thanks to the long dominance of administration by the revolutionary party, the transition from monarchy to commonwealth was not difficult. The revolutionary leaders now had undisputed control of the country and its armed forces through which that control was exercised and on which it rested, as well as of the Parliament in which they formed the principal element. They had published the declaration of their principles and their proposed constitution. It remained only to purge the Commons, the committees, and the administration generally, of all those who were not in entire sympathy with their principles and their programme, and to this they addressed themselves at once.

Their first attack was directed against their opponents in the Commons. Two days after Charles' execution the Commons remnant, now dominated by the revolutionary Independent group, resolved that no member who had agreed on December 5 that the

⁴ *Commons Journals*, vi, 122.

King's answer to the Commons' proposals were "a ground to proceed upon the settlement of the kingdom," or who had been absent from the division on that question, would be permitted to take his seat without recording his disapproval of that resolution. As that motion had been carried in one of the largest divisions in the recent history of the Commons by the substantial majority of 129 to 83, it is apparent that this last purge of the House was no less drastic than its more spectacular predecessors. To further secure its position, on the next day, February 3, the Commons, now reduced to less than a hundred members, referred to a committee, including Cromwell, an ordinance to prevent the election to any office of any one who had been disaffected to Parliament, who had served the King in either civil war, or who had held office under him. At the same time it refused to receive an invitation from the remaining handful of Lords to discuss the future government of the country, and took up consideration of an Act for a new High Court of Justice to try the "delinquents" then in custody. With these and lesser measures to consolidate its authority throughout the country, but especially in London and Westminster, there began the Commonwealth of England, as of February 1, 1649, though it was not formally voted until the fifteenth of the following May.⁵

THE FORMATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

With the death of the King and the preliminary measures necessary to set the government of the Commonwealth in his place and tide over the immediate emergency, the next problem was to clear the path for the new masters of England by the elimination of all danger from the old leaders. Of these many were now dead, many more in exile, but there remained as the aftermath of civil war a number of captives in various prisons throughout England. To remove the principal men among them, as well as to strike terror among their followers or any others who might be dangerous to the new order, it seemed necessary to dispose of them as soon as possible. Among them four were conspicuous—the Duke of Hamilton, known and presently tried under his English title as the Earl of Cambridge; George, Lord Goring; Henry Rich, Earl of Holland; and Arthur, Lord Capel—and Charles was hardly in his grave when the revolutionary leaders turned to dispose of these prisoners, to whom was joined, to his great satisfaction, the Welsh commander, Sir John Owen.

The solution to the problem of their disposition was found in the same device which was used to dispose of Charles—an extraordinary tribunal outside the bounds of the English judicial system. An act of the House, read the first and second times on February 1 and

⁵ C. J., *passim*.

passed two days later, with the names of the "commissioners," established a new High Court of Justice of sixty men, of whom fifteen were to be a quorum, to try the noble prisoners. Presided over by what Walker called "that Horseleech of Hell," John Bradshaw, with Charles' old accuser, John Cook, as prosecutor, assisted by the Attorney-General Steele, "now well recovered" from the indisposition which prevented his taking part in the trial of the King, save for four others—Tichborne, Rowe, Pride and Hewson—this court differed wholly from its predecessor. Besides Bradshaw it contained two lawyers, Puleston and Keble; some nine or ten officers; two aldermen, Andrews and Thompson; three or four men described vaguely as "merchants"; and four or five knights and justices of the peace,¹ including Richard Saltonstall who had come back from the founding of Massachusetts Bay to play his part in the revolution. The others are difficult to identify, but it is evident that this new High Court contained few persons of much consequence. Like the body before which Charles I was brought, the High Courts of Justice which became a part of the new order, were no courts at all, within the ordinary meaning of the English law, but rather, as one of their victims vainly pointed out, courts-martial. Like the Revolutionary Tribunal of the later French Revolution, their purpose was only too evident, and the fate of the men put on trial before them was scarcely ever in doubt.

The trial of the prisoners thus set in motion, the way was cleared for the establishment of the new system of government. The plan outlined in the *Agreement of the People* involved the only alternative to government by a single person—an executive committee—and to that alternative the revolutionary leaders, like all such leaders at such times, now turned. The Commons having hastened to have new seals made, and having named three Commissioners of the Great Seal—Bulstrode Whitelocke, John Lisle and Richard Keble—appointed a committee to report the names of a Council of State, with directions for its guidance. After long debate it was agreed that the new Council, which was, in effect, a continuance of the committee system under which the revolutionary government had long been carried on, should consist of forty-one members, of whom nine might form a quorum, with full executive authority. It was specifically directed to oppose the pretensions of Charles Stuart to the throne; to reduce Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Scillies to submission; to secure all magazines of arms and stores; and, more generally, to oversee trade and foreign affairs and the good of the nation. It was empowered to send for advisers and records; administer oaths; charge the revenue for intelligence and negotiations; and execute the

¹ List of names in *Perfect Diurnall*, Jan. 29- Feb. 5, 1648-9.

orders of Parliament. Lords as well as commoners were declared eligible to membership. Its life was limited to one year; and, to secure the fidelity of its members, they were required to take an "Engagement" approving the High Court of Justice, the execution of the King and the abolition of monarchy and the House of Lords.²

Such were the first steps in the assumption of supreme authority by the revolutionary leaders, and in them Cromwell had his share. The death of the King increased his power and his responsibilities. On the day after that tragic event he was advised of the escape of Hamilton³ and appointed to three committees: one to bring in the act for the erection of the new High Court of Justice, another to consider the removal of restrictions on the Court of Common Council of London, and a third to consider the release of poor prisoners.⁴ On the next day, according to Clarendon, Cardinal Mazarin, who "had long adored the conduct of Cromwell and sought his friendship . . . sent to be permitted to purchase some of the goods and jewels of the crown."⁵ Though this seems a little early even for the fore-handed Cardinal, it appears that his Eminence did, finally, secure some of the possessions which he coveted, and which, for the time being, the Commons had ordered sealed up, in the vain hope of preventing their theft by some of the more enterprising of the revolutionaries.

Yet even at this critical period, as at so many others, Cromwell found time to attend to his personal concerns. In the midst of this confusion and activity he wrote to a certain Mr. Robinson of Southampton in regard to the marriage negotiations between his son Richard and Dorothy Mayor, which had been broken off the year before, apparently on the ground of the disinclination of the 'witty but parsimonious' Mr. Mayor to make what Cromwell considered an adequate settlement on his daughter.

*For my very loving Friend Mr. Robinson, Preacher at Southampton:
These*

SIR,

I thank you for your kind letter. As to the business you mention, I desire to use this plainness with you.

When the last overture was, between me and Mr. Mayor, by the mediation of Colonel Norton, after the meeting I had with Mr. Mayor at Farnham, I desired the Colonel (finding, as I thought, some scruples and hesitation in Mr. Mayor) to know of him whether his mind was free to the thing or not. Colonel Norton gave me this account, that Mr. Mayor, by reason of some

² *Cal. State Papers Domestic* (1649-50), p. 6.

³ *Perfect Diurnall*, Jan. 31.

⁴ *C. J.*, vi, 126, 127.

⁵ *History of the Rebellion*, xi, 251. There is a list of the pictures and the appraisal prices in *Old Parliamentary History*, xix, 83-7.

matters as they then stood, was not very free thereunto, whereupon I did acquiesce, submitting to the providence of God.

Upon your reviving of the business to me, and your letter, I think fit to return you this answer, and to say in plainness of spirit to you that, upon your testimony of the gentlewoman's worth, and the common report of the piety of the family, I shall be willing to entertain the renewing of the motion, upon such considerations as may be to mutual satisfaction; only I think that a speedy resolution will be very convenient to both parties. The Lord direct all to His glory.

I desire your prayers therein; and rest,

Your very affectionate friend,

Feb. 1st 1648[-9].

O. CROMWELL.⁶

On the next day, when the Act for the High Court of Justice was being brought in and Sir Edward Nicholas was informing Ormonde that great preparations were being made to send a hundred and fifty vessels to Ireland with a force under Cromwell's command, Cromwell was writing one of those many orders of which his life was full, to secure the safety of a certain John Stanley of Cumberland, then returning to his home at Dalegarth:

To all Officers and Soldiers and all Persons whom these may concern

Whereas John Stanley of Dalegarth, in the county of Cumberland, Esquire, hath subscribed to his composition, and paid and secured his fine, according to the direction of Parliament:

These are to require you to permit and suffer him and his servants quietly to pass into Dalegarth abovesaid, with their horses and swords, and to forbear to molest or trouble him or any of his family there; without seizing or taking away any of his horses, or other goods or estate whatsoever; and to permit and suffer him or any of his family, at any time, to pass to any place, about his or their occasions; without offering any injury to him or any of his family, either at Dalegarth, or in his or their travels: As you will answer your contempt at your utmost perils.

Given under my hand and seal this 2d of February 1648[-9].

OLIVER CROMWELL.⁸

Though this order was written by Cromwell in his military capacity, during those feverish days following the execution of the King,

⁶ Thomas Carlyle, *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (ed. S. C. Lomas (1903)), Letter LXXXVII, from the holograph original then in the Morrison Collection. Brought to Pusey, Berks, from Hursley by John Dunch, brother-in-law of Richard Cromwell, it was transcribed, with sixteen other Cromwell letters, by H. Walpole and shown to William Harris, who printed it in his *Life of Oliver Cromwell* (2nd edition, London, 1772), p. 518.

⁷ Sir E. Nicholas to Ormonde, in Carte, Thomas, *A Collection of Original Letters and Papers concerning the Affairs of England, found among the Duke of Ormonde's Papers* (1739), i, 215.

⁸ Samuel Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Cumberland* (Carlisle, 1840-42), ii, 284; Lomas-Carlyle, i, 413.

when every effort of the revolutionary party was directed toward securing its position by the formation of a new government, he had virtually exchanged war for politics and was probably at that moment in the House. There his talents were called upon to help settle three problems which, with the establishment of the Council of State, pressed hard upon the revolutionary leaders. The first was the possibility of the return of Royalists to Parliament in bye-elections, and Cromwell was named to a committee to bring in an Act to exclude them. The second was an answer to the Scottish commissioners, then in London to present a series of questions as to the future situation of affairs as relating to their kingdom. These were read the next day⁹ and two days later, on the day first set for hearing the Scots' demands, the committee of which Cromwell was a member reported the draft of a reply, which was approved and referred back to be embodied in a declaration.

A third committee, appointed on February 3, raised another difficult issue. The actions of the revolutionary party had not merely roused deep resentment throughout the country, but that resentment had inspired an outburst of open denunciation in pamphlet literature. To check these attacks a committee, of which Cromwell was again a member, was named to prepare an ordinance to restrain public preaching or the printing of anything against the proceedings of the House or of the High Court of Justice. It presently brought in an act to that effect, and in such fashion freed itself, in so far as it was able, from any danger of public criticism.¹⁰

Amid this reorganization of the administration the great debate as to the form of the new government went on. There was no provision for an Upper House in the *Agreement of the People*, but there were some—and Cromwell may have been among them—who favored the retention of the second chamber. The Republican Ludlow records, when the question of retaining the House of Lords was under consideration,

"Cromwell appeared for them, having already had close correspondence with many of them; and, it may be, presuming he might have further use of them in those designs he had resolved to carry on."¹¹

If he made such a plea, it was not heeded. On February 6 the Commons resolved by 44 to 29 that it would not "take the Advice of the House of Lords in the Exercise of the Legislative Power," and presently "that the House of Peers in Parliament is useless and dangerous and ought to be abolished."¹²

⁹ C. J., vi, 130, 131.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹¹ Edmund Ludlow, *Memoirs* (ed. C. H. Firth, Oxford, 1894), i, 220.

¹² C. J., vi, 132.

Again at this moment amid these great affairs there is a glimpse of Cromwell in another capacity common to his life as to that of all public men—the recommendation of men to places of profit or authority, or for special consideration of some kind. It is among the small ironies of history and the life it chronicles that, while the momentous step of abolishing the House of Lords was being taken, he should turn aside from that great debate to write a letter on behalf of a gentleman who wished his fine reduced:

For the Honourable the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall: These

GENTLEMEN,

The bearer hereof, Mr. Lincolne, did render himself unto me at Huntingdon. I then presented him to the Earl of Manchester, and both of us engaging by promise (forasmuch as he came in at that time and in such a manner) that if occasion served, we would afford him more particular favour; and myself being now certified from very good hands, that he hath done very good offices to divers of our party, and his carriage ever since hath been very civil and peaceable; I do hereby make it my request that you would be pleased (in regard of my promise) yet to admit him to favourable composition, according to the time of his coming in, it being about four years ago, without reflecting upon him as a clergyman. And I shall account it as a particular respect done unto myself, and remain,

Your very humble servant,

Westminster, Feb. 6, 1648[-9].

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹³

The abolition of the House of Lords was the prelude to the renunciation of kingship. On February 7 the Commons remnant resolved,

"That it hath been found by Experience, and this House doth declare, That the Office of a King in this Nation, and to have the Power thereof in any Single Person, is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and publick Interest of the People of this Nation; and therefore ought to be abolished; And that an Act be brought in to that Purpose."¹⁴

The question was referred to the same committee empowered to bring an Act to abolish the House of Lords, which included, among others, Ireton, Whitelocke, Marten, Sidney, Lisle and Lord Grey. Despite the violent protest of a group of peers,¹⁵ that committee presently reported the measure favorably and in due time the House formally abolished both monarchy and the House of Lords.¹⁶ For

¹³ Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement, 41, from the original, signed and sealed, in *State Papers Domestic, Interregnum*, G. ccviii, 454. The Committee had suggested two alternatives for the setting of William Lincoln's fine: one-third, as a clergyman, or one-tenth as an ordinary delinquent who had surrendered before October, 1645. He had surrendered in September, 1644, and Cromwell argues that he should therefore be allowed the more favorable terms. *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*, p. 1586.

¹⁴ *C. J.*, vi, 133.

¹⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (1649-50), p. 2.

¹⁶ *C. J.*, vi, 166, 168.

the moment the Republicans were triumphant and though there is every reason to believe from his words and actions that Cromwell had small sympathy with their ideals, there seems equally no question that, whatever his motives, he went along with them.

It is possible to argue with Ludlow and the Republicans that this was only a part of a long-cherished design to make himself the master of England and rise another step toward his goal by assenting to these measures. It is equally possible to argue with his defenders that without rooting out every vestige of the old order he saw no other way of establishing that liberty on which, according to them, he had set his heart. Nor is it impossible that, consciously or unconsciously, he may have combined both these motives; or, again, that here, as at many other times in his life, he accepted the facts as he found them and, having failed to impress his own ideas upon his colleagues, took things as they were and bided his time.

One further notice of his activities in this busy period remains. Among the lesser but important duties of the new government, now that they controlled the central legislative and executive authority, was the rearrangement of the judiciary. That had already been begun by the appointment of the higher judges, as St. John, Rolle and Wilde had been given charge, respectively, of the courts of Common Pleas, King's Bench and Exchequer. Twelve new judges had been appointed, but when, on February 8, it was discovered that six of them had refused to accept their new commissions, Cromwell and six other members of the House were ordered to prepare a declaration that all judges should proceed according to the laws and statutes of the realm. On the same day he was put on a committee to consider the revision of the list of justices of the peace for England and Wales.¹⁷ So, having worked through the problems of the army and of Parliament, of Ireland, of regicide, and the formation of a new executive, he took his part in the formation of a new judiciary.

Beyond this, while the new High Court of Justice was beginning its labors and the new Council of State was being framed, there is no news of Cromwell until on February 12 he took up once more his negotiation with Mr. Mayor in regard to the marriage on which Richard had apparently set his heart:

For my very worthy Friend Richard Mayor, Esquire: These

SIR,

I received some intimations formerly, and by the last return from Southampton a letter from Mr. Robinson, concerning the reviving the last year's motion touching my son and your daughter. Mr. Robinson

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

was also pleased to send me enclosed in his a letter from you to him, bearing date the 5th of this instant February, wherein I find your willingness to entertain any good means for the completing of that business.

From whence I take encouragement to send my son to wait upon you, and by him to let you know, that my desires are (if Providence so dispose), very full and free to the thing, if, upon an interview, there prove also a freedom in the young persons thereunto. What liberty you will give herein, I wholly submit to you.

I thought fit, in my letter to Mr. Robinson, to mention somewhat of expedition, because indeed I know not how soon I may be called into the field, or other occasions may remove me from hence; having for the present some liberty of stay in London. The Lord direct all to His glory. I rest, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

Feb. 12th, 1648[-9].

O. CROMWELL.¹⁸

The last paragraph of his letter reveals his consciousness of the difficulties which confronted the new government in which he was the leading figure. The King had, indeed, been killed, but, as many men had observed when that step was contemplated, the death of Charles I only served to put in his place his son, who was beyond the power of either Parliament or the army. Charles I's execution had settled nothing. Charles II could not be proclaimed king in England, but, powerless as they were to restore him to the throne of his fathers, most Englishmen recognized him as their legitimate sovereign—and there remained Ireland and Scotland. The sympathies of the continental powers were all with monarchy, and however insubstantial their support, there was always the possibility of their interference, direct or indirect, and in at least two quarters there seemed some chance of making their influence felt. In both Scotland and Ireland there was a strong sentiment in favor of the Stuart heir and deep hatred of the new rulers of England, no less, perhaps even more, on religious grounds than on those of politics. In Ireland, even before Charles I's execution, his devoted lieutenant, the Earl of Ormonde, had signed the Treaty of Kilkenny with the Confederate Catholics, with whose assistance and that of Lord Inchiquin it was hoped to persuade or compel the assistance of the native Irish leader, Owen Roe O'Neill, and to seize Dublin preparatory to transporting an Irish army to England. The Prince of Wales had been invited to head the new movement and a fleet had been prepared under Rupert to bring the Prince over and cover the transport of the troops.

While Ormonde had thus organized Ireland, in Scotland affairs had come under the direction of the Marquis of Argyll, who, bending

¹⁸ Holograph original in the Huntingdon Library, San Marino, Calif., HM 20,209. One of the Pusey letters, it was in the Morrison Collection, and sold in 1919 with fourteen others from Cromwell to Mayor when that collection was dispersed. Printed in Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 519-20; Lomas-Carlyle, Letter LXXXVIII. Listed for sale in Maggs Catalogue, no. 449 (1924).

before the storm of hatred roused by the execution of a Stuart king and the triumph of Independency, had changed sides and come to terms with his old enemies, the Engagers. The news of Charles I's execution reached Edinburgh on February 4, and, just as monarchy was being abolished by the English House of Commons, on February 5 Charles II was proclaimed "King of Great Britain, France and Ireland," conditioned on his acceptance of the Covenant. To these threats to the Commonwealth was added the opposition of men like Lilburne and his Leveller party spreading discontent through the army. Thus, apart from the deep if impotent hatred of the English Royalist-Anglicans for the executioners of their king; the widespread horror aroused by the death of Charles; and the dawning suspicions of the Republicans; there were three substantial enemies to be feared by Cromwell and his colleagues—the Scots, the Irish and the Levellers, whose fears of Cromwell's designs were now thoroughly aroused.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE

It was in this state of affairs that on February 14 the committee on nominations for membership in the new Council of State brought in its report. According to its instructions, it presented the names of forty-one men, of which, with some debate and division on the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, all were accepted save two—Ireton and Harrison—whose names were rejected without division and replaced by those of Cornelius Holland and Luke Robinson. Of the members thus chosen for the new executive committee,¹⁹ five—Denbigh, Mulgrave, Salisbury, Pembroke and Lord Grey of Warke—were peers. Of these the first four, with ten others of this new Council of State, had been members of the now supplanted Committee of Derby House. There were six lawyers—St. John, now Chief Justice of Common Pleas; Rolle, Chief Justice of King's Bench; Wilde, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Whitelocke, Lisle and Bradshaw, of whom the last was as yet engaged in presiding over the new High Court of Justice. Thirty-two were members of Parliament; ten were officers; twenty-two had sat on the High Court of Justice to try Charles I and thirteen had signed the death-warrant. Nor is it without significance

¹⁹ Basil, Earl of Denbigh, Edmund, Earl of Mulgrave, Philip, Earl of Pembroke, William, Lord Grey of Warke, Hen. Rolle, Oliver St. John, John Wilde, John Bradshaw, Thomas, Lord Fairfax, Thomas, Lord Grey of Groby, Oliver Cromwell, Philip Skippon, Henry Marten, Isaac Pennington, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Rowland Wilson, Anthony Stapley, Sir William Masham, William Heveningham, Bulstrode Whitelocke, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir James Harrington, Robert Wallop, John Hutchinson, Sir Henry Vane, jr., Dennis Bond, Philip, Lord Lisle, Alexander Popham, Sir John Danvers, Sir William Armyne, Valentine Walton, Sir Henry Mildmay, William Purefoy, Sir William Constable, John Jones, John Lisle, Edmund Ludlow, Thomas Scot, William, Earl of Salisbury, Cornelius Holland, and Luke Robinson, were named in the Act printed in *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1649-50), p. 6.

that of all these men Cromwell was the only one who was an officer and a member of Parliament, an ex-member of the Derby House Committee and of the High Court of Justice and a signer of the death-warrant. In his person he thus summed up not only the whole of the preceding revolutionary movement but the whole of its more immediate authority and manifestations. If he was not officially the head of the new government, the current opinion expressed in news and satires was correct—he was indisputably *primus inter pares*, the head and front of the revolutionary party and movement, its chief support as well as its directing force.

That circumstance brought into sharp relief the first problem which confronted the men who sought to form the new Council of State. This was no easy task; for there were many in the revolutionary party who, however anxious to do away with the old order, were, as their refusal to sit on the High Court of Justice proved, unwilling to go to the lengths to which Cromwell and his associates urged them. They were willing to take their places in the new Council of State, but they stuck on the question of signing the Engagement, refusing to condone, much less to justify, and least of all to associate themselves with, that tragedy. In consequence, the formation of the Council hung fire until this disagreement could be ironed out, and in the meantime the House took up two problems, one domestic, one foreign, in which, as in the establishment of the Council, Cromwell was concerned. The first was the revision of the list of sheriffs, the framing of a new form of oath, and the naming of new sheriffs for the disaffected counties of Cornwall and Chester, with the location of a new gaol for Chester, whose importance in the disturbed state of that region may be judged from the fact that such experienced soldiers as Cromwell, Skippon, Harrison, Colonel Purefoy and Colonel Moore were entrusted with the problem.²⁰

From this domestic question the authorities turned to the issue of foreign relations, now raised by the appearance of the ambassadors of the States General, Pauw and Joachimi, who were still in London after their vain intervention in behalf of Charles I. They presented to Parliament various petitions from Dutch merchants complaining of English activities; in reply to which, two days later, Cromwell and Skippon were ordered to present to the Dutch emissaries a counter-petition from a London merchant, Colonel Ralph Harrison.²¹

Thus early began that controversy with the States General and the problem of foreign relations raised by the execution of the King and the intrusion into the European system of a new form of government. That issue could not at the moment be determined, for as yet there was no formal authority in England beyond the general ascendancy

²⁰ *C. J.*, vi, 141.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 145.

of Parliament with which the representatives of foreign governments could deal. It was necessary to hasten the formation of an executive, and to that end Cromwell and his colleagues addressed themselves. For two days they were busy collecting members and on the evening of February 17 there met at Derby House, in Canon Row, Westminster, some fourteen men, with Cromwell in the chair. Of these, twelve had been members of the old High Court of Justice and ten had signed the death-warrant of the King. The twelve naturally were prepared to take an Engagement approving their own actions. Of the other two, Masham refused to sign; and, save for an agreement to summon the other nominees to meet on February 19, no other business was transacted at this first session.²²

This was no promising beginning; and though every effort was made to secure the presence of more members, and especially to get more signatures to the Engagement, only the first was successful. At the second meeting of the Council, at nine in the morning of February 19, with Cromwell again in the chair, there were thirty-four men present, but only six more signatures could be obtained. Those who refused to sign were ordered to state their objections, which many did. Whitelocke "excepted" against "the board"—that is to say the High Court—"of justice"; Sir James Harrington against the words "fully approve"; while eight others, including Skippon, Haselrig, Lisle and Masham, agreed to give their reasons later.²³ So, later in the day, Cromwell, as chairman, reported to the House that though nineteen signatures had been secured, Fairfax, Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke and Salisbury, while taking it "as a great honour to be named by the House of Commons for this service" refused to sign as "looking backward" and being contrary to what they "then acted" as Peers. Lord Grey of Warke was "always willing to do Service in any thing which he was commanded by both Houses: But, This coming only from one House," desired to be excused, and the others were not satisfied to take the Engagement.²⁴ It was evident that neither threats nor persuasion had availed to induce men to associate themselves with the abolition of the House of Lords and with regicide, and after some debate, at Cromwell's suggestion the House voted to have a new oath drawn up.²⁵ That, it would appear, was no more acceptable than the first, for many men still refused to take their seats on such terms, and the second oath was presently withdrawn.

²² Draft Order Book of Council, *Cal. S. P. Dom.*; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 36-7; *C. J.*, vi, 146; *Weekly Intelligencer*; Masson, *Milton*, iv, 13.

²³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1649-50), p. 9; *Perfect Diurnall*, Feb. 19.

²⁴ *C. J.*, vi, 146.

²⁵ Oath in Walker, *Hist. of Independency*, ii, 130; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 38-9. Erased from the *Commons Journals* by order of Mar. 13, 1659-60. See also *C. J.*, vi, 146; *Kingdoms Faithful and Impartial Scout*.

Under such conditions—or lack of them—the Council was finally constituted, with Gualter Frost as its secretary and Cromwell as its directing force and for the moment its presiding officer. In that position, on February 20, he and the Council were absorbed in the most fundamental of all questions relating to government, especially revolutionary government, the question of finance. The new administration had little or no money and it faced the problem not merely of carrying on administration but of paying an army on which its whole existence depended. It sought resources in every direction and of these there were two which offered some possibilities—the property of the church and that of the crown. To these the Council at once addressed itself and later in the day, at its suggestion, Cromwell and Ireton were named by the House to a committee of twenty-five to consider an Act for abolishing Deans and Chapters, which was passed some two months later.²⁶ The crown-jewels were its next concern and their sale was referred to the Navy Committee. Enraged at this plundering of the church and crown by “the foul paw of the many-headed beast at Westminster,” the Royalist *Mercurius Elencticus* burst into denunciation of this policy and of Cromwell, in one of the earliest references to him as a “brewer” which fill the pages of the later satires:

“Ordered by the Commons (as they call themselves) assembled in Parliament, That it be referred to the Committee of the Navy, to raise money by the sale of the late King’s crown, jewels, and hangings (they might have reserv’d the hangings for themselves), and all his other goods, &c.’ I wonder they do not make dice of his bones, and fling them for his garments; indeed they bought him of the Judas Scots, and they have made their markets pretty well of him again; first for his blood, next for the sight of his butchered carcase, then for the hair of his crown; yet all this will not suffice these covetous purse-leeches, but they must now sell crown and all. Was ever king thus martyred, and marketed before, by such hellish bloodbrokers? O shame to the nation! . . .

“Nor is the malice of that bloody brewer Cromwell yet half satisfied with the last gyle of blood-royal, drawn off from the father, but is now brewing more mischief towards his royal son, King Charles the Second, who (in spite of all the brewers and bakers, coblers, pedlars, and tinkers, in the Parliament and army) is rightful King of Great Britain, France and Ireland . . . defender of the true, ancient, Catholic and Apostolic faith, over all persons and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, next under God, supreme head and governor. Methinks the proudest rebel in the pack (even Cromwell himself) should quake and tremble at the voice of this princely lion; and when he reads but his very titles, his black perjured soul should make way through the very bung-hole of his hogs-head, to its double damnation for fear and shame. . . . Sure Cromwell intends to set up his trade of brewing again, for the other day, being in the presence of the Duke of

²⁶ C. J., vi, 147; Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 81.

Gloucester, he stroked him on the head, and like a merciful protector, and faithful guardian, saith, Sirrah, what trade do you like best? would not a shoe-maker be a good trade for you? Shoe-makers are gentlemen, I can assure you, and so are brewers too; and if you like either of those trades, I will provide you a good master, either Col. Hewson, or Col. Hardwick, and move the Parliament to give you something (if you prove a good boy, and please your master) to set up your trade. And for that little gentlewoman, your sister (meaning the Lady Elizabeth) if she will be ruled, I will provide her a husband; one of Col. Pryde's sons, or one of my own, if either of them like her or can love her. The Duke told him that (being a King's son) he hoped the Parliament would allow him some means out of his father's revenue, to maintain him like a gentleman, and not put him apprentice like a slave. Nose Almighty makes answer, Boy, you must be an apprentice, for all your father's revenue will not make half satisfaction for the wrong he hath done the kingdom, and so Nose went blowing out.²⁷

Pursuing the same line of confiscatory action, on February 22 the Council of State, with Cromwell in the chair, considered at length the problems of the navy and the disposal of the library, statues and pictures at St. James's which were "in danger of being embezzled." It was agreed that all papers in the name of the Council be signed by the chairman, and in this capacity, after he had made the Council's report to Parliament,²⁸ Cromwell signed two documents. The first of these was a requisition for books:

To the Keeper of the Library at St. James's

These are to will and require you, upon sight hereof, to deliver unto Sir Oliver Fleming, or to whom he shall appoint, two or three such books as he shall choose, of which there is a double copy in the Library: to be by him disposed as there shall be direction given him by the Council. Of which you are not to fail, and for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at the Council of State, this 22d day of February 1648[-9]. Signed in the name, and by order of, the Council of State appointed by authority of Parliament,

OLIVER CROMWELL
(*Praeses pro tempore*).²⁹

The other is the first of many orders relating to the change in flags and arms already begun with the replacement of the royal insignia by those of the Commonwealth:

To the Commissioners of the Navy

GENTLEMEN,

There hath been a report made to the Council by Sir Henry Mildmay of your desire to be informed what is to be borne in the

²⁷ *Mercurius Elencticus*, Feb. 21-28.

²⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 10-11.

²⁹ *Ayscough Mss.*, 12,098, f. 1; Lomas-Carlyle, i, 417.

flags of those ships that are in the service of the State, and what to be upon the stern in lieu of the arms formerly there engraven; upon the consideration whereof the Council have resolved that they shall bear the Red Cross only in a white flag, quite through the flag. And that upon the stern of the ships there shall be the Red Cross in one escutcheon and the harp in another, being the arms of England and Ireland, both escutcheons joined according to the pattern herewith sent unto you; and you are to take care that these flags may be provided with all expedition for the ships for the summer guard and that these engravings may also be altered according to this direction with all possible expedition; which we recommend to your care, and expect certificate of your proceeding herein.

Signed in the name, and by the order of, the Council of State appointed by the authority of Parliament,

OL. CROMWELL
(*Praeses pro tempore*)³⁰

Derby House,
23rd February, 1648[-9].

The immediate and pressing need for money was emphasized by another of Cromwell's activities at this moment. While he was busy with the Council of State and the Commons, there was held a meeting of the Army Council at Whitehall on February 22 to discuss the question of the support of the armed forces, free quarter, army accounts, and disturbances among the troops stirred to resentment by lack of pay and incited to violence by agitators opposed to the new government. In consequence it was determined to send Colonel Whalley and Colonel Hewson to Cromwell and Ireton to ask them to urge Parliament to pass an act to punish civilians endeavoring to breed discontent in the army, together with an act already drafted to take account of public moneys.³¹

For the moment, it seems, Cromwell was content, or compelled by virtue of other and more pressing concerns, to leave the management of the army in the hands of Fairfax and the officers. Of these concerns the most urgent was still the formation of the Council of State, which met on the morning of February 23 with only fifteen members present under Cromwell's chairmanship. It was now apparent that it was not possible to recruit members so long as the Engagement was insisted upon in any form, and later in the day, after passing an Act of general sequestration for Monmouth and South Wales, the House voted to abolish the oaths which had been required. With this there appeared at once nine more members, including Fairfax, Haselrig,

³⁰ In the National Library of Scotland. Pr. in *British Archaeological Association Journal*, xxxi, 56 (1875); and in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* (Mildmay Mss.), p. 307.

³¹ C. H. Firth, ed., *Selections from the papers of William Clarke, Secretary to the Council of the Army, 1647-49*, Camden Soc. Pub. (1891-1901), ii, 190-192.

Vane, Denbigh, and Viscount Lisle, who thereafter attended with more or less regularity.³² This question thus adjusted, Cromwell, Vane, Harrison, Skippon, Mildmay, Marten and Livesey were designated by the House to pay a ceremonial visit to the Dutch ambassador, Pauw, to wish him a safe return voyage after his fruitless effort to save the life of Charles and to present him with three books from the royal library, presumably those which Fleming selected.³³

Still concerned with the problem of money, on February 24 the House took up again the distribution of crown property, appointing a committee of twenty-four, including Cromwell, to consider the matter of public revenue and to draw up an Act for the survey of parks, forests, chases and great houses, to be improved or disposed of by commissioners.³⁴ That afternoon the Council of State sat again, agreeing, among other things, on an oath of secrecy like that of its Derby House predecessor. Then, as Whitelocke, who was present, notes:

"From the Council of State Cromwell and his Son Ireton went home with me to Supper; where they were very cheerful, and seemed extremely well pleased; we discoursed together till twelve a-clock at Night, and they told me wonderful Observations of God's Providence, in the Affairs of the War, and in the Business of the Army's coming to London, and seizing the Members of the House, in all which were miraculous Passages.

"As they went home from my House, their Coach was stopped, and they examined by the Guards, to whom they told their Names, but the Captain of the Guards would not believe them, and threatened to carry these two great Officers to the Court of Guard.

"Ireton grew a little angry, but Cromwell was cheerful with the Soldiers, gave them twenty Shillings, and commended them and their Captain for doing their Duty. And they afterwards confessed that they knew Cromwell and Ireton well enough, and were more strict with them than with others, that they might see they were careful of their Duty, which they believed these great Men came at this time purposely to observe."³⁵

On such a cheerful note ended those strenuous days of the formation of the High Court of Justice and the Council of State which had absorbed Cromwell's energies since the death of Charles. He had reason to be satisfied. The first and most difficult steps had been taken; it remained to direct and control the machinery thus framed, which had already begun to function on the lines laid down for it. He had, therefore, a moment for his private affairs, and on the following Monday he took up again the project of the marriage of his son Richard, replying to a letter he had received from Mr. Mayor:

³² *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1649-50), pref. xlviii.

³³ *C. J.*, vi, 149.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 150.

³⁵ Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs* (1732), p. 384.

For my very worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire: These

SIR,

I received yours by Mr. Stapleton, together with an account of the kind reception and the many civilities afforded them, especially to my son, in the liberty given him to wait upon your worthy daughter, the report of whose virtue and godliness has so great a place in my heart, that I think fit not to neglect anything, on my part, which may conduce to consummate a close of the business, if God please to dispose the young ones' hearts thereunto, and other suitable ordering affairs towards mutual satisfaction appear in the dispensation of Providence.

For which purpose, and to the end matters may be brought to as near an issue as they are capable of (not being at liberty, by reason of public occasions, to wait upon you, nor, as I understand, your health permitting), I thought fit to send this gentleman, Mr. Stapleton, instructed with my mind, to see how near we may come to an understanding one of another therein. And although I could have wished the consideration of things had been between us two, it being of so near concernment, yet Providence for the present not allowing, I desire you to give him credence on my behalf.

Sir, all things which yourself and I had in conference at Farnham do not occur to my memory, through multiplicity of business intervening. I hope I shall with a very free heart testify my readiness to that which may be expected from me.

I have no more at present, but desiring the Lord to order this affair to His glory and the comfort of His servants, I rest, Sir,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.³⁶

Feb. 26, 1648[-9].

IRELAND AND THE LEVELLERS

The letter was written amid the press of great and increasing public business. The problem of setting the new government into motion, of preparing for an expedition to Ireland and the strong possibility of a war with Scotland; of relations with foreign powers, and the more immediate and pressing problems of the army and the civilian population in England itself; of suppressing dissatisfaction; of organizing the local judicial and administrative system; and above all of finding money, laid a heavy burden on him and his colleagues in the Council and the House. There are few if any periods of his life hitherto, therefore, in which we have so minute account of his actions from day to day as in this month of February, 1649.

That is of the more interest and importance since, with the establishment of the Commonwealth, it is obvious that Cromwell had become the dominating as he had long been the most conspicuous figure in English politics. That position, like his ascendancy in the army, was not the sudden elevation to eminence which it has some-

³⁶ Harris, *Cromwell*, p. 520; Lomas-Carlyle, LXXXIX, from the holograph original then in the Morrison collection and listed for sale in Maggs Catalogue, no. 449 (1924).

times been conceived. In each case it was the result of long and patient endeavor. Unlike Essex and Manchester, or even Fairfax, he had not been given high command at the beginning, but had worked his way up from captain of a troop to colonelcy of a regiment, to the post of lieutenant-general, and finally to independent command. In Parliament he had begun with an infinity of committee work as a subordinate to Pym and Hampden, and little by little there, as in the army, he had come to the front by virtue of his ability and his resolution. In each field he was the most experienced of the revolutionary leaders. If he had not Vane's "subtlety," he had what Vane had not, the confidence of the army. If he was not like Fairfax, the titular head of the army, he had more influence there than the nominal commander-in-chief, and he carried weight in Parliament to which Fairfax could not and had no desire to pretend. In the Council of State, as its presiding officer in the critical days of its formation, his voice was the determining factor; and in the Council of Officers when he was present he had scarcely less influence. There was, in fact, no man in the revolutionary party whose long and arduous training in every branch of public service, civil and military, was to be compared to his, as there was no man who combined in himself the various elements of strength which made for the dominance of his party. If he was not the "uncrowned king," or even the "dictator" of England, he was scarcely less the director of its destinies, though as yet he had the substance rather than the outward semblance of authority.

As a consequence, the daily record of his doings forms at once a guide not only to his own movements but to the activities and the policies of the English revolutionary government. On the day he wrote to Mayor, February 26, the Council met early in the morning to listen to letters from Ireland, including one to Cromwell from Colonel Michael Jones who was then in Dublin and hard pressed to maintain himself against the threat of Ormonde and dissatisfaction in his own ranks. Later in the morning Cromwell was ordered to consult with the Master of the Posts, Prideaux, to arrange stages between Chester and Holyhead, to facilitate communications with Ireland, now made doubly necessary by the critical situation of the Parliamentary forces there.³⁷

From the Council meeting its members adjourned to take their places in Parliament where these and the difficulties of the Irish situation were laid before the House by Haselrig. There they listened to a letter from the Scots' commissioners protesting against the proceedings of the House, and Cromwell and Haselrig were ordered to withdraw with Vane, Marten, Whitelocke and Challoner to prepare a vote in answer to the Scottish protest. That answer was brief and

³⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1649-50), p. 19.

to the point, couched in the form of a declaration that those who supported the Scotch position were traitors.³⁸ Thence, returning to the Council meeting in the afternoon, its members appointed commissioners to go to Scotland to lay the case of Parliament before the Scottish Estates.

The next day the House did not meet, but the Council again had two sessions, with Denbigh acting as presiding officer in the morning during Cromwell's absence. The main question before it was that of Ireland, which was discussed at length and Cromwell, Vane, Marten, John Jones, Scot, and later Haselrig, were ordered to inquire as to what forces were available to be sent to Colonel Jones' assistance and to consider the best means for regaining possession of the isles of Jersey and Guernsey from the Royalists who still held them. Considering the problem of the armed forces further, Cromwell was requested to report to the House the urgent necessity for raising money to disband Colonel Shuttleworth's forces in Lancashire.³⁹ Again, on the last day of February, the Council took up the various problems which had absorbed its attention on the preceding days and thence adjourned for the meeting of the House, where Cromwell was appointed to two committees; one with Ireton, Scot and Sir James Harrington to draw up reasons for setting aside March 22 as a day of public humiliation; the other to draw up an act to regulate the elections in the city of Norwich and prevent the choice of "ill-affected" persons.⁴⁰

In the bare recital of these doings it is apparent that Cromwell not only played a leading part in every phase of the new government but that nothing of importance was done without his presence and approval. Inevitably that led to jealousy and discord, especially notable in the antagonism between Cromwell and one of his chief detestations, the "evil liver," Henry Marten, who was "issuing commissions in vertue of his own strength with the levelling party which courts him as their leader."⁴¹ According to *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, always eager to make the most of these differences:

"Division in the army grows great; superiority is the thing looked upon, and Cromwell thinks he deserves it best, which Henry Martin is impatient to suffer; and Pryde stepping between them, makes great words to fly; insomuch that Ruby Nose drew his dagger in the House on Saturday, and clapping it on the seat by him, expressed great anger against Henry and his levelling crew."⁴²

³⁸ *C. J.*, vi, 150-151.

³⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1649-50), pp. 22, 25.

⁴⁰ *C. J.*, vi, 153.

⁴¹ Carte, *Original Letters*, i, 229.

⁴² *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, Feb. 27-Mar. 5; in *Cromwelliana*, p. 53.

This was not the only difficulty with the Levellers and their champions, for at this moment John Lilburne again entered the fray. The Council had ordered that the soldiers should not present petitions save through their officers, and Cromwell had been instructed to demand from Parliament an act to punish civilians attempting to stir up discontent in the army as if they had been soldiers, in short by court-martial.⁴³ On the day that Cromwell was writing to Mayor in regard to his son's marriage, Lilburne presented to the House an attack on this policy in the form of a bitter criticism of the *Agreement of the People*, later published by him as *England's New Chaines Discovered*. He and the Levellers in general felt themselves betrayed. They believed that they had contributed more than any other single element to the success of the revolution and they were deeply dissatisfied with the result. It was the plan of Lilburne and his associates to circulate their programme for the settlement of the kingdom among the citizens and soldiers, to compel the reappointment of the Agitators, the revival of the Council of the Army, and the establishment of greater equality between the officers and men. To this they added demands for the substitution of "committees of short continuance" in place of the Council of State; the enforcement of the Self-Denying Ordinance; and an attack upon the dangers of "one and the same persons to be continued long in the highest commands of a military power." It was, in brief, an indictment of Fairfax, Cromwell and Ireton.⁴⁴ Thus was raised the direct issue between the soldiers and the officers as the quarrel between Cromwell and Lilburne and the Levellers entered on another stage.

That quarrel developed rapidly, adding to the perplexities of the Council, now increasingly disturbed by the news from Scotland and Ireland. On March 1 it held two meetings, with Cromwell presiding, as a result of which he, with Fairfax and Constable, was ordered to consider the matter of sending the Scots' commissioners home under guard.⁴⁵ On that same day, eight troopers laid a petition before the Council of Officers, admitting their share in drawing up *England's New Chaines* and demanding the right of free and direct petition to Parliament. On the day following, this question, with that of Ireland, came before the House.

The problem of the Levellers was the more difficult in that it coincided with those of Scotland and Ireland. The Scots had not merely protested against the activities of the English Parliament, accusing it of breaking the Solemn League and Covenant, suppressing monarchy and the House of Lords, and approving the *Agreement of*

⁴³ The officers agreed to make this demand on February 22. See p. 19.

⁴⁴ Summary in Walker, *History of Independency*, ii, 133. Cp. Gardiner, S. R., *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, i, 34-5; and Lilburne's works.

⁴⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 25.

the People and so encouraging "licentious liberty and ungodly toleration in matters of religion." They had begun to make advances to Charles II then in Holland, and to demand the establishment of Presbyterianism and the restoration of the monarchy.⁴⁶ It was no wonder that the Independent Commons had retorted by declaring that this laid "the grounds of a new and bloody war"; and when the Scottish Estates had ordered its commissioners in London to proceed to Holland, the Commons had in turn ordered Sexby to arrest them at Gravesend and convey them to Scotland under guard.

The second problem, that of Ireland, was still more pressing. Prince Rupert had arrived at Kinsale toward the end of January with a little squadron, and Parliament had promptly added thirty merchant ships to the fleet of the Commonwealth to meet this threat. It had taken the control of the fleet from Warwick—whose brother, Lord Holland, was then on trial for his life—and had given it to a committee of the Council headed by Vane, with Blake, Deane and Popham as commanders with the title of Commissioners, or Generals-at-Sea, and it had put Ayscue in command of the squadron on the Irish coast. On March 2, as the result of a petition from the Army Council, Parliament considered at length the problem of sending forces to Ireland, appointing a committee to examine accounts and referring to the Council the question of supplying troops. That afternoon Cromwell and eight others were appointed by the Council to take this order into consideration and prepare a plan.⁴⁷ On Saturday, so critical did the situation seem, there were held two meetings of the Council of State, with Cromwell presiding in the morning, but absent in the afternoon, probably on account of a separate and concurrent meeting of the committee on Irish forces.⁴⁸

Thus despite the Scottish threat, the Irish question for the moment dominated all others. The report of the committee was apparently presented to the Council on the afternoon of March 5, and the next day Scot laid it before the House. It was more than a report on the expedition to Ireland, for it included the whole matter of the army establishment. It proposed the maintenance of a force of 44,373 men, of whom twelve thousand were destined for Ireland. For their support it was estimated that it would require £120,000 a month; and with this the government once more faced the problem of finance. The report itself suggested that £40,000 a month be levied on crown revenues or lands which had been at the disposal of the Commissioners of the Star Chamber and the rest raised by some form of taxation.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *The Desires of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland* (Feb. 24, 1649).

⁴⁷ *C. J.*, vi, 153-4; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 26.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28. Walker (*op. cit.*, ii, 139) placed the amount to be levied at £160,000 per month.

Against this prospective increase in taxes it was pointed out that trade was ruined and that the London merchants could not meet these new demands; to which Walker declares, with dubious accuracy, that Cromwell replied, "It was no matter, the more were undone, the more would clap swords to their sides, and come into the army."⁵⁰ Whatever Cromwell said, it was apparent that prompt steps must be taken to settle this dual question of Ireland and the army. Further debate was postponed until the next day, but Cromwell took occasion to report that the Council of State had found it necessary to vote money for disbanding the Lancashire forces under Colonel Shuttleworth,⁵¹ and with this detail the discussion ended for the moment as Parliament turned to another issue which now came to a head.

This was the question of the disposal of "the great delinquents," Hamilton, Holland, Goring, Capel and Owen, who had been tried by the High Court of Justice, condemned, and now appealed to Parliament. From Hamilton, Cromwell had, according to various accounts, never ceased to hope that he might have a confession, especially after Hamilton had been brought to St. James's, and, according to Walker, Cromwell had "caused all his creatures to carry a favourable countenance to him." That failing, with the realization that no confession could be expected, Bradshaw "changed his soft words to harsh" and Hamilton was found guilty of treason on March 6, with the other prisoners.⁵² At the moment that the condemned men were preparing to present their petitions to the House, that body took another and most important step. On March 7 the bills to abolish kingship and the House of Lords were read and referred to a committee of forty-two, of which Cromwell as usual was a member;⁵³ and this done, the Commons prepared to consider the case of the condemned delinquents.

That issue provided a dramatic interlude. The first question which it raised was whether their petitions should be considered by the House, and though Cromwell opposed that merciful proposal and acted with Haselrig as a teller in the negative, the Commons voted to consider them. Every effort had been made by the friends and relatives of the condemned men to save them from their fate, with varying success. Hamilton's case was hopeless from the start and his petition was rejected without division. Though Cromwell opposed a reprieve for Goring and was a teller for the negative, that nobleman was saved by the casting vote of the Speaker,⁵⁴ who, according to

⁵⁰ Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 140.

⁵¹ *C. J.*, vi, 157.

⁵² Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 131-132. Cp. Somers *Traits*, vi, 60-77.

⁵³ *C. J.*, vi, 158.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 159-60.

Whitelocke and Clarendon, thus repaid some former services, though according to others Goring owed his escape to the intervention of the Dutch and Spanish ambassadors.⁵⁵ Despite the fact that Fairfax interceded for Lord Holland, and Warwick used all his influence to save his brother, the House voted by 31 to 30 to send him to the scaffold, Ireton acting as a teller for the Ayes. Owen, though expressing his preference for "being beheaded in such good company," according to Nicholas, was interceded for by the Dutch and Spanish ambassadors who asked that his life be spared, and was reprieved by 28 to 23, with Ireton voting and acting as a teller for his acquittal.⁵⁶

Though there was no division on Capel, his case was the subject of an animated debate in which, according to Clarendon, Cromwell took a part, in a curious speech of doubtful authenticity:

Speech in the House of Commons, March 8, 1648-9

"Cromwell, who had known him very well, spake so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, that his affection to the public so much weighted down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, whether they would preserve the most bitter and the most implacable enemy they had; that he knew the lord Capell very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, in what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition."⁵⁷

Three great problems were now solved—the formation of the Council of State, the reorganization of the courts and local authority and the disposal of the great delinquents. In each of them Cromwell had played a leading part, yet even in the midst of such great events he found time to go on with his negotiations with Mr. Mayor:

For my very worthy friend Richard Mayor, Esquire: These

SIR,

Yours I have received; and have given further instructions to this bearer, Mr. Stapylton, to treat with you about the business in agitation between your daughter and my son.

I am engaged to you for all your civility and respects already manifested. I trust there will be a right understanding between us, and a good conclusion; and though I cannot particularly remember the things spoken of at Farnham,

⁵⁵ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, pp. 382, 386; Clarendon, *History*, xi, 259; Carte, *Original Letters*, i, 247. Goring, Owen, Laugharne and Powell were all set free on May 7. *Modest Narrative*, May 7.

⁵⁶ Carte, *Original Letters*, i, 247.

⁵⁷ Clarendon, *History*, xi, 261.

to which your letter seems to refer me, yet I doubt not but I have sent the offer of such things now which give mutual satisfaction to us both. My attendance upon public affairs will not give me leave to come down unto you myself; I have sent unto you this gentleman with my mind.

I salute Mrs. Mayor, though unknown, with the rest of your family. I commit you, with the progress of the business, to the Lord; and rest, Sir,

Your assured friend to serve you,

March the 8th 1648[-9].

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁸

The new government was now getting under way, but there was still some difficulty in adjusting the working of its various parts, for even as Cromwell was writing this letter, the House voted that its members were not to sit on any committee, nor the Council of State meet, after nine in the morning on the days when the House was in session. It is apparent from this that the difficulty of carrying on business with a body of men so small was already evident. That difficulty was in some measure relieved, in some measure complicated, by other developments. The day after Cromwell wrote to Mayor, there took place the execution of Hamilton, Holland and Capel.⁵⁹ On that day the House ordered the Council of State to confer with the Army Committee on the preparation of the expeditionary force for Ireland,⁶⁰ and, to hasten and unify action, it further directed its Clerk to send its orders to the Council daily. In turn the Council instructed its representatives to convey its resolutions to the Commons; and in pursuance of this system, the Commons and the Council drew still closer together.

Meanwhile, however, two circumstances threatened to alter this situation, especially so far as Cromwell was concerned. The first was the preparation for the Irish adventure. In connection with that, on March 11, the Council instructed Cromwell and Scot to demand from Colonel Audley Mervin, sometime commander under Ormonde, now a prisoner in the Tower, such papers as he possessed relating to Ireland.⁶¹ The work of the High Court of Justice was now completed, and, relieved from the presidency of the Council by the election of Bradshaw to that post on March 10 and his assumption of his new office two days later, Cromwell was free to devote his whole time to the Irish expedition. On the morning of the 12th, after Bradshaw,

⁵⁸ Holograph original formerly in the Morrison Collection. Facsimile of the latter part is in the Anderson Galleries sale catalogue, March, 1923. Printed in Harris, *Cromwell*, p. 521; Lomas-Carlyle, XC.

⁵⁹ Last speeches in Walker, *op. cit.*, iv, 2-9. See also Burnet, (*Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 397-403), who says that twice during the journey to the scaffold soldiers sent by Cromwell offered pardon to Hamilton if he would make "discoveries."

⁶⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 31-2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

much elevated by his new dignity, had wasted the time of the Council in long speeches,⁶² Cromwell, Mildmay, Holland and Walton were ordered to consult the Navy Commissioners as to which of the eight ships for the Irish expedition would be ready first;⁶³ but on the following afternoon the Council agreed to report to the Commons Fairfax's opinion that nothing could be done further about the army for Ireland until a commander-in-chief was appointed.⁶⁴ To this the Commons replied on the next day by referring the choice of a general and chief officers back to the Council.⁶⁵

It was obvious that Cromwell was the most likely person to be chosen for that post and he was doubly anxious to have the matter of his son's marriage settled as quickly as might be; but, as his correspondence with Mr. Mayor indicates, he was no less anxious that this settlement should be as favorable as possible, and the letter he wrote at this moment, typical as it is of such negotiations, reveals him as a worthy antagonist in bargaining as in battle:

For Richard Mayor, Esquire:

SIR,

I received your paper by the hands of Mr. Stapilton. I desire your leave to return my dissatisfaction therewith. I shall not need to premise how much I have desired (I hope upon the best grounds) to match with you. The same desire still continues in me, if Providence see it fit. But I may not be so much wanting to myself nor family as not to have some equality of consideration towards it.

I have two young daughters to bestow, if God give them life and opportunity. According to your offer, I have nothing for them; nothing at all in hand. If my son die, what consideration is there to me, and yet a jointure parted with. If she die, there is little; if you have an heir male, then but 3,000*l.*, without time ascertained.

But for these things, I doubt not but, by one interview between you and myself, they might be accommodated to mutual satisfaction; and in relation to these, I think we should hardly part, or have many words, so much do I desire a closure with you. But to deal freely with you: the settling of the Manor of Hursley, as you propose it, sticks so much with me, that either I understand you not, or else it much fails my expectation. As you offer it, there is 400*l. per annum* charged upon it. For the 150*l.* to your Lady, for her life, as a jointure, I stick not at that; but the 250*l. per annum* until Mr. Ludlow's lease expire, the term whereof I know not, and so much of the 250*l. per annum* as exceeds that lease in annual value for some time also after the expiration of the said lease, gives such a main to the Manor of Hursley as indeed renders the rest of the Manor very inconsiderable.

⁶² Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 388.

⁶³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 33.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶⁵ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 389.

Sir, if I concur to deny myself in point of present moneys, as also in the other things mentioned, as aforesaid, I may and I do expect the Manor of Hursley to be settled without any charge upon it, after your decease, saving your Lady's jointure of 150*l. per annum*, which if you should think it fit to increase, I should not stand upon it. Your own estate is best known to you; but surely your personal estate, being free for you to dispose, will, with some small matter of addition, beget a nearness of equality, if I hear well from others; and if the difference in that were not very considerable, I should not insist upon it.

What you demand of me is very high in all points. I am willing to settle as you desire in everything, saving for present maintenance 400*l. per annum*, 300*l. per annum*. I would have somewhat free, to be thanked by them for. The 300*l. per annum* of my old land for a jointure, after my wife's decease, I shall settle; and in the mean time out of other lands at your election; and truly, Sir, if that be not good, nor will any lands, I doubt. I do not much distrust your principles in other things have acted you towards confidence. You demand in case my son have none issue male but only daughters, then the lands in Hantshire, Monmouth and Gloucestershire to descend to the daughters, or 3,000*l. apiece*. The first would [be] most unequal; the latter is too high. They will be well provided for by being inheritrixes of their mother; and I am willing to [for?] 2,000*l. apiece* to be charged upon those lands.

Sir, I cannot but with very many thanks acknowledge your good opinion of me and of my son; as also your great civilities towards him, and your daughter's good respects, whose goodness (though known to me only at such a distance by the report of others) I much value. And indeed that causeth me so cheerfully to deny myself as I do in the point of moneys, and so willingly to comply in other things. But if I should not insist as before, I should in a greater measure deny both my own reason and the advice of my friends than were meet; which I may not do. Indeed, Sir, I have not closed with a far greater offer of estate, but rather chose to fix here. I hope I have not been wanting to Providence in this.

I have made myself plain to you, desiring you will make my son the messenger of your pleasure and resolution herein as speedily as with conveniency you may. I take leave,

And rest,

Your affectionate servant,

O. CROMWELL.

March 14, 1648[-9].

I desire my service may be presented to your Lady and daughters.⁶⁶

Of like private nature is another letter he wrote on the same day to Dr. Richard Love, a friend of Walton's and Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which, from the fact that its chapel was then the church of St. Benedict or Bene't of the Corpus Christi guild, was still known by its older name:

⁶⁶ Harris, *Cromwell*, pp. 521-3; Lomas-Carlyle, XCII, from the original then in the Morrison Collection. Carlyle, who used Harris as his source, made several changes which were corrected by Mrs. Lomas.

For my worthy friend Dr. Love, Master of Bennett College: These

SIR,

I understand one Mrs. Nutting is a suitor unto you, on the right of her son, about the renewing of a lease which holds of your college. The old interest I have had makes me presume upon your favour. I desire nothing but what is just, leaving that to your judgment; and beyond which I neither now nor at any time shall move. If I do, denial shall be most welcome and accepted by, Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.⁶⁷

March 14th, 1648[-9].

One other matter remained to be attended to. This was the punishment of the long list of Charles' chief adherents. On the same day that Cromwell wrote these letters, March 14, on Haselrig's report from the Committee appointed to draw up the Act concerning them, the names were taken up in the House one by one. Of this list, two were turned over to the law courts to be tried for life—Sir John Stowell, at one time governor of Taunton, captured at Exeter; and the Welsh judge, David Jenkins, that "heart of oak and pillar of the law," vigorous pamphleteer and defender of the monarchy, who had given Parliament much trouble hitherto and had only been saved by the intercession of Marten.

Five others were ordered to be tried by court-martial—Major-General Laugharne, Colonel Poyer, each at one time in Parliamentary service and taken at the surrender of Pembroke; Colonel Rice Powell; Browne Bushell,⁶⁸ a sea-captain who had voluntarily delivered up his vessel to Prince Charles in 1648; and a leading west-country Royalist, Sir Henry Lingen. Of these only Poyer and Bushell were eventually executed.⁶⁹ Goring, Owen, Laugharne and Powell were freed on May 7, and the rest remained in prison. A sentence of imprisonment, together with the confiscation of their estates, was imposed on Cromwell's old antagonists, the Marquis of Winchester and Bishop Wren of Ely. Like confiscation, together with banishment, was pronounced against fifteen other leading Royalists, nearly all now in exile,⁷⁰ including Charles II and his brother James. Two days later, Sir John Morley and Colonel Matthew Boynton were added to this list. With this the vengeance of the Parliamentarians was at an end, save for the heavy fines levied on their enemies, which ranged from a tenth to a third part of their estates. They were no longer

⁶⁷ Holograph original in *Lansdowne Mss.*, 1236, fol. 87. Carlyle, Letter XCI.

⁶⁸ See Vol. I, p. 597.

⁶⁹ Poyer was executed Apr. 24, 1649; Bushell on Mar. 29, 1651.

⁷⁰ The Duke of Buckingham; the Earls of Newcastle, Worcester and Bristol; Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir John Byron, Sir William Widdrington, Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Francis Dodington, Sir John Winter, and Sir John Culpepper. *C. J.*, vi, 165.

dangerous. With their leaders dead or in exile; with their property and even their lives at the mercy of their conquerors; with their every word and action watched by the agents of the new government which had at its command a veteran army ready to suppress the first sign of insurrection, the Royalists were helpless to make their numbers felt or to express their sentiments in Parliament.

There remained for the moment only the fear that Ireland might be made the base of an attack on England, and to avert that danger the preparations for an expeditionary force were being made as rapidly as possible. Of these the most important, as Fairfax had indicated, was the appointment of a commander. On March 15, acting under a request from the Commons, twenty-three members of the Council of State who assembled that afternoon at Derby House, after an unusually long session, chose Cromwell for that post.⁷¹ The next day a letter from the Hague was read in the House predicting that on account of the civil treatment accorded the Dutch ambassadors by Cromwell and others, little if any assistance would be given Charles by the States General.⁷² With the choice of a commander and this last assurance, the way seemed cleared for the Irish venture. On March 17 the House took the final step in the overthrow of monarchy by the passage of the Act, first read ten days before, for "abolishing the kingly office in England, Ireland, and the Dominions thereof,"⁷³ and two days later added to this another abolishing the House of Lords.⁷⁴ Besides these, it passed Acts to confiscate a third of the estates of Royalists who had at any time been members of either House, clergymen, judges, or masters or fellows of colleges in either university, and all of the estates of those who neglected to submit to composition for their property. Four days later, the personal estates of the royal family were ordered appraised and sold, and with these last blows to the royal cause and its supporters, England entered at last upon the Commonwealth.

THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT

By the end of March, 1649, the new government was in full operation. At its head was the Council of State with its forty-one members, its Great Seal and mace; its Speaker or President; clerk, serjeant-at-arms and chaplain. Among its members were the chief officers of state, the heads of the judicial system, of the departments of govern-

⁷¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 143.

⁷² Letter from Strickland, *Perfect Diurnall*, March 12-19. On March 29th it was reported in England that the States General had ordered all ministers of the gospel to refrain from alluding to matters of state in their pulpits and in particular to avoid mentioning the English affairs.

⁷³ Printed in Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 140-143; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 59-62.

⁷⁴ Walker, ii, 143-44; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 62-63.

ment, and of the armed forces. To them was entrusted the complete control of nearly every field of administration—army, navy, militia, diplomatic negotiations, finance, trade and manufacturing, legal authority, police expenses and salaries—an authority, in short, as great as the crown had exercised, if not, indeed, greater.⁷⁵ They even initiated legislation by drawing up bills to present to Parliament. Though it was nominally the creature and the servant of the House, by virtue of the number and ability of its members who had seats in Parliament, as well as by its great authority outside the House—for it could issue orders without appeal—the Council of State was, in effect, the master of the Parliament. It was, in consequence, a busy and hard-working body which met every day except Sunday and an occasional Monday, at 2:30 to 6:30 in the afternoon, from 1649 to 1653. Beside the Council the Commons declined in importance and one needs only to read the minutes of these bodies to perceive that the government of England under the Commonwealth rested chiefly in the Council.

It had much to do, not only in war, diplomacy and administration, but in law. Through a great part of the Civil Wars the administration of justice had been interrupted, if not wholly checked, in the higher courts and around the circuits. In consequence it was said that twenty thousand cases were undetermined, and one of the first concerns of Council and Commons in these early days of the Commonwealth was the reconstitution of the judiciary. By the time of the beginning of the circuits in March, 1649, the courts were once more in action. The King's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer were fully manned, and though many refused posts, there were enough lawyers to take their places; so that, in March, Serjeants Thorpe and Puleston took the northern circuit and Chief Justice Wilde and Francis Swanton the western, as the judicial system once more began to function in the name of the Commonwealth.⁷⁶

With the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government thus constituted, the army reorganized and the navy put in new hands, there remained the great problem of finance. In some measure that was met by the confiscation and sale of the estates of the royal family, the church and the leading Royalists. To these were added the compositions for supporting the royal cause, which had poured a steady stream of revenue into the hands of the revolutionary government, and the assessments which had been levied on the counties as they came into the hands of the Parliamentary party.

To collect and spend these funds a numerous and complicated group of officials had been set up. Besides the committee at Haberdashers' Hall erected in 1642 to collect money for the cause, and the

⁷⁵ Cp. Inderwick, *Interregnum*, pp. 8-14. First known as "Lords States General."

⁷⁶ Inderwick, *Interregnum*, ch. iv.

committee at Goldsmiths' Hall for compounding with delinquents, which were presently combined into one, there were the Customs and the Excise offices, and the committee at Worcester House for auditing accounts. In addition to these were commissioners for collecting the revenues of the crown, the Treasurers for the sale of Deans' and Chapters' lands; the Treasurers at War; and a number of smaller bodies like the Navy Treasury and the Treasury of the new Council of State which could issue warrants for their particular purposes. The whole formed a chaos of conflicting jurisdictions amid which not even the most expert of government financiers could hope to find a clear view of its finances. Despite the denials of its champions, one thing seems certain. It is that these various bodies continually spent more money than they took in. The government was in perpetual difficulties. It raised what it could by borrowing and advances from the goldsmith-bankers, and now from the sale of the plunder of the crown and its supporters, but there was a great and continuing deficit, reckoned as high as £500,000 a year, not relieved by the fact that there was widespread and well-known corruption in the disposal of that plunder.⁷⁷

This new system of government, based on the *Agreement of the People*, with that "invention of Ireton," the Council of State, at its head, was, it is obvious, the product of the little group of men now in control of the English government, chief among them Cromwell. It was far from meeting with general approbation, even among the revolutionary party. The Republicans, though satisfied for the moment, were suspicious. The Levellers were outraged at this seizure of power by the "grandees" of the army, and those leaders in turn were irritated by the Levellers' attacks on them. Evidence of dissatisfaction with the situation soon appeared. The eight troopers accused of a share in writing *England's New Chains Discovered* had been court-martialed and five of them⁷⁸ adjudged guilty and cashiered. They found refuge and friends in the City and on March 21 there appeared from their pens *The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe Heath to Whitehall, by Five Small Beagles*, a virulent attack on the "new king and new lords" which, they declared, "with the Commons are in one House," so that England was "under a more arbitrary monarchy than before." Cromwell, Ireton and Harrison, they charged, had replaced Stapleton and Holles; excluded all others from negotiation with the King; abolished the Agitators; re-

⁷⁷ Cp. Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, *passim*, and Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*, ch. iv; Scrogge, "Finances of the Long Parliament" in *Quar. Jour. Econ.*, xxi, 463 ff.; Dowell, *Hist. of Taxation*, ch. i etc.; W. Kennedy, *English Taxation, 1640-1799*; and C. S. P. Dom. *passim*.

⁷⁸ Robert Ward, Thomas Watson, William Sawyer, Simon Graunt and George Jellis.

jected the Engagement; substituted for the general council of the army a council of "general officers . . . lords of the army." They had gained power "not by election but by force and obtrusion," and therefore their "tamperings with the King, their march up to London, their violent secluding of so many members from Parliament, their trial and execution of the King" and the great Cavalier leaders, "their raiging in and overruling the House; their stopping the presses, committing violent outrages . . . were not to be set to the score of the soldiery." In particular they attacked Cromwell.

"You shall scarce speak to Cromwell about anything," they declared, "but he will lay his hand on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record; he will weep, howl and repent, even while he doth smite you under the first rib." "Oh, Cromwell! Whither art thou aspiring? . . . He that runs may read and foresee the intent, a new regality."⁷⁹

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN IRELAND

The Levellers' attack came at a moment when the question of the command of the Irish expedition still hung in the balance. On March 21 Pontefract Castle finally surrendered to Lambert; the last trace of Royalist resistance in England disappeared, and the troops engaged in the siege were freed for use elsewhere. The next day in reply to an inquiry from Sir Hardress Waller and Colonel Whalley as representatives of the Army Council, the Council of State declared that Cromwell had been chosen commander-in-chief of the Irish expeditionary force. Though he had been offered that post more than a week before, he had as yet given no answer, but now, driven to make a decision, he chose to explain his position not to the Council of State but to the General Council of the Army at Whitehall. There on March 23 he delivered himself of the longest speech so far recorded among his public utterances; a speech which, taking far wider range than the question of the command in Ireland, discussed the various problems and difficulties which confronted the new government.

For the Irish expedition, he declared, there were necessary eight regiments of foot and three of horse, with twelve hundred dragoons. Then, passing from that detail, after his usual long religious exhortation, he took up the general question of the situation of the government with respect not only to Ireland but to "the angry, hateful spirit against your army, as an army of sectaries," which prevailed in Scotland, hinting not obscurely at coming war with the Scots and their English partisans. Touching indirectly on the Levellers' agitation, he warned his hearers of disunion among themselves. Again, reverting to Ireland, he enumerated the forces to be encountered—Preston, Clanricarde and Taaffe, each with eight thousand foot and

⁷⁹ *Hunting of the Foxes* (1649); repr. in *Somers Tracts*, vi, 44-60.

eight hundred horse, Inchiquin and Ormonde with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, ready to root the English out of Ireland and invade England itself.⁸⁰ To prevent that he appealed to his hearers not to consider the question as to who should command, "but let us go if God go"—and finally he reserved his decision until the next Tuesday.⁸¹

General Council at Whitehall, March 23, 1648[-9]

The Lieutenant-General answered: "That as to will, he was upon the appointment of the Parliament ready to submit. That the work was a great work, and would require more than the will and minds of men to carry it on [*i.e.*] necessary and convenient supplies; eight regiments of foot and three thousand horse. The Council of State hath by these gentlemen returned this answer, which in effect was to represent me Commander-in-Chief. I told them, although my will could not but be subject to those that were over me, barely considered as matter of will; yet inasmuch as this business is of so great importance as it is, it was fit for me in the first place to consider how God would incline my heart to it, how I might, by seeking of Him, receive satisfaction in my own spirit, as to my own particular. Not that I would put any terms upon the State in relation to myself, but that I would be glad to see a freeness and a clearness in my spirit to the work. And a second consideration was, that if their Lordships did think that the naming of a Commander-in-Chief might be some satisfaction to persons, to officers and soldiers to go, that it was very fit for me to have a little consideration to that in relation to them, that I might not be an occasion by any interest of mine, to improve that interest to draw men over, and not to be well satisfied concerning a just and fitting provision for them before they went. And in the last place, the work being so weighty, I did think that it would require many things. I had had no serious thoughts of the business, and therefore for me to give an answer, that they might give the Council an answer, that they had not only made a Commander-in-Chief but that it was accepted by him, I did think fit that they should return back to them: "That I having taken time till the beginning of next week, I hope no resolution will be expected from me before that time." I do confess, my Lord, I should desire that this business of Ireland, I should not go upon it out of any personal respects whatsoever; and I would have personal respects far from this army. I do not think that God hath blest this army for the sake of any one man, nor has His presence been with it upon any such ground; but that presence and blessing that God hath afforded this army, it hath been of His own good pleasure and to serve His own time. That presence and blessing that He hath afforded us has been for His own name sake, because He would do amongst the sons of men what seemed good in His eyes for the bringing of His glory and purpose to pass; and upon this score has

⁸⁰ Cromwell merely says he gets his figures from the last letters from Ireland. Col. Michael Jones, Sir Charles Coote and Col. George Monk were the most frequent correspondents at this time.

⁸¹ "The Lieutenant-General is to give in his answer to the Council of State on Tuesday next, whether he will go for Ireland or no." *The Moderate*, March 23.

this army undertaken all that it hath undertaken in the presence of God.

It matters not who is our Commander-in-Chief if God be so; and if God be amongst us, and His presence be with us, it matters not who is our Commander-in-Chief. Truly I do believe that God hath so principled this army, that there is none amongst us that if God should set over us any man we should come to this; not to submit to one another in this for the work's sake. Therefore I would that I might think of this: what is this business of Ireland, what are our considerations in relation to England, to Scotland, to friends here or there, or enemies anywhere, and if we, taking considerations of that kind, and seeking directions from His guidance, answer the best guide that He shall give to us. And therefore I shall be bold to offer you some thoughts of mine and some considerations which perhaps will best serve to ripen your resolutions as to this undertaking, that so you may undertake it from the Lord.

You know how it hath pleased God to beat down all your enemies under your feet, both in this kingdom and the kingdom of Scotland; and you have with simplicity of heart made this opposition to those enemies upon those honest and religious grounds that it is fit for godly and honest and religious men to propose to themselves; and God hath brought the war to an issue here, and given you a great fruit of that war, to wit: the execution of exemplary justice upon the prime leader of all this quarrel into the three kingdoms and of divers persons of very great quality, who did co-operate with him in the destruction of this kingdom. Truly, notwithstanding you have brought this work to this issue, yet it seems your work is not at an end. You have yet another enemy to encounter with, and friends to stand by, the interest you have fought for yet further to make good; to the end you may be able to resist those that have been heretofore your enemies, and are still your enemies, and are more enraged, and are not warned by those examples and those witnesses that God hath witnessed for you. But they are removed at a further distance, joined together in strong combination to revive the work here again—that is certainly in the kingdom of Scotland [and] in the kingdom of Ireland. In the kingdom of Scotland, you cannot too well take notice of what is done nor of this: that there is a very angry, hateful spirit there against your army, as an army of sectaries, which you see all their papers do declare their quarrel to be against. And although God hath used us as instruments for their good, yet hitherto they are not sensible of it, but they are angry that God brought them His mercy at such an hand; and this their anger (though without any quarrelling of ours with them) will return into their own bosoms; for God did do the work without us, and they that are displeased with the instruments, their anger reaches to God and not [only] to them. You see they have declared the Prince of Wales their King, and endeavours are both here and there with that party to do what they can to co-operate with them to cause all this work to return again, and to seek the ruin and destruction of those that God hath ordained to be instrumental for their good. And I think you are not ignorant that a great party here does co-operate in the work, and their spirits are embittered against us, although they might know that if God had not used this poor army instrumentally to do what they have done, they⁸² had not had a being

⁸² "they" *i.e.* the English Presbyterians.

at this time. But such is the good pleasure of God as to leave them to the blindness of their minds.

I must needs say, I do more fear—not that I do think there is a ground to fear it will be—but as a poor man that desires to see the work of God to prosper in our hands, I think there is more cause of danger from disunion amongst ourselves than by any thing from our enemies; and I do not know anything greater than that; and I believe, and I may speak with confidence, till we admire God and give Him glory for what He has done. For all the rest of the world, ministers and profane persons, all rob God of all the glory, and reckon it to be a thing of chance that has befallen them. Now, if we do not depart from God, and disunite by that departure, and fall into disunion amongst ourselves, I am confident, we doing our duty and waiting upon the Lord, we shall find He will be as a wall of brass round about us till we have finished that work that He has for us to do. And yet not to be sensible of this is the [cause of the] rage and malice of our enemies. . . .

I wish that they may see their error (those that are good amongst them) and repent; but certainly this wrath of theirs shall turn to their hurt, and God will restrain the remainder, that it shall not hurt us.

In the next place we are to consider Ireland. All the Papists and the King's party—I cannot say all the Papists, but the greater party of them—are in a very strong combination against you, and they have made an union with those apostate forces that were under Insiquene and the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, and all that party are in a very strong combination against you. The last letters that the Council of State had from thence do plainly import that Preston has 8,000 foot and 800 horse, that Taaf has as many, that my Lord Clanrikard has the same proportion; that my Lord Insiquene and my Lord Ormond has a matter of 3,000 foot and 800 horse, that these are all agreed and ready in conjunction to root out the English interest in Ireland, and to set up the Prince of Wales his interest there likewise, and to endeavour as soon as they can, to attempt upon our interest in Leinster and Ulster and Connaught; in all which provinces we have an interest, but in Munster none at all, and also, that interest we have in these three provinces is not so considerable but if these Confederate forces shall come upon them, it is more than probable, without a miracle from heaven, our interest will easily be eradicated out of those parts. And truly this is really believed: if we do not endeavour to make good our interest there, and that timely, we shall not only have (as I said before) our interest rooted out there, but they will in a very short time be able to land forces in England, and to put us to trouble here. I confess I have had these thoughts with myself, that perhaps may be carnal and foolish. I had rather be overrun with a Cavalierish interest than a Scotch interest; I had rather be overrun with a Scotch interest, than an Irish interest; and I think of all this is most dangerous. If they shall be able to carry on their work, they will make this the most miserable people in the earth, for all the world knows their barbarism—not of any religion, almost any of them, but in a manner as bad as Papists—and you see how considerable they are therein at this time. Truly it is [come] thus far, that the quarrel is brought to this state, that we can hardly return unto that tyranny that formerly we were under the yoke of, which through the mercy of God hath been lately broken, but we must at

the same time be subject to the kingdom of Scotland or the kingdom of Ireland, for the bringing in of the King. Now that should awaken all Englishmen, who perhaps are willing enough he should have come in upon an accommodation, but not [that] he must come from Ireland or Scotland.

This being so, I would not have this army now so much to look at considerations that are personal—whether or no we shall go if such a commander go, or such a commander; and make that any part of our measure or foundation—but let us go if God go. If we be still in our calling; prosecuting that cause that hitherto we have engaged in, and [if] the opposing those enemies be a part of that cause (wherein we desire that there may be no personal respects in it), and if we be satisfied in our judgments and consciences that He is in it, that you would let this be your motive. And I do profess it as before the Lord of Heaven, and as in His presence, I do not speak this to you that I would shift at all from the command, or in any sneaking way or in any politic lead you to an engagement before I declare my thoughts in the thing, whether I go or stay, as God shall incline my heart to. And if you undertake it upon these grounds, I am confident there will not be so much dispute among those who shall go as who shall stay. My meaning is, you will—every honest heart that sees a freedom of their ways will rather be whetted on out of love to God and duty to God, to go where He may do Him most service, rather than stay; I say except it be that God do cast [hindrances] in men's ways by necessity of relations, or laying any law upon their hearts and anything besides, that may otherwise hinder them. I do not speak this as thinking but that he may be as honest a man that does desire [to stay as he that desires to go]. Doing service to God and giving glory to God will be the best motive to this work; aye, it will be much better to have considerations of this kind than to lay this as the foundation, who shall command in chief. For my own part, though the Council of State hath put that upon me, yet I have desired them to give me till Tuesday to give in my answer, [and for you] to give your resolutions as to the particular regiments that are to go, and to state what other demands in that kind you will make for their going, that may enable those to go and to have a subsistence when they go."

"8,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 1,200 dragoons."

SIR HARDRESS WALLER believed the work would not go forward until it was known whether the Commander-in-Chief named would go or not.

CROMWELL: "I offer this: that the army do move for such provisions as may be fit for honest men to ask; and if you go upon that account, I think my resolution will be known before yours, and that will be properly in the nature of things; it will be best and fittest for you to consider of that first, if there be a designed part of the army to go, as there will probably.

"I hope we are such a generation of men, I am sure God so binds us about as with a garment—therefore we are to look one upon another as if it were our own case, all of us being ready to do it; and therefore I think in order to your proceedings, it will be better to consider who shall go, and what is due to him, and to provide for him as to the point of arrears and of provision

what will serve for honest men to carry on the work. And truly this will spend as much time as Tuesday next comes to.”⁸³

The effect of Cromwell’s speech on the officers is not easy to judge, but it required no argument to demonstrate that the situation in Ireland was critical. The remedy was not so clear, and it appears from an item in *The Moderate*⁸⁴ that the Army Council sat at Whitehall all day and most of the night of March 25, debating proposals by a committee appointed the day before concerning the question of who should go to Ireland and what inducements should be offered them. It was apparently at this meeting, on Whalley’s motion, that the officers agreed they would ask the Council of State for pay and arrears for those who went to Ireland; that the commander of the forces should have authority to make peace; and that he should not be ordered to “either eradicate the natives or to divest them of their estates”⁸⁵—directions which in view of the results of Cromwell’s expedition might seem to have held a touch of irony. On such terms, therefore, began the negotiations with the Council of State as to Cromwell’s acceptance of the new post and the preparations to persuade the soldiers to follow him. And there can be little doubt that the leaders hoped to solve not only the problem of Ireland by these measures but to meet the scarcely less difficult question of the disaffected elements in the army.

While these negotiations went on, Cromwell turned to make another effort to conclude his son’s marriage settlement:

For my worthy Friend Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These

SIR,

You will pardon the brevity of these lines; the haste I am in, by reason of business, occasions it. To testify the earnest desire I have to see a happy period to this treaty between us, I give you to understand that I agree to 150 l. *per annum* out of the 300 l. *per annum* of my old land for your daughter’s jointure, the other 150 l. where you please; 400 l. *per annum* for present maintenance where you shall choose; either in Hants-shire, Gloucester, or Monmouthshire; those lands [to be]⁸⁶ settled upon my son and his heirs male by your daughter; and in case of daughters only, 2,000 l. apiece charged upon those lands. 400 l. *per annum* free, to raise portions for my two daughters. I expect the Manor of Hursley to be settled upon your eldest daughter and her heirs. Your Lady a jointure of 150 l.

⁸³ Printed in Firth, *Clarke Papers*, ii, 200 *et seq.*, and in Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement no. 42. In both places the difficulties in arriving at the exact reading are pointed out in footnotes. The estimated number of troops to go to Ireland may have been inserted afterwards.

⁸⁴ *Moderate*, Mar. 20–27.

⁸⁵ *Perfect Diurnall*.

⁸⁶ Words crossed out.

per annum out of it. For compensation to your younger daughter, I agree to leave it in your power, after your decease, to charge it with as much as will buy in the lease of the term of Allington by a just computation.⁸⁷ I expect, so long as they live with you, their diet, as you expressed; or in case of voluntary parting 150 l. *per annum*; 3,000 l. in case you have a son, to be paid in two years next following; in case your daughter die without issue, 1,000 l. within six months.

Sir, if this satisfy, I desire a speedy resolution. I should the rather desire so because of what your kinsman can satisfy you in. The Lord bless you and your family, to whom I desire my affections and service may be presented. I rest,

Your humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.⁸⁸

March 25th, 1649.

THE LEVELLERS

While Cromwell still reserved his decision as to the command in Ireland, amid the various issues confronting the revolutionary leaders at this moment, none, not even that of Ireland, was more immediately important than the rising spirit of the Levellers. To the violent attack upon him by the "five small beagles" Cromwell had replied only by his appeal to the Army Council for union among themselves. But on the day after his speech before the Council, John Lilburne, who feared, rightly enough, the destruction of personal liberty and had been deeply moved by the spirit Lord Capel had showed when he had begged the "great delinquents" to refuse to acknowledge the authority of Parliament and the High Court, returned to his attack in the second part of his *England's New Chainses Discovered*. Three days later the House voted his book seditious, tending to mutiny in the army and a new civil war, and on March 28 its author, with three others, Walwyn, Prince and Richard Overton, who had helped to write it, was taken before the Council of State. Defying the Council, and looking fixedly at Cromwell, Lilburne, according to his own account, declared, "I have not found so much honour, honesty, justice or conscience in any of the principal officers of the army as to trust my life under their protection." Then, taken from the room, he listened at the door to hear Cromwell's denunciation:

"I tell you, sir," Cromwell declared, thumping the table, "you have no other way to deal with these men but to break them or they will break you; yea and bring all the guilt of the blood and treasure shed and spent in this kingdom upon your heads and shoulders, and frustrate and make void all

⁸⁷ This may be "Ludlow's Lease" mentioned in Cromwell's earlier letter to Mayor. The younger daughter was Anne Mayor who married John Dunch of Pusey, in whose collection seventeen letters from Cromwell to Mayor were preserved.

⁸⁸ Facsimile in Maggs Catalogue, no. 451 (1924) where it is listed for sale at £75. First in the Pusey Collection, then in the Morrison Collection. Printed in Harris, *Cromwell*, p. 523-4; Lomas-Carlyle, Letter XCIII.

that work that, with so many years' industry, toil, and pains, you have done, and so render you to all rational men in the world as the most contemptiblest generation of silly, low-spirited men in the earth, to be broken and routed by such a despicable, contemptible generation of men as they are, and therefore, sir, I tell you again, you are necessitated to break them."⁸⁹

Different in tone and temper as it was from his long speech before the Army Council, the underlying thought was the same in each. By means of long and bloody war the revolutionary party had now gained the upper hand. Was it, then, to yield either to force or persuasion and surrender the position it had won? Every argument of principle and of safety made against that surrender, unless the cause for which it fought was to be given up and its leaders thrown to the vengeance of their enemies.

Yet even so, Cromwell barely carried the Council with him. Republicans like Ludlow were inclined to side with Lilburne and the Levellers in their fear of dictatorship, and it was by but a single vote that Lilburne was denied bail and sent to the Tower. Nor was it possible even there to still his pen, for, as he boasted to the Council, he had friends and sympathizers everywhere, not least in the City, now disturbed by the threat of new assessments for the Irish war. Those demands were heavy. The day after Lilburne's appearance before the Council, Cromwell finally accepted the command of that expedition on condition that it be "sufficiently provided"⁹⁰ and preparations were made at once to find men and money for the new war, which threw a new burden on the country, and especially on the City, which it was peculiarly difficult to meet.

There was, therefore, in this attack of the Levellers more than mere dissatisfaction with the seizure of power by the revolutionary leaders. It was supported by general discontent; for it seemed there was to be no end to war and war taxation. "You know," Cromwell had said to the officers, with his usual insistence on God's approval of the accomplished fact, "how it hath pleased God to beat down all your enemies under your feet"; but he had added almost at once, "yet it seems your work is not at an end. You have yet another enemy to encounter." It was the burden of the years. Always there was a foe to be encountered. As the newly-appointed Foreign Languages Secretary of the Council of State, John Milton, wrote, even after Irish, Scots and Levellers had been overthrown: "much remains to conquer still . . . new foes arise." Life for these men was a battle against foes without and within, continually overthrown, continually appearing in new forms; and of that conflict Cromwell was at once the hero and the evangelist. To that note all his speeches rang; and in that spirit he went forth conquering and to conquer.

⁸⁹ *The Picture of the Council of State* (1649).

⁹⁰ *Moderate Intelligencer*, Mar. 22-29.

It is not surprising that this should be so, since it is always true that at such times as these the new masters of the state who have come into power by war and revolution see enemies on every hand, for the enemies are always there. The Levellers and the armed forces in Ireland were not the only foes to be faced, for at this moment the Commonwealth was threatened from another direction. The arrival of the Scottish commissioners in London in February; their denunciation of the execution of Charles I; their protest against the breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, the suppression of the House of Lords and the acceptance of the *Agreement of the People*; and their demand that Charles II be restored on condition of establishing Presbyterianism, had brought the Commonwealth authorities face to face with another dangerous situation. It was to little purpose that they had commissioned Cromwell and others to draw up a declaration against this new threat, arrested the Scottish commissioners and sent them back to their native country. The Scots persisted in their design. The commissioners proceeded thence again on their mission, but before they reached the Hague, Byron had visited Henrietta Maria in France and carried Ormonde's invitation to Charles II to head the Irish forces, so that the young king had before him presently two proposals to head armies against the revolutionary government.

Nor were these all the dangers confronting the Commonwealth abroad, though the others were not immediate. The execution of Charles I and the intrusion of a new form of polity into the European system was a threat to all monarchs which they felt keenly. For the moment they were unable to move. Central Europe was just recovering from the Thirty Years' War, whose final settlement had been made at the Peace of Westphalia three months before the execution of Charles. France was involved in the difficulties of the civil war of the Fronde, and, with her boy king, Louis XIV, and her Cardinal-minister, Mazarin, not unfriendly to Cromwell, was not disposed to take an active part in behalf of Charles II. Despite the fears voiced by the French agent Graymond, then recruiting in Scotland for the French armies, of the spread of this "hurricane" from England to the Continent, there seemed little that any state, save perhaps Holland, could do in this emergency. In this the Commonwealth leaders were peculiarly fortunate, for Holland, though it sheltered Charles II, was not prepared to move. Yet already it appeared on the Continent that the real problem was not so much the Commonwealth as Cromwell; for, as Graymond wrote, "They designate Cromwell as the author of the great design and the reformer of the universe."⁹¹ So, for the moment, England was removed from the circle of continental inter-

⁹¹ Jusserand, *Recueil des Instructions*, "Angleterre," i, 79.

ests. With the departure of the Dutch ambassadors she was virtually without representatives from any considerable European power. Even France left her affairs in charge of a mere secretary, Croullé, for nearly two years, so that Cromwell and his colleagues went their way for the time being, in a world of their own.

None the less they faced great problems in that world as the minutes of the Council of State in these early days of the Commonwealth reveal. Negotiations with foreign powers and oversight of the press consumed much of the time of the secretary of the Council, Gualter Frost, and of the Latin secretary, John Milton. That of Thomas Scot, "the intelligencer," was taken up with rumors of conspiracies and incipient rebellion. The arrangements for the navy fell chiefly in the hands of Sir Henry Vane the younger and his colleagues. The destruction of castles like Belvoir presently became the business of the army leaders—especially of Henry Marten. The rearrangements of the troops and their officers naturally was attended to by members like Cromwell, Fairfax and Skippon. Finances seem to have been dealt with largely by men like Sir Gilbert Pickering. These, with the preservation of the timber in the royal forests which, like other royal property, was being looted by thrifty citizens in the absence of its former guardians; the keeping of the peace; petitions, loans, questions of high policy and minutiae of police work jostled each other on the Council table after the manner of such affairs at all times, but especially such times as these.

But besides them there was a deeper and wider issue to be considered. All such upheavals in the social order bring to the surface individuals, parties, forces, theories and interests which under normal conditions exist without much notice from the authorities, but which in times of disturbance and unrest threaten the security of such a government as this. Like his colleagues, Cromwell was much concerned with these problems, and like them more and more disturbed by the growing spirit of unrest, which, in the unsettled state of national affairs, bred new and wilder sects and theories almost overnight. With some of them he even seems to have had a certain sympathy, for Whitelocke records one curious incident at this moment, in which Cromwell was involved. As he says:

"Two Men measuring some Ground in *Windsor* Forest, were asked by what Authority they did it, they shewed a kind of Warrant from Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, desiring all Officers of the Forest, Soldiers and others, to permit these Men to set out some Land, &c. in regard there was no *Justice in Eyre*.

"It were to be wished that such Men as Lieutenant General Cromwell, would not so irregularly meddle with such Matters as these are; the Men were forbidden to make any Divisions of the Land, or Ditches about it, till further Order."⁹²

⁹² Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 391.

This was but one of many manifestations of the restless spirit of the time, and the energies of the Council were much absorbed in the discovery and suppression of a multitude of tracts and pamphlets which poured from unlicensed presses, advocating every conceivable, and many inconceivable, plans for the regeneration of mankind, materially, spiritually and politically. Among such disturbing phenomena was the rise of religio-political fanaticism, expressed, among other ways, by Fifth Monarchist petitions for government by the "godly," and preparations for the coming of Christ and the rule of the world by his Saints, that is to say themselves.

Still more serious was the progress of the Levellers, whose principal object of attack for the moment was the growing ascendancy of Cromwell. In his inflexible determination to keep control of affairs in the hands of the little group in which he was the dominant figure, they perceived the chief obstacle to their plans for establishing their principles of personal liberty and equality and Parliamentary government. Thus as he had once been the champion of liberty, he now found himself one of the principal upholders of order, and, in their minds, the chief bar to the accomplishment of their libertarian and equalitarian designs.⁹³

Ignoring, according to his custom, any direct reply to the numerous attacks made upon him, he answered them with deeds, not words. He might well have taken as his motto the words of a somewhat later hymn:

"Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve,
And press with vigour on.
A heavenly race demands thy zeal,
And an immortal crown.

.....

'Tis God's all-animating voice
That calls thee from on high;
'Tis His own hand presents the prize
To thine aspiring eye."

That, at any rate, was his spirit at this moment, as at others, and for its exercise the Irish expedition presented him with another opportunity. Its preparation was the principal business before the Council of State on March 29, when the venture was discussed from every angle, amid such irrelevant matters as the printing of the Koran, plundered ministers, and Lilburne's book, and the more relevant business of settling the militia, clothing for the soldiers and cloth for officers' uniforms. Next to the last of the agenda for that day was the most important item of business, in the form of an order for Sir

⁹³ For the literature on this subject see the *Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts, passim*; Pease, *The Leveller Movement*; and my *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell*.

William Armyne to report to the House that Cromwell would accept the command of the projected army of invasion.⁹⁴

Though at this distance it seems that Cromwell was the inevitable choice for such a post, it was not so certain then. What went on behind the scenes it is impossible to guess. The Independent Lambert and the Presbyterian Sir Hardress Waller were mentioned for the place, and Lambert at one time seems to have been Cromwell's preference. According to Clarendon, the Presbyterians voted for Cromwell because they thought he would never leave England and the expedition would in that way be deferred.⁹⁵ The Royalists agreed, believing that Cromwell would remove Fairfax, suppress Lilburne and all other obstacles to his ascent to power, and settle himself as 'Lord of the new Republic' rather than go into Ireland.⁹⁶ In a sense it was a great risk to leave his established position in the English government and the army and embark on what was at best a dangerous and at worst a possibly disastrous adventure from which he easily might never have returned. It seems apparent from Cromwell's hesitation in accepting the command that such ideas must have occurred to him. On the other hand, the danger to the revolutionary cause from Ireland was not to be dismissed lightly and his success there would secure the position of the government on that side. Moreover, the Irish expedition offered an opportunity for action and perhaps new laurels; and in the end he finally agreed to go. His appointment was approved by the House on March 30. Fairfax was continued as Lord General;⁹⁷ and with Ormonde having been voted guilty of high treason two days earlier for making peace with the 'rebels of Ireland,' all was in train for the new venture.

That, among other things, inspired his next letter to Mr. Mayor, written, obviously, immediately after the meeting of the House:

*For my esteemed good Friend Richard Mayor, Esquire, These: at
Hursley*

SIR,

I received yours of the 28th instant. I desire the matter of compensation may be as in my last to you. You propose another way; which truly seems to me very inconvenient.

I have agreed to all other things, as you take me (and that rightly), repeating particulars in your paper. The Lord dispose this great business (great between you and me) for good.

⁹⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 58-60. Cp. Clarendon, *History*; Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland* (1883), pp. 51-53; Borlase, *History of the Irish Rebellion* (Dublin, 1743), pp. 265-66; *Perfect Diurnall*, March 29.

⁹⁵ Clarendon, *History*, xii, 71.

⁹⁶ Carte, *Original Letters*, i, 265.

⁹⁷ *C. J.*, vi, 176; *Moderate Intelligencer*, Mar. 29-Apr. 5; *Perfect Diurnall*, Mar. 30; *Clarke Papers*, ii, 208; *Old Parliamentary History*, xix, 96.

You mention to send by the post on Tuesday. I shall speed things here as I may. I am designed for Ireland, which will be speedy. I should be very glad to see things settled before I go, if the Lord will. My services to all your family. I rest, Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

March 30th, 1649.

[O. CROMWELL.]⁹⁸

THE COMMONWEALTH ESTABLISHED

The revolutionary party had now won. Before its fierce attack King, Lords, Commons and courts had in turn succumbed. It now dominated every department of government; its members occupied all the offices; they controlled the armed forces on which their power rested. In some respects, indeed, the old order seemed but little changed. The laws, save for those which involved King, Lords and Commons, and various sumptuary and moral principles, were but little altered. The courts sat, the judges went on circuit, the sheriffs and the justices of the peace remained; and in many ways the outward forms of English administration were preserved. But the spirit and the personnel were revolutionized. In place of a monarch sat a Council of State with full executive powers. In place of a House of Commons, freely elected by the people, sat a body scarcely a fourth the size of the old House, composed in considerable part of the same men as formed the Council of State and refusing to admit to its membership any person not favorable to the new régime. In place of the Lords there was nothing. In effect the government was in the hands of barely more than half a hundred men, supported by an army, and held together scarcely less by the fear of the people whom they governed than by their devotion to a common aim.

The revolutionary party had won, but it had also lost. It seems certain that in the first days of the Long Parliament it had had the support of perhaps a majority of the English people in its programme of reform. It seems probable that even at the beginning of the Civil Wars a large minority of the people sympathized with it. That sympathy and support the revolutionary party had long since lost, and the reasons are obvious. It had brought the English people under subjection not by reason nor persuasion but by force, and it had destroyed the liberties of the vast majority to whom it promised to bring this blessing. In the midst of the fervid declarations of its members in favor of freedom of speech and faith and worship they had done their best to suppress all save their own, and in consequence they were hated by the great majority of those whom they professed

⁹⁸ Lomas-Carlyle, Letter XCIV, from the holograph original, with the signature torn off, then in the Morrison Collection. It is now in private hands according to a communication from Greville Cook, Esq., of the Athenaeum, in *Times Literary Supplement*, Jan. 3, 1935. Printed in Harris, *Cromwell*, p. 524.

to deliver from the tyranny of church and crown, as the authors of a system more oppressive than that of either king or bishop.

They dared not dismiss the armed forces on which their power depended; they dared still less to hold a free election to Parliament, for they knew that either course would cost them not merely their power and place but probably their lives. Their authority rested on the sword and more particularly on the talents, the courage, the determination, and what is called in modern phrase the "will to power," of Oliver Cromwell. The ancient constitution was replaced by an instrument of government which recited in its opening words that the late labors and hazards had evidenced "at how high a rate we value our just freedom" but in the minds of the great majority of those whom they ruled their every act denied the principles which they professed.

It may seem to later generations that this was a small price to pay for progress toward political freedom. It did not seem so then to most Englishmen. Whatever one thought of the insolence and the ineptitude of many English ecclesiastics, the rigidity of the Presbyterians, or the "superstition" of the Roman Catholics, to many minds even these seemed preferable to the complacency of the Independents as the confidants of the Almighty, the libertarianism of the Baptists and the fanaticism of the Fifth Monarchists. It may have been necessary for the purposes of religious and political freedom for England to undergo this purge by fire and sword to achieve the aims of Non-conformity; and there is much to be said for the cause which these men represented, much against the authoritarianism which they had overthrown. It is true that the word killeth but the spirit maketh alive. But among the ironies of history and the fundamental inconsistencies of human nature not the least is that in this instance, as in so many others, a struggle professedly for liberty should produce such tyranny.

That, it may be said, in this as in so many other cases, is, after all, a necessity inherent in the very nature of mankind, unwilling to accept the salutary truth and making it imperative for its champions to force that truth upon them. Yet, again, as jesting Pilate said, "What is truth?" and paused for an answer which, in the realm of politics at least, has never yet been given, even by such men as now held England in their power. For truth, whether religious or political, was held to be in the possession of Presbyterian, Anglican and Roman Catholic by members of those communions, as surely as the Independents claimed it as their own, and the various parties to this great dispute girded on their arms in defence of it, each according to his lights and his own interpretation. For the moment, indeed, as the *Agreement of the People* and its upholders declared, "God" had "so far owned our cause as to deliver the enemies thereof into our hands,"

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but even they admitted their “not-yet-ended troubles”—of which the history of the time was made—and so committed themselves “bound, in mutual duty to each other, to take the best care we can for the future,” of which the war in Ireland was to form a part.

CHAPTER II

PREPARATIONS FOR IRELAND

Whatever the hopes of one side and the fears of the other at that time, few things seem less probable at this distance than that Ireland was a danger to the English Commonwealth. Despite the desperate efforts of its various leaders, there had never seemed any possibility of uniting its factions, and even had that been possible and an Irish force landed in England, experience had proved that foreign invasion was the one infallible recipe for alienating the great majority of the English people from the party which used such methods. Hope and fear are, indeed, among the most potent of political motives, but the invasion of Ireland had two other incentives. The first was the prospect of plunder, that is to say of the acquisition of Irish lands long since allotted to many of those who now took part in this enterprise, and expected by many others as their reward. The second was the necessity of keeping the army occupied; and it may be noted that, beginning with this Irish expedition, there were few periods in the next eight years when some part of that army was not engaged in active service outside of England. Whatever may be thought of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, they embraced or were compelled to adopt the oldest device of dictatorship—foreign war—which, consciously or unconsciously, diverted attention from domestic policy, and their chief support, the armed forces, from becoming the chief danger to their own existence.

For the moment, the notices of Cromwell's activities indicate that everything he did was dictated or influenced by this proposed expedition. On the morning after his appointment was voted by the Commons, he was at Derby House, where the Council named him, with Armyne, Vane, Scot, Danvers and Colonel Jones as a committee to administer the civil and military affairs of Ireland, thus extending his powers.¹ He did not attend the Council that afternoon, but in his absence he was ordered to present to the Commons the case of Sir John Danvers then endeavoring to recover money owed him by the Marquis of Winchester, the proceeds of whose sequestered estates were to be used for the Irish expedition.² His activities on the next day, April 1, are described by Walker:

¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1649-50), p. 62.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.



THE EARLIEST AND MOST FAMOUS OF THE ENGLISH SATIRICAL PRINTS OF CROMWELL. USED AS A FRONTPIECE FOR CLEMENT WALKER'S *History of Independency*. FROM A PRINT IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR.

"Sunday after Easter-day, six preachers militant at Whitehall tried the patience of their hearers; one calling up another successively; at last the Spirit of the Lord called up Oliver Cromwell, who standing a good while with lifted up eyes, as it were in a trance, and his neck a little inclining to one side, as if he had expected Mahomet's dove to descend and murmur in his ear; and sending forth abundantly the groans of the Spirit, spent an hour in prayer, and an hour and a half in a Sermon. In his prayer he desired God to take off from him the government of this mighty People of England, as being too heavy for his shoulders to bear: An audacious, ambitious and hypocritical imitation of Moses. It is now reported of him, that he pretendeth to Inspirations; and that when any great or weighty matter is propounded, he usually retireth for a quarter or half an hour and then returneth and delivereth out the Oracles of the Spirit."³

It is apparent from this account that Cromwell had not lost that gift of exhortation which he had developed as long ago as the days when he preached in the houses of Nonconformists about Huntingdon and St. Ives. Although Walker's story is colored by his dislike of Cromwell, it merely confirms the impression of other and more authentic reports of Cromwell's speeches in the Army Council and in the Commons. To men like Walker it seemed mere hypocrisy, but though it had by now become a second nature, there is no doubt but that Cromwell was genuinely interested in what he would have called "matters of the spirit" and "godly" men. If that did not extend to Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, or even to Presbyterians, if he could conceive with difficulty, if at all, that there were to be found among them spiritual qualities worthy of as great consideration as those of Baptists or Fifth Monarchists, that was scarcely to be expected from a man of his time and training. He was profoundly concerned with religion and, within the limits set by his convictions and his political situation, even with toleration.

Of this there occurred at this moment a striking illustration. It was here, according to John Owen, that Cromwell first came into contact with that eminent divine, who, having turned from Anglican to Presbyterian, was now an Independent, and as such had come into touch with Fairfax and had preached before Parliament. Meeting him at Fairfax's house about this time, Cromwell tapped him on the shoulder and said to him: "Sir, you are a person I must be acquainted with"; and so presently appointed him as chaplain to the Irish expeditionary force.⁴ Thus was begun a connection which was to last through Cromwell's life and bring Owen to the vice-chancellorship of Oxford, the post of preacher to Parliament and the Council of State, and the position of adviser to Cromwell on matters of religion and its administration.

³ Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 153-54.

⁴ Asty's preface to Owen's *Sermons* (1721). See also Orme's *Life of Owen* (1820), p. 113; Masson, *Milton*, v, 76.

This was but one of the many details connected with the organization of the Irish expedition. Another was the appointment of a Dr. Gerard de Boate as physician at the hospital in Dublin, which was referred to him on April 3 and presently confirmed.⁵ And meanwhile amid the preparations for sailing, he took occasion to conclude the negotiations for his son's marriage:

For my worthy Friend Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These

SIR,

I have received your papers enclosed in your Letter; although I know not how to make so good use of them as otherwise might have been, to have saved expense of time, if the arrest of your lawyer had not fallen out at this time.

I conceive a draught, to your satisfaction, by your own lawyer, would have saved much time; which to me is precious. I hope you will send some [one] up, perfectly instructed. I shall endeavour to speed what is to be done on my part; not knowing how soon I may be sent down towards my charge for Ireland. And I hope to perform punctually with you.

Sir, my son had a great desire to come down and wait upon your daughter. I perceive he minds that more than to attend business here. I should be glad to see him settled, and all things finished before I go. I trust not to be wanting therein. The Lord direct all our hearts into His good pleasure. I rest, Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

O. CROMWELL.

April 6, 1649.

My service to your Lady and family.⁶

Among these pressing matters, public and private, Cromwell was considering wider questions of policy. On or about the 12th of April, Walker records, Cromwell moved in the House to settle Presbyterian government and to invite the "secured and secluded" members to return to their places.⁷ The story may or may not be true in every particular, but it seems to indicate that at this moment he had some idea of reconciliation with the Presbyterian party, if for no other reason than to secure his rear before he went overseas. This, though it seems inconsistent in principle, in practice is entirely understandable. In view of his earlier expressed opinions concerning that party, especially in Scotland, and the animosity aroused against him among them by the execution of the King, there was danger that, as earlier, Scotch and English Presbyterians might join with Royalist Anglicans in another effort to overthrow the revolutionary government while a

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 66, 588.

⁶ Lomas-Carlyle, Letter XCV, from the original in the Morrison Collection. Printed in Harris, *Cromwell*, p. 525.

⁷ Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 157.

considerable part of its forces were busy in Ireland. Thus, whether "sincere" or "hypocritical," it was, at least, politic.

These preparations for departure were not only his main business but that of the Council and the Parliament. On April 7 the report on its financing made a month earlier by Cromwell took form in an Act for a general assessment of £90,000 a month for six months, to be charged on all property save that of charitable institutions and the universities, apportioned among the various counties with collectors for each. As earlier, Cromwell was named to the committees for Cambridge, Huntingdon and the Isle of Ely, but to these were added two others, Hampshire and Glamorgan, in each of which, by virtue of his grants from Parliament, he was now an extensive landholder.⁸

It was one thing to vote an assessment; it was another to get ready money; and, as usual, the House, having resolved to raise a loan on the strength of the receipts from the assessments, applied to the City merchant-goldsmith-bankers; and Cromwell was named, with Vane and others, to appeal to the Common Council of London to borrow £120,000 on the security of two months' assessments.⁹ This determined, on the next day the Council went on with the consideration of the Irish war, and with Cromwell now definitely committed to the command, many matters were naturally referred to him. Among these details, Sir Hardress Waller was ordered to confer with him about sending a "person" for service in Munster, probably as an intelligence officer or spy; and a petition of a Major Joseph Rigby of Lancashire, offering to bring a regiment for service in Ireland, was turned over to the Committee of which Cromwell was now the leading member.¹⁰ Meanwhile recruiting drums were beating throughout England in an endeavor to fill up the gaps in the ranks caused by the refusal of many men to embark on the new expedition and by the defection of the Levellers. Meanwhile, too, letters came from Bristol with news of a declaration of the Irish army under Owen Roe O'Neill proposing to refrain from hostilities if Cromwell would agree not to molest him.¹¹

O'Neill's proposal was not so extraordinary as it may appear, for the events of the preceding months, especially the execution of the King, had left the commanders of the various forces in Ireland in a difficult position. Ormonde had come to terms with the Irish Confederates and compelled the retirement of the Papal nuncio, Rinuccini.¹² He had then approached O'Neill; Sir Charles Coote, the

⁸ Firth & Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum* (1911), ii, 24-57.

⁹ *C. J.*, vi, 183; *Perfect Diurnall*, Apr. 9.

¹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 77, 97; (1650), p. 509. This may have been that Colonel Townsend who played such a part in the later revolt of the Munster garrisons.

¹¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, Apr. 6-13; *The Declaration of the Irish Army* (1649).

¹² In February, 1649.

President of Connaught and commander there; and the English commander in Dublin, Colonel Michael Jones, hoping to unite all factions in support of the monarchy. In this he seemed for the moment at least partially successful, for Coote appears to have agreed to submit to the King's orders as soon as it was safe; while Charles' execution gave Ormonde an opportunity to appeal to Jones against the intention of the Independents to abolish monarchy and "constitute an elective kingdom . . . Cromwell or some such John of Leyden being elected" by "the dregs and scum of the House of Commons picked and awed by the army."¹³

But on their part, O'Neill, Monk and Jones came to a sort of accommodation. Coote held to Parliament; Jones stood firm; and though Monk was deserted by the Scots under Stewart and Monro, he and Coote lent assistance to O'Neill, and Ormonde was foiled in his design of uniting Ireland against the Parliament. Only the Ulster Scots held back from these maneuvers. Their position was based on religious grounds. They condemned the execution of Charles, but they were chiefly concerned with overthrowing the "sectaries" and "those who had combined themselves with Papists and other notorious malignants." This produced a new controversy. The Belfast Presbytery issued a blast against the Independents, and John Milton's talents for invective were enlisted to answer it. He pointed out that the King had been surrendered to Parliament by the Scots, and that John Knox had "taught professedly the doctrine of deposing and killing kings." To Ormonde's slur on Cromwell, Milton retorted that no man was more unlike John of Leyden than Cromwell, who had "done in a few years more eminent and remarkable deeds whereon to found nobility in his house, though it were wanting . . . than Ormonde and all his ancestors put together can show from any record of their Irish exploits."¹⁴ Thus, on balance, despite Ormonde and the Ulstermen, while the preparations for the Irish expedition went on in England, the political and military situation in Ireland itself shifted in favor of the Parliament.¹⁵

Nevertheless, while the Irish were thus divided among themselves, the English authorities were not free from annoyances and disturbances, for many elements besides those of material equipment entered into the problem before them. Chief among these was the necessity of satisfying the soldiers, upon whose willingness to serve the whole project depended. On April 11 the Council of State reported to the House the progress of its efforts to induce men to enlist for the Irish

¹³ Ormonde to Jones, March 9. *The Marquis of Ormonde's Declaration*.

¹⁴ Ormonde's letter and the *Representation of the Belfast Presbytery* were reprinted and answered in Milton's *Observations on the Articles of Peace*.

¹⁵ For the details of these negotiations see Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts* . . . (1909), ii, ch. xxx; and Carte, *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, (Oxford, 1851), vol. iii; Lady Burghclere, *Life of Ormonde*, i, ch. xi.

service, and that body resolved to make permanent provision for maimed soldiers and for widows of the slain, and to provide proper equipment for the army.¹⁶ Next day the committee for the loan conferred with the London Common Council at the Guildhall. After speeches by Lisle, Whitelocke and Wilde, who argued that the Irish war was a struggle between Protestant and Papist to be carried out on James I's principle to "plant Ireland with Puritans and root out Papists, and then secure it," Cromwell took up the plea, having, as the *Moderate Intelligencer* reported,

"first excused himself as designed for that service, and so might be thought to seek himself; after he cleared up divers things by way of satisfaction, and particularly these: 1. Whereas it was reported money would be endeavoured, and then nothing done for Ireland, 2. That it was said the army would not go. Both which he asserted were false, and that the expedition would be for Ireland, and that the officers were unanimous for the service, and, he doubted not, the soldiers; only it was necessary they be accommodated. As for any divisions or distractions in the army, there was none, though it had been attempted. For the service he professed a readiness to do it to his utmost."¹⁷

The rumor which Cromwell endeavored to lay, that the army would refuse to go to Ireland, was very general, at least among Royalists,¹⁸ but the Common Council was either satisfied on that score or regarded it as immaterial. After the Recorder, Glyn, had disposed of the formalities by thanking Fairfax for his eminent services and Parliament for choosing him as Lord General and Cromwell for the Irish command, the Council agreed to make the loan, if, in addition to the two months' assessment, Parliament would agree to the sale of the fee-farm rents. This the House, being in no position to make a hard bargain, accordingly did and the loan was arranged.¹⁹

Among such matters and a multitude of other details connected with the Irish expedition in which Cromwell was involved there remains only one note among many of like character which must have come before him:

To John Rushworth, Secretary

It is hereby desired that Captain Richard Crackenthorpe's troop be put into the regiment of Col. Hacker and that the said Captain and his officers have their commissions given accordingly.

April 14, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.²⁰

¹⁶ *Perfect Diurnall*, Apr. 11.

¹⁷ Denis Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 54, quoting from *Moderate Intelligencer*, Apr. 12-18.

¹⁸ Carte, *Original Letters*, i, 275.

¹⁹ *Moderate Intelligencer*, Apr. 12-18, quoted in *Cromwelliana* and in Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 54-55.

²⁰ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.* (Leyborne-Popham Mss.); *Clarke Papers*, ii, 13.

Yet even amid these multifarious and pressing concerns the matter of his son's marriage settlement was not forgotten. That negotiation, though it seemed settled in his previous letter, had met with a check, as his next communication to Mr. Mayor evidences:

For my worthy Friend Richard Mayor, Esquire: These

SIR,

Your kinsman Mr. Barton and myself, repairing to our counsel for the perfecting this business so much concerning us, did, upon Saturday this 15th of April, draw our counsel to a meeting; where, upon consideration had of my letter to yourself expressing my consent to particulars, which Mr. Barton brought to your counsel Mr. Hales of Lincoln's Inn,²¹—upon the reading that which expresseth the way of your settling Hursley, your kinsman expressed a sense of yours contrary to the paper under my hand, as also to that under your hand of the 28th of March, which was the same with mine as to that particular.

And I know nothing of doubt, in that which I am to do, but do agree it all to your kinsman, his satisfaction. Nor is there much material difference save in this, wherein both my paper sent by you to your counsel, and yours of the 28th, do in literal and all equitable construction agree, *viz.*: To settle an estate in fee-simple upon your daughter, after your decease; which Mr. Barton affirms not to be your meaning, although he has not (as to me) formerly made this any objection; nor can the words bear it; nor have I anything more considerable in lieu of what I part with than this. And I dare appeal to yours or any counsel in England, whether it be not just and equal that I insist thereupon.

And this misunderstanding (if it be yours, as it is your kinsman's), put a stop to the business; so that our counsel could not proceed, until your pleasure herein were known. Wherefore it was thought fit to desire Mr. Barton to have recourse to you to know your mind, he alleging he had no authority to understand that expression so, but the contrary, which was thought not a little strange, even by your own counsel.

I confess I did apprehend we should be incident to mistakes, treating at such a distance, although I may take the boldness to say, there is nothing expected from me but I agree [to] it to your kinsman's sense to a tittle.

Sir, I desired to know what commission your kinsman had to help this doubt by an expedient, who denied to have any; but did think it were better for you to part with some money, and keep the power in your own hands as to the land, to dispose thereof as you should see cause. Whereupon an overture was made, and himself and your counsel desired to draw it up; the effect whereof this enclosed paper contains. And although I should not like change of agreements, yet to show how much I desire the perfecting of this business, if you like thereof (though this be far the worse bargain), I shall submit thereunto; your counsel also thinking that things may be settled this way with more clearness and less intricacy. There is mention made of 900*l. per annum* to be reserved: but it comes to but about 800*l.*; my lands in Glamorganshire being but little above 400*l. per annum*; and the 400*l.*

²¹ Hales is the future Judge Hale.

per annum out of my manors in Gloucester- and Monmouth-shire. I wish a clear understanding may be between us; truly I would not willingly mistake, desiring to wait upon Providence in this business. I rest,

Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

April 15, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

I desire my service may be presented to your Lady and daughters.²²

Now that the preparations for the Irish expedition were well under way, there remained at least two serious problems to be solved before it could be despatched, with both of which Cromwell was much concerned. The first was that of Scotland. On April 17 the Council ordered him with Vane, Armyne and Lord Lisle to consider the Scotch position toward England and Ireland and to report as to whether any addresses should be made to the Scottish Estates, and if so in what form and spirit.²³ It was evident that trouble was brewing in that quarter and it was of the greatest importance to keep the Scots quiet until the Irish problem was solved.

The second question was not unconnected with a committee on which Cromwell sat, appointed on April 20 to prepare an Act for the release of prisoners for debt and the relief of creditors out of the estates of their debtors.²⁴ That measure reflected the difficult situation of affairs which had in some degree been produced and in large part aggravated by the disturbed conditions which the war had brought. It was part of a far greater and more threatening movement. On April 16 the Council, advised that some fifty men had begun to dig up and sow the waste land on St. George's Hill at Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, near the palace of Oatlands where Charles I had once been confined, ordered Fairfax to disperse them, and on April 19 two troops of horse had driven them away. On the next day, while Cromwell was being named to the committee for poor debtors, their leaders, William Everard and Gerard Winstanley, were brought before Fairfax at Whitehall, refused to uncover in his presence, and asserted that they had been directed in a vision to dig, plough, plant and dwell upon the common lands without hiring them or paying rent. A week later they published a manifesto declaring that all landlords were thieves and murderers, and with this the so-called "Digger" movement may be said to have formally begun.

Winstanley followed this manifesto with a pamphlet, *The True Levellers Standard*, and that with others proclaiming the communistic doctrines of this new offshoot of the Levellers, "whose Endeavours is only to make the Earth a Common Treasury." This was not

²² Holograph original in Huntingdon Library, San Marino, California (HM 20,208). Lomas-Carlyle, XCVI; Harris, *Cromwell*, p. 525-7.

²³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 97.

²⁴ *C. J.*, vi, 190.

the only manifestation of the kind. In those same days there began the teachings and preachings of one George Fox, which were presently to lay the foundations of the Society of Friends, or "Quakers" as they were to be scornfully called within a twelvemonth. And it was at this same moment, too, that, according to the *Modest Narrative*:

"There is a Northern Prophetess come, who hath presented a paper to Lieut. General Cromwel, intimating the Liberty that belongs to free Commoners (such as the Everards, whose Prophecy fails, for they have left their new Plantation, as well as Mr. Sedgwick his day of Judgment); but the faith, if provisions be not made for these poor commoners, England will have new troubles (and this she had revealed)."²⁵

In the midst of these stirrings of the doctrines of equality growing out of the activities of the Levellers there took place at Whitehall, under the auspices of the Council of the Army, the drawing of lots to determine which regiments should go to Ireland. Three regiments—those of Cromwell, Venables and Phayre—had already been designated for that service. Now, after the usual prayer, it was decided that of the remaining fourteen regiments of horse and fourteen of foot, four of each should be chosen by lot to go with Cromwell. For each branch of the army, therefore, there were prepared ten blanks and four papers with "Ireland" written on them. These were put in a hat and drawn out by a child who gave one slip to an officer of each regiment. The result was that there were drawn for the Irish service the horse regiments of Ireton, Lambert, Scrope and Horton, and the foot of Ewer, Cook, Hewson and Deane. Besides these there were chosen five troops of dragoons, those of Major Abbot and Captains Mercer, Fulcher, Garland and Bolton, thus making up the force originally demanded by Cromwell and agreed upon by the Council and Parliament.²⁶

This done, the question arose as to the temper of the men. They had been given their choice of going to Ireland or leaving the army, and it was evident that for many of them that choice was hard. There was a strong feeling in some quarters that one of the principal purposes of this Irish venture was to purge the army of its disaffected elements. That suspicion was voiced by the vitriolic Walker, who declares that:

"Predominant grandees were desirous to purge the Army and send the Levellers thither; the Levellers were desirous to keep their ground here, and send the more mercenary enslaving and enslaved part of the Army, the better to colour the design, Cromwel undertook to be conductor of this expedition, and light them the way into Ireland with his Illuminated Nose;

²⁵ *Modest Narrative*, Apr. 28.

²⁶ *Perfect Diurnall*, Apr. 16-23; *Moderate Intelligencer*, Apr. 17-24. Cp. Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 55-56; and *Clarke Papers*, ii, 209.

having taken order beforehand that his precious self should be recalled time enough to keep up his party in England from sinking . . . Lots were several times cast what Regiments should go; but the Lots not falling out to the minds of the General Council of Officers, they cast Lots again and again, until fortune agreed with their desires."²⁷

Those suspicions were by no means confined to Walker. They were widespread among the Levellers; and they were soon to present a serious problem to the commanders. For several days in the midst of this business, Cromwell was absent from the Council of State;²⁸ but he took his place again on Saturday, April 21, and on the following Monday and Tuesday. There the business of Ireland continued to be the chief concern of its members, who, among other details, authorized Cromwell, Sir William Armyne and Thomas Scot to confer with Mr. King, the agent of Sir Charles Coote, in regard to sending Colonel Mervyn, now released from the Tower, and Sir James Montgomery, back to Ireland in the service of Parliament.²⁹ With this, with measures to reduce the Channel Islands and the Scillies, the sending of Dr. Dorislaus to the Hague as agent or representative of the Commonwealth, and the question of a new currency, the Council's time was fully occupied in these days when the discontent among the soldiers was coming to a head.

THE ARMY MUTINY

The unrest in the army had by now begun to make itself felt in overt acts. There had already been disturbances among the troops stationed in London and Westminster. Many of the men, notably in Hewson's regiment, had refused to accept the result of the lottery of April 17 and had thrown down their arms. Petitioners who had appeared before the Commons on April 18 to ask for the release of Lilburne were told that he and his associates would be tried by law and that no one would be allowed to interfere. That had increased discontent and the leaders of the army were now face to face with a threat of widespread mutiny.³⁰ The first to move were some of Whalley's regiment, which, chosen to remain in England, had been ordered to leave the City and rendezvous on April 23 at Mile-End Green. To conciliate their men, who had showed signs of insubordination, the troops of Captain Savage and Captain Cannon had been given a month's pay more than the others; and when their marching

²⁷ Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 159.

²⁸ He was in Parliament, however, on the 20th when he was assigned the task of asking Thomas Goodwin to preach at a service in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on May 3. *C. J.*, vi, 190.

²⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 103.

³⁰ See the *Moderate*, Apr. 10-17, where the manifesto of Lilburne and the other three, dated Apr. 14, is printed in full.

orders came, the officers of the other troops had loaned their men a fortnight's pay out of their own pockets. Despite the extra money they had received, some sixty of Captain Savage's men refused to move until they, too, had been given an additional fortnight's pay; marched to the *Four Swans* Inn in Bishopsgate Street; seized the colours and carried them to the *Bull* Inn. Ordered again on April 24 to march to the rendezvous, they again gathered at the *Bull* and there resisted the efforts of their officers to dislodge them or seize the colours.

The disturbances in the army were only one symptom of the general discontent. While the officers were concerned with the problem of mutiny, the Commons faced the opposition of the City and its inhabitants, and on Monday the 23rd, while efforts were being made to get Whalley's men out of London quietly, *Mercurius Militaris* records:

"This day many hundreds of women waited upon the House with a Petition of about 10,000 hands to it in the behalfe of the Common right of the people, and particularly for the enlargement of Lieutenant Colonel Lilburne, Master Will. Walwyn, Master Thomas Prince, and Master Richard Overton, and the souldiers were most uncivill and inhumane towards them, presented the Pistols ready cock'd at some of their breasts, and forc'd them down staires with files of Musquettiers, and threw squibs amongst them, only 20 were admitted into the Lobby, and a member of the House coming out and demanding what the matter was with the women, the Gentlewoman that was to present their Petition, answered, they were come with a Petition; he told her, that it was not for women to Petition, that they might stay at home to wash their dishes; she answered, Sir, we have scarce any dishes left us to wash, and those we have we are not sure to keep them. Another member told her it was strange that women should petition; she answered, Sir, that which is strange is not therefore unlawful, it was strange that you cut of the Kings Head, yet I suppose you will justifie it.

"And Cromwell comming out, she took hold of his cloak and told him there was many hundreds of them had a petition to deliver, and had waited upon them from morning to that present, but they would not hear it, but time hath been when you would readily have given us the reading of Petitions, but that was when we had money, plate, rings and bodkins to give you, you think we have none now, but we have a little left, but not for you, and blood too, which we shal spend against you. He answered, what would you have? She replied, those rights and freedoms of the Nation, that you promised us and in particular the deliverance of our friends which you have imprisoned contrary to the forme and method of Law, and, Sir, their Liberty we will have, or we will lose our lives.

"*Crom.* Well, well, there is Law for them.

"*Gentlew.* Law, Sir. They were contrary to Law imprisoned, and we desire their Liberty first, and then if there be aught against them, let them be tryed by the due course and forme of law.

"*Crom.* There is an ordinance of Parliament to try them by law.

"*Gent.* Sir, If you take away their lives, or the lives of any contrary to

Law, nothing shall satisfie us but the lives of them that doe it, and Sir we will have your life too if you take away theirs."³¹

This was not the only connection of Cromwell with this outbreak. While this disturbance was going on in Westminster, Whalley was summoned to quell the mutiny in the City, but the ringleader, one Robert Lockyer, defied his colonel, and he and his followers appealed to the crowd. But Whalley brought up two loyal troops and arrested some fifteen of the mutineers; the rest fled; and at the moment that the disturbance was over, Fairfax and Cromwell, having been advised of the trouble, rode up with their guards to see that order was restored. Two days later a court-martial condemned to death Lockyer and one other who was to be chosen by lot from five others adjudged guilty. All six appealed to Fairfax, and Cromwell supported their petition; but though the five were spared, Lockyer, a youth of twenty-three, who had served seven years with 'courage and constancy' was executed on April 27, defiant to the end.³²

In itself the mutiny in Whalley's regiment was of no great importance, but it was a symptom of widespread disaffection in an army whose pay was long in arrears, whose Leveller sentiments had been disregarded, and whose pleas had been ignored, and it was prophetic of future difficulties. For the moment that concerned Cromwell but little. Absorbed in preparing for the Irish expedition, he was busy in the Army Council, in the Council of State and in Parliament. There, on the day of the court-martial, he was appointed to a committee to consider an act for settling £20,000 a year for the maintenance of ministers and charitable purposes.³³ Of his other activities at this moment there are few or no records, though there still exists a strip of parchment, dated April 27, with his signature, but otherwise a blank. Besides this his last letter to Mr. Mayor on the subject of the marriage settlement enclosed the marriage-deed, now formally drawn up and signed by the parties concerned, Richard Cromwell, Dorothy Mayor, Robert Stapylton, Mr. Mayor, and with three signatures by Cromwell himself.³⁴

For my worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esq., at Hursley: These

SIR,

I was not without hope to have been with you this night, but truly my aged mother is in such a condition of illness that I could not

³¹ *Mercurius Militaris*, Apr. 22-29.

³² Whalley, *A True Narrative of the Mutiny of Captain Savage's Troop* (May 1, 1649). See *Moderate Intelligencer*; *Mercurius Pragmaticus*; *The Army's Martyr*; *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*; *Modest Narrative*, Apr. 26.

³³ *C. J.*, vi, 196.

³⁴ Sold to Pearson by Puttick and Simpson in 1904 for £39, according to *Book Prices Current* for 1904. It is listed in the *Catalogue of the Tangey Collection* (1905) but efforts to locate it have been unsuccessful.

leave her with satisfaction. I expected to have had the deeds sealed here which were to be performed on my part, but my lawyer tells me it will be necessary for me to be with you at the doing thereof, because of the order of sealing them.

I have sent them to you by this bearer for your perusal, and I trust to be with you upon Monday night (if God will). I shall be able to stay only Tuesday with you, for indeed I must necessarily be back on Wednesday night. My occasions cause these affairs to go in such a hurry, unbefitting the weight of them; and I doubt will be troublesome to you, which I desire you to excuse me in, because its long of me. I beseech the Lord to bless proceedings and to vouchsafe His presence.

My wife presents her affectionate respects to yourself and lady. So do I mine, and to your whole family.

I take leave and rest, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

April 28, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.³⁵

Meanwhile disturbance in the army grew. For months there had been complaints from all parts of the country of the exactions of the unpaid and often turbulent soldiery, of the establishment of free quarter against which Fairfax and the officers had warned Parliament and had begged for money to prevent. These had risen to such proportions it began to seem that England might experience something of the misfortunes which had afflicted Germany in the thirty years just past. Fairfax and his subordinates had used every means to suppress this movement and to secure at least part of the army's arrears from Parliament, but with only moderate success. The mutiny in Whalley's regiment was but a warning of what might happen at any time in any place, and Cromwell was now moved by the complaints of the "insufferable violence and oppressions" of the soldiery especially the men of Colonel Marten,³⁶ to take a hand in the effort to relieve the country of their exactions:

Mr. Rushworth or Mr. Clerke

MR. RUSHWORTH,

I desire you to order, as from the General, Colonel Tomlinson's men now in Hantshire to remove more westward, and not to exact

³⁵ Holograph original in *Stowe Mss.*, 142, f. 56. Calendared in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* VIII, Appendix, pt. iii, p. 6. Printed in the *English Historical Review* (1899), p. 738. Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 43.

³⁶ Committee of Hants to Sir Henry Mildmay, Apr. 19, *Clarke Papers*, ii, 212; and Inhabitants of Whitchurch to Fairfax, Apr. 1649, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* (Leyborne-Popham Mss.), p. 14.

moneys before they go; it being certified that that county hath paid all their moneys. I desire you to give the bearer the orders.

I rest,

Your loving friend,

April 28, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.³⁷

That letter was not unconnected with a meeting of the Army Council on that same 28th of April, where it was reported that "Some to whose lot it fell to go to Ireland, refuse. Others not designed to go offer to go with show of great forwardness; and the rather for the company of their General Cromwell."³⁸

From the events of the preceding fortnight it was apparent that there was a numerous element in the country, especially in the capital, which had once supported but now opposed the revolutionary leaders; and that the movement which those leaders headed had now reached the state which all such movements reach in time, that of the necessity of controlling the forces which had been roused, to check the more extreme elements and to temper or replace liberty with order. That, as always, offered a serious problem to those directing the revolutionary government. They could rely upon only a relatively small minority of the people. They still had the army at their back, but, as often happens in such times, great sections of that army were infected with the same doctrines which inspired the Levellers and the Diggers, the spirit of economic as well as religious and political equality.

Moreover there always comes a time when men who have fought for one thing find they have won another. These men had fought for what they believed to be liberty; they had achieved, as they now saw it, only the dominance of a group of military and political leaders or, as they said, "Grandeess" whose authority they resented only less than they had resented that of King, Lords and bishops. This new authority they wished to overthrow as they had overthrown the old, and England seemed ripe for another and still more radical revolution. Unless the army leaders could keep their men in hand, the country seemed ready to descend into anarchy. And as in all such movements, unless they raised up a man of sufficiently strong, even ruthless, determination, ability and political astuteness, they were doomed to fail.

One other thing was almost equally evident. The situation and attitude of the army had become so difficult that, whatever its larger purpose, it was increasingly apparent that the expedition to Ireland might take off from England some of the pressure of an armed force

³⁷ *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1887), p. 149 from the holograph original in *Egerton Mss.*, 2620; Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 44.

³⁸ *Modest Narrative*, Apr. 28.

dissatisfied with the government and beginning to get out of hand. The regiments destined for Ireland had now begun to move and, unwilling as many were to go, they had only the choice of following Cromwell or leaving the army; for on the day he wrote to Mayor, Cromwell issued an order to officers of the regiments which were to remain in England not to enlist men coming to them from the detachments destined for Ireland.³⁹ This promptly produced another mutiny. Three hundred Levellers in Hewson's regiment were cashiered on their objecting to service in Ireland, but others took their places,⁴⁰ and the regiment began its march to Rumford on April 30;⁴¹ while Cromwell, named on that day to a committee for settling the government,⁴² was on his way to Hursley to his son's marriage which took place the next day.

It was high time to get the troops away from London.⁴³ There, on April 29, had taken place the funeral of Lockyer, "the army's martyr," which became the occasion of a civilian protest against military government. In his funeral procession marched thousands of Londoners carrying the Levellers' color, green, to express their opposition to the rule of the sword.⁴⁴ The next day, as Cromwell was attending his son's wedding, the irrepressible Lilburne, who, with Overton, had threatened Fairfax with the fate of Strafford if Lockyer was condemned, published another plan for the settlement of the kingdom in the form of a revised *Agreement of the People*, based on a Parliament elected by manhood suffrage. Within three days that sentiment had spread. On May 2 the Commons received petitions to liberate the four remaining mutineers and take steps to dissolve itself and choose its successor. At the same time, more disturbing news came from the army. Scrope's regiment which had reached Salisbury, refused to leave England until the nation's liberties were secured. In this it was supported by the greater part of the command of Ireton and that of Reynolds; while the regiments of Skippon and Harrison were expected to join in this protest.

This situation was reflected in Parliament, though in far different form than the protests demanded. There several measures were being

³⁹ *Perfect Diurnall*, Apr. 23-30.

⁴⁰ "Paper Scattered about the Streets," pr. in Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 159; *Perfect Weekly Account*.

⁴¹ *Perfect Diurnall*, Apr. 23-30.

⁴² *Modest Narrative*, Apr. 30.

⁴³ *The Man in the Moon* asks in its issue of Apr. 30-May 7, why "Noll" doesn't go to Ireland, predicting a rope presently and advising him to "pack away before the end of the Moneth to New England whither thou wast formerly going a Bankrupt," there to hide in the woods from young Charles.

⁴⁴ The color of the Levellers and of all parties opposed to the government in this period and in that of Charles II was green, recognized as the color of revolution at this time.

framed to meet the crisis. While Cromwell was on his way to Hursley, an Act for the abolition of Deans and Chapters and for the sale of their lands was passed.⁴⁵ How much, if any, this Act affected Cromwell personally it is impossible to say, but, especially in connection with the marriage deed just signed, it is interesting to recall that most of his inheritance had come from his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, and consisted of leases to lands owned by the Dean and Chapter of Ely. The Act provided for placing all such lands in the hands of certain men named as trustees and for offering them for sale. Presumably Cromwell retained his property for the present at least, since all leases made before the year 1641 were to be binding, but what would become of it at the expiration of his lease, in 1657, is not evident. It is perhaps still more significant that, apparently in connection with this Act, Cromwell had a survey made of Ely, dated June 21, 1649, which he signed. Whether by virtue of his position as governor of Ely, or as the principal lease-holder of the lands of the Dean and Chapter, or for some other reason, it seems to argue some particular interest which he had in this measure and its bearings on his own personal fortune.⁴⁶

The Act for abolishing Deans and Chapters was obviously pushed through to provide money to finance the heavy additional expenses of the Irish expedition by a government the greater part of whose expenses arose from the armed forces; and with that Act were passed others directly or indirectly connected with the army. The first was for a general assessment on the counties; others were for the prevention of free quarter and for "settling the government" and one was for the definition of treason. In the debate on the last measure, according to Walker, it was suggested that in addition to designating as traitors those who affirmed that the government was tyrannical, that the Commons was not supreme, or that the Council of State was unlawful, treason should be extended to include mutiny in the army, levying of war against Parliament, or contriving the death of Fairfax or Cromwell. With the exception of the last provision, all these were included in the Act which was passed on May 14.⁴⁷ Such was the retort of the party in power to the protests against its government.

Cromwell and his colleagues reckoned, rightly enough no doubt, that the forces still loyal to them were sufficient to suppress mutiny; that their financial measures, including the sale of the Deans' and Chapters' lands, would enable them to meet the demands for back

⁴⁵ In Firth & Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 81-104.

⁴⁶ Described in F. R. Chapman's *Sacrist Rolls of Ely* (1907), i, 130 ff. It is entitled "Book Survey of the College and Town of Ely" and is now in the muniment room of the Dean and Chapter. Of its fifty-odd pages, the one-page survey of the Deanery is signed "Cromwell."

⁴⁷ Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-8. Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 120.

pay; and that the Irish expedition would tend to quiet disaffection. It was no doubt due to this disaffection that his attendance on the Council of State and probably in the House suffered at this time. Where he had been present at nearly every council session in March, in April he came scarcely more than half the time. During May he attended only four meetings; and the only record we have of his activities in Parliament is that on May 5 he was put on a committee to consider how persons comprised within the Articles of War might have the rights given by those Articles secured to them.⁴⁸ Of his private affairs, again, but one record remains in this period. It is a lease signed on May 7 for some of the lands granted him by Parliament:

Lease to Philip Jones, Esq.

Lease for ninety-nine years by Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell to Philip Jones, Esq., Governor of Cardiff, of a "tenement of lands" called "Forestissa" in the parish of Lansamlett, in the county of Glamorgan, at a rent of £20 per annum. May 7, 1649.⁴⁹

Like his fellow-officers, the General was now less concerned with legislation or even administration than with the spirit of mutiny in the army which was spreading rapidly. On May 6 it broke out in Colonel Reynolds' regiment at Banbury, under the lead of a certain William Thompson, sometime cashiered and condemned to death for disaffection, but spared by Fairfax. The author of a pamphlet, *England's Standard Advanced*, which had attacked Cromwell and Ireton, he had been arrested by Cromwell. He was, perhaps naturally in view of his career, opposed to court-martials and a strong upholder of the *Agreement of the People*.⁵⁰ The mutiny was of short duration. Colonel Reynolds gathered three loyal troops and killed or dispersed the mutineers, though Thompson himself and some twenty of his men escaped and rode off to join Scrope's regiment at Salisbury.

The situation was increasingly serious and the government took strong measures to suppress or conciliate the soldiers. The City, refusing to loan money, was ordered on May 8 to pay at once £27,400 arrears of its former assessment. Four hundred trusty troops were sent to occupy the Tower. All visitors were forbidden access to Lilburne, Overton, Prince and Walwyn; and on May 9 an Act for charging the soldiers' arrears on the royal estates was passed, though the

⁴⁸ C. J., vi, 202.

⁴⁹ Cromwell's signature remains but the seal is gone. The witnesses were Edw. Herbert, Jo. Herbert and William Huggett. The lease is in the Jones family papers in the possession of Lady Boothby and her sister, Miss Valpy, at Fonmon Castle. It was exhibited by G. G. Francis to the London Society of Antiquaries on Feb. 20, 1862, and is mentioned in the *Proceedings* of that Society, Ser. 2, vol. ii, p. 71.

⁵⁰ Cp. Pease, *The Leveller Movement*, *passim*.

promised debate on equal representation, scheduled for that day, was again postponed to a time of "greater tranquility." Meanwhile Fairfax and Cromwell reviewed their two regiments of horse in Hyde Park and Cromwell addressed the men, according to *Perfect Occurrences*:

Speech to the Regiments at Hyde Park, May 9, 1649

"Declaring the Parliament's great care and pains: 1. In execution of justice against the grand delinquents. 2. In their declaration, and resolutions to put an end to this and future Parliaments. 3. Their care for settling trade, by setting forth a gallant navy at sea. And 4. Their proceedings for payment of soldiers arrears. And as for martial law, those that thought it a burthen should have liberty to lay down their arms, receive their tickets, and be paid as those that stay."⁵¹

The speech had the desired effect. Though one trooper made some objections and was taken into custody, on the plea of some of his friends Cromwell released him and permitted him to remain in the army. The Levellers' colors were pulled out of the hats of three or four others, and with this the incident was closed.

One thing, however, was evident. It was that if the disturbances in the army were to be quelled, it was imperative to secure funds to pay the men's arrears, and the promises of Fairfax and Cromwell to that effect must be fulfilled. The difficulty was that there was but little money to be had, and that little was claimed by Vane for the navy. There ensued, in consequence, a struggle between it and the army for funds. Some £10,000 taken to Bristol to pay the sailors had been seized by the army and taken to Windsor, and, at the moment of the abortive mutiny, the Council had ordered its return.⁵² But the situation was too threatening to allow the questions of "public credit" which the Council had alleged, to stand in the way of quieting the troops, and Cromwell wrote a letter demanding the money for his men:

To the Council of State

Objects to giving £10,000 brought from Bristol, to the Navy. It is needed to pay the brigade now on their march to the west. May 10, 1649.⁵³

His plea to the Council was no less effective than that to the soldiers. The Council recalled its order, and wrote Cromwell authorizing him to use part or all of the £10,000 for the troops, but asked in return

⁵¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, quoted in *Cromwelliana*, p. 56.

⁵² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 132.

⁵³ Contents inferred from the Council's reply granting Cromwell's demand, in Council Letter Book, *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1649-50), p. 134.

that he direct the Committee of the Army to pay over a like sum for the use of the navy. This was not enough, and the Treasurers-at-War, being provided with £5,000 from the Committee on Deans' and Chapters' Lands, three days later issued a warrant to the Lord General or the Lieutenant-General for another £10,000 "for forces to march," and another £10,000 to Colonel Jones to defend Dublin; while on the 18th an order from Goldsmiths' Hall put into their hands £50,000 "for service in Ireland."⁵⁴ Nothing better illustrates the complex system of revolutionary finance than these various orders, letters and warrants, as nothing emphasizes so strongly the gravity of the combined crisis of the army and the Irish expedition.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LEVELLERS, MAY 11-17, 1649.

For the moment the army mutiny was the most pressing of the government's problems, and with their hands strengthened by the submission of their own commands and possession of enough money to pay at least a part of the arrears, on May 11 Fairfax and Cromwell set out with their two regiments of horse and three of foot for Salisbury, where Scrope's mutinous regiment was quartered. They spent the first night at Alton, where next morning they were joined by Scrope and some eighty officers in a council of war which drew up an appeal to the mutineers on the lines of Cromwell's speech two days earlier in Hyde Park.⁵⁵ On May 12 they reached Andover, where Cromwell addressed each regiment, appealing to them in the name of unity and discipline and their past services together:

Speech to each Regiment at Andover, May 12, 1649

"That he was resolved to live and die with them, and that as he had often engaged with them against the common enemy of this nation, so he resolved still to persist therein, against those revolters which are now called by the name of Levellers; not doubting but that they would as one man unite, and with unanimous spirits follow him, for the subduing of them, and bringing the chief Ring-leaders thereof to exemplary punishment."⁵⁶

With the majority his plea was effective, though there were some who objected to fighting against their friends. Those friends, meanwhile, learning of Fairfax's advance toward Salisbury, had marched to Marlborough, planning to join Harrison's regiment in Buckinghamshire. Their forces and those of Fairfax were at this moment very close to each other. Learning of their march on the morning of May 13 and anxious to avoid bloodshed, Fairfax sent Major White and three other officers to persuade the mutineers to submit. Crom-

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 573.

⁵⁵ *Declaration of His Excellency*, written, perhaps, by Cromwell himself.

⁵⁶ *Declaration of Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell concerning the Levellers* (May 14, 1649).

well, according to White,⁵⁷ added his proviso that the emissaries should "Let them know that though we have sent messengers to them we will not follow with force at their heels," and apparently committed to White a letter to the Agitators. This was the more important in that the complaints of the Levellers, as summarized by a contemporary newsletter, pointed directly at Fairfax, Cromwell and their fellow "grandees."

"How happy were England were man's designs of enslaving here at an end, how gladly should we here break off, and praise the Lord for his goodness to England? but alas the people's hearts are full of grief, and their eyes are full of tears, as ever, they cry out, they are deceived, their expectations is frustrated, and their liberty betrayed; they take up David's complaint it is not an open enemy that enslaves them, not damme Cavaliers, nor rigid envious and surly Presbyters, but religious and Godly friends, that have prayed, declared and fought together for freedom with them, that with their swords have cut in sunder the chains of other Tyrants, and yet now are become the greatest Tyrants, over their brethren themselves, which when they can refrain from sighing and sobbing they in their broken and rustic language thus expatiate: all the form of Government being corrupted and abused, the Law and administration perverted, and the people's liberties betrayed; it was promised that a new foundation should be laid by an agreement of the people, to such righteous principles of Justice and common right that as to human reason it should be impossible for any tyrants in this or future generations to introduce bondage upon the people."⁵⁸

Before White could overtake the mutineers they had reached Wantage, whence they marched to Sunningwell, between Oxford and Abingdon. There they hoped to meet Harrison's regiment, but they found only two troops and so marched on toward Newbridge. Fairfax and Cromwell meanwhile had hurried north to Theale near Reading, to cut them off from the east. By the morning of the 14th the commanders learned that their opponents had retired through Berkshire. Hoping to cross the Thames at Newbridge, the mutineers had found the bridge there guarded by Reynolds' loyal troops, had turned westward, forded the river about a mile from Newbridge and so marched to Burford, where they settled quarters for the night.

Sending Cromwell ahead with the cavalry, Fairfax started at once in pursuit. Advancing with extraordinary speed, Cromwell and his horse covered the forty-five miles to Burford before midnight and surprised the unprepared and unsuspecting Levellers, who did little more than scuffle with Cromwell's command. One man was killed;

⁵⁷ Major Francis White, *True Relation of the Business of Burford*, 1649.

⁵⁸ *The Declaration of Lieutenant-Generall Cromwel concerning the Levellers; And His Letter and Representation to the Agitators of the respective Regiments who had deserted and declared against the Parliament* (14 May, 1649).

nearly four hundred were taken prisoners;⁵⁹ and the rest, escaping, were left by Fairfax to be arrested by the justices of the peace throughout the countryside. The fate of the captives was not long in doubt. The next morning two cornets Henry Denne and Thompson, the latter a brother of the leader of the Banbury mutiny, with two corporals, Church and Perkins, were sentenced to death by a court-martial. The rest of the men, according to report, were lined up on the leads of the church to see the execution. Set against a wall of the churchyard, first Thompson, then the corporals, were shot; but Denne pleaded for his life so successfully that Fairfax pardoned him at the last moment. The executions over, the mutineers were assembled in the church and addressed by Cromwell and other officers, who pointed out the General's mercy in pardoning all but three of the culprits and assured them that the rest would be dismissed to their homes. The address was so successful that, it is said, the weeping soldiers, offered money to buy food, declared that their souls must be provided for rather than their bodies, and, sent to Devizes, were ultimately taken back into the army.⁶⁰

The rest were soon accounted for. One of their leaders, Eyre, sometime a colonel, was captured and sent to Oxford for a civil trial. Fearing a rescue, the Council sent him to Warwick Castle in July and later transferred him to Hurst Castle,⁶¹ and he was presently convicted under the new Treason Act. There remained at large only Captain William Thompson, the original leader of the mutiny, and his shrift was short. Escaping the fate of his followers at Burford, he occupied Northampton with two troops of horse. There he was joined by a handful of other Levellers, and seizing money and arms, advanced toward the east. On May 17 his party was overtaken by Colonel Reynolds. In the ensuing skirmish Thompson, refusing quarter, was shot; and with his death the Leveller mutiny was at an end.⁶²

The attitude of Cromwell toward the Levellers and his treatment of them have been variously interpreted. On the one hand the historian of the Puritan Revolution⁶³ gives his whole-hearted support. "The new authorities," he says, "were in the right in what they did. The maintenance of that religion which they loved depended on the strong arms and buoyant hearts of those who had shown themselves

⁵⁹ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 178, says 180 were taken prisoners; *The Moderate Intelligencer*, May 10-17, reports the number as 900.

⁶⁰ *Perfect Diurnall*, Mar. 14-21. The Burford church Register records: "Pd. to Daniel Muncke for cleansing the church when the Levellers were taken . . . 3. 4."

⁶¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom. (passim)*.

⁶² *Perfect Diurnall*, May 14-21; *Moderate Intelligencer*, May 10-17, Cornet Denne, *Levellers' Design Discovered*; *A Full Narrative*; White, *True Relation*.

⁶³ Gardiner, *Hist. of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, vol. i, ch. 1.

capable of enforcing discipline." On the other hand, the historian of the Levellers⁶⁴ points out that "Cromwell and Fairfax can hardly escape criticism for the measures they took against the mutineers . . . there is a question whether the terms on which the men yielded at Burford did not preclude military executions . . . [whether] the surprise at Burford was accomplished without a breach of faith . . . [or whether] Cromwell and Fairfax . . . had a legal or moral right to sit in judgment on the men whom they treated as mutinous soldiers." "Cromwell honestly desired at least a part of the liberties of England as defined by the Levellers. But, always an opportunist, . . . he was continually tempted to undertake to reach them by the primrose path of arbitrary power. . . . Necessity drove him to crush the Levellers in 1649, as in 1647 it drove him to countenance the army's resistance to established authority."

In any event, the eight months' opposition of the Levellers was effectually suppressed at Burford. The sword of authority had proved itself mightier than the pen or even the weapons of its opponents. The Commonwealth was for the moment safe from its enemies at home and was free to pursue its adventures oversea, in defiance of the Levellers' protest that the Irish expedition was a violation of the Solemn Engagement which had pledged the army not to divide until the liberties of England were secure. But it was a condition, not a theory, which triumphed—and Oliver Cromwell was no theorist. Moreover there was, at this moment, another issue which, joined to the rising of the Levellers, revealed the cleavage between the theorists and the realists. This was the issue of free speech.

Among its other results, the rising of the Levellers had a profound influence on the subject which, in name at least, had been one of the grievances which had led to civil war—freedom of thought and speech and especially of the press. From the days when Prynne, Bastwick and Burton had suffered for their attacks on the church, the crown, and the royal family, that had been a cardinal principle of the revolutionaries. But, once in power, they had soon found themselves the objects of attacks no less violent, and their position changed. They had hastened to pass measures and enforce punishments more severe than those of the Court of High Commission or the Star Chamber, and with the passage of the Treason Act on May 14 extended the definition of that offence beyond all previous practice or theory. They had forbidden the publication of the proceedings of the second High Court of Justice; and though the meetings of the Council of State were nominally public, they were in fact as secret as those of the old royal Council, and more secret than those of the Star Chamber, nor could it well be otherwise.

⁶⁴ T. C. Pease, *The Leveller Movement*.

On May 7 the Council of State had denounced the publisher of the moderate Leveller publication, *The Moderate* and of Lilburne's new *Agreement*. On March 16 it had ordered the seizure of all copies of the *Eikon Basilike*, and on the 19th had been seriously disturbed at the news of the publication of a translation of the Koran. By May 22 the House requested the Council of State to frame an Act against the printing of "scandalous" books and pamphlets, which, finally passed, put the new government in possession of more power to suppress free speech than the old royal government had ever possessed.

With this went some effort to do at least lip-service to the cause which the Levellers upheld, the right of free election and of equal representation, in brief real Parliamentary government. On May 15 the House named a committee to report on 'the succession of future Parliaments and the regulating their elections' and to put 'a period to the sitting of this Parliament.' On the 19th there passed the Act which declared England a free commonwealth to be governed by 'the representatives of the people in Parliament . . . without any King or House of Lords.' But it was already evident that this Commonwealth was not the government which the Levellers had envisaged. It was, perhaps from necessity rather than from choice, the rule of the "grandees," the substitution of one set of masters for another; and it was against this which they had protested and finally taken arms. Nor were their feelings soothed by the fact that it numbered among its leaders some Republicans like Ludlow and Marten, for it was evident that the direction of affairs lay in the hands of those who were equally opposed to monarchy and democracy.

OXFORD, MAY 17-21, 1649

Save for rumors of disturbances in the Isle of Wight and of fugitives lurking in Somersetshire, Thompson's death marked the end of the Leveller rising, and the leaders of the army were at liberty to go on with the Irish expedition. But before they embarked on that, there came a curious interlude. Fairfax and Cromwell, with their officers, left Burford at once on the suppression of the mutineers, and on May 17, the day that Thompson was killed, they reached Oxford to take part in ceremonies so different from the scene of violence they had just left as to seem almost ludicrous by comparison. There they were entertained and honored by the new authorities of the University, now—whether Presbyterian or Independent—all Parliamentarians.

Two years earlier there had occurred a visitation of the University and the colleges by commissioners sent by Parliament to rid the place of the Royalist Anglicans who had dominated those foundations. Many of the old officials, servants and students had acknowledged the authority of Parliament, and the account of their examination

and their various acceptances or rejections of the accomplished fact of the supremacy of their new masters forms one of the most entertaining chapters in the long history of the University. Many had not acknowledged the power of Parliament and had been replaced by others more favorable or more conformable to the new régime, and it was to these there fell the pleasant duty of honoring the army officers. Among others who had been ejected from their posts was the Warden of All Souls, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon. In his place had been set a certain Jerome Sankey, or Zanchy, sometime of Cambridge University, created sub-warden of All Souls by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648 and University proctor in the year following, who was presently to follow Cromwell to Ireland as colonel of horse. By him Fairfax and Cromwell were welcomed to All Souls' College and quartered in the Warden's lodgings.

The next morning the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Reynolds, with the proctors and the heads of the colleges, waited upon them, and one of the Fellows of All Souls' welcomed them with a speech which Anthony à Wood describes acidly as "bad, yet good enough for soldiers." To this Cromwell "who undertook to answer them, gave them smooth words, and told them (the poor-spirited Presbyterians believing him) 'that they knew no Commonwealth could flourish without learning, and that they, whatsoever the world said to the contrary, meant to encourage it, and were so far from subtracting any of their means, that they purposed to add more.'"⁶⁵

Thus reassuring the University officials of their good intentions, on Saturday the officers were dined at Magdalen College, where they had "good cheer and bad speeches"; and after dinner and bowling on the green, they were escorted to Convocation where Sankey delivered an address of welcome, expressing the satisfaction of the University authorities in having such eminent patriots to countenance the institution. Thereafter he presented Fairfax and Cromwell to Convocation and Reynolds conferred on them the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, with its accompaniment of scarlet robe and cap. Waller, Harrison, Ingoldsby, Hewson, Okey and several lesser officers were made Masters of Arts; and after the Vice-Chancellor and others had added their contribution of oratory, the assembly was adjourned to the Library and sumptuously banquetted. There Fairfax, Cromwell and their fellow-officers expressed their appreciation of the University and of the honors conferred upon them; and on May 21 the secretary of the Army Council, John Rushworth, and other lesser lights were given honorary degrees.⁶⁶ With this ended perhaps the most extraordinary Convocation which Oxford had ever seen or was to see again

⁶⁵ Wood, *History and Antiquities of Oxford* (ed. Gutch, 1791-6), ii, 620.

⁶⁶ *Perfect Diurnall*, May 22; *Perfect Occurrences*, May 18-25; Wood, *op. cit.*, ii, 619-20; Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, ii, 75-90.

until in the fulness of time the conquerors of Napoleon—Wellington, Blücher and their fellow-officers—had dignities conferred on them.

But while Fairfax and Cromwell were engaged in the suppression of the Levellers and the festivities in their honor at Oxford, Parliament had not been idle. On May 12 it had passed the act forbidding free quarter, two days later the new Treason Act, and on the 19th the Act establishing the Commonwealth. Though the Treason Act omitted the provisions in regard to Fairfax and Cromwell, there appeared at this moment some reason for the original inclusion of those provisions. While the Oxford celebration was going on, Cromwell received a letter from the Council of State, dated May 16, expressing satisfaction at the defeat of the Levellers and enclosing papers which, as the Council said, "contain something wherein your safety is concerned, but which we beg you to return."⁶⁷ This—which seems to have been the first of the many designs against Cromwell's life of which we have knowledge—may explain his absence from London until May 25, though he may have been engaged in the suppression of further Leveller agitation.

In any event he reached the capital on the evening of Friday, May 25, and the next day presented his report to the House,

"of the Army's proceeding against those termed Levellers; and how they are suppressed, and the design, by God's providence, prevented from further going on within the kingdom, which otherwise might have been very dangerous, and destructive to the whole nation; the discontents before mentioned in the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, and other castles thereabouts, allayed, and all in quiet."⁶⁸

LONDON, MAY 25—JULY 11, 1649

With the return of the army leaders from the suppression of the mutiny, upon a vote of the House the Speaker thanked Fairfax and Cromwell for their care and courage, and a day of thanksgiving was ordered.⁶⁹ Yet even here there was, or there appeared to be, a jarring note, for it was observed that Ireton had taken no hand in the suppression of the Levellers. He had remained at Westminster, having even, it was rumored, laid down his commission so that he might avoid the embarrassment of having Levellers' petitions for support presented to him. It was further said that there was a falling-out

⁶⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 143.

⁶⁸ *Perfect Diurnall*, May 21-28; *C. J.*, vi, 218.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Walker (*op. cit.*, ii, 186) makes the assertion that Cromwell raised the mutiny with one hand and put it down with the other to glorify his own name, but on p. 168, Walker makes scathing remarks about Cromwell having sent Fairfax to put it down because he was afraid to go himself.

between Cromwell and Ireton, real or feigned, interpreted by some of their opponents as a plot to carry out their designs more easily.⁷⁰

Ireton's position at this moment was, in fact, uncertain. His haughty, overbearing manner had roused the wrath of Lilburne who complained that he "showed himself an absolute king, against whose will no man must dispute."⁷¹ He carried weight in the Army Council, but he was far from popular in Parliament which had refused to elect him to the Council of State, and he was now hated by the Levellers even more than Cromwell, whom he was popularly supposed to advise. It was, then, perhaps no wonder that at this crisis it seemed better for him to avoid such publicity as would have come to him at Burford and Oxford, and for the moment to remain in the background. But there seems to be little truth in the story of a rift between him and his father-in-law, for he was soon to be named for a high command in the Irish expedition then being set in motion.

That was Cromwell's first business when he returned to London. On May 28 the Council of State moved from Derby House to richly-furnished rooms in Whitehall and so took on the trappings as well as the power of monarchy. After three weeks' absence from its meetings, Cromwell was present at this first session in its new quarters; and later in the day reported to the House that the forces had been made up and equipped for the Irish expedition, that some were already on the march, and that, as soon as money was forthcoming, they would be embarked.⁷² To that end, on the next day, the House passed orders for the advance of money from the Deans' and Chapters' lands and other sources, and the Council of State added to the responsibilities of Fairfax and Cromwell a request that they consider means and forces to secure Jersey and Guernsey.⁷³

Meanwhile the rumors of a proposed attempt on Cromwell's life were reinforced by a tale that his regiment planned to seize his person and join the Levellers. That story was vigorously denied in a long *Humble Representation and Resolution of the Officers and Soldiers* of his command, which was regarded as of sufficient importance in the disturbed condition of the public mind to be printed first in the *Perfect Diurnall* and on June 1 as a separate pamphlet.⁷⁴ This was the more necessary in that, some two weeks earlier, on May 12, while the suppression of the Levellers was going on, twelve masked Royalists

⁷⁰ Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 180, 183.

⁷¹ Lilburne, *Legal Fundamental Liberties*, 2 ed. p. 35.

⁷² *Cal. S. P. Dom.*; *Mercurius Pacificus*; Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 186; *Perfect Diurnall*, May 28.

⁷³ *Perfect Diurnall*, May 29.

⁷⁴ Signed by 21 commissioned officers, 15 corporals, 11 trumpeters, and 341 troopers. In *Perfect Diurnall*, May 21; Whitelocke, p. 405; Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 63-5. Cromwell's regiment was to go to Ireland and to contain fourteen troops with a lieutenant colonel, and two majors. *Perfect Diurnall*, May 28-June 4.

had killed the new English envoy to the Hague, Dr. Dorislaus, who had arrived two days before. The coming of one who, though an alien, had taken such an active part in the execution of Charles I, had infuriated the followers of Charles II, then in the Hague. His assassination, whose perpetrators were known but never punished, was a deed which the new government could not well ignore, for it was only too evident that, coinciding as it did with the Levellers' mutiny, others might seek to follow it with like attacks upon men like Fairfax and especially Cromwell.

In consequence Parliament hastened to publish a declaration of its abhorrence of Dorislaus' murder; to protest to the States General, which made the most perfunctory of apologies, and to vote Dorislaus a public funeral and interment in Westminster Abbey. On May 30, with Cromwell present, the Council of State ordered all the general officers of the army to attend the obsequies of the dead envoy which were set for June 14.⁷⁵ With this was associated other lesser business in which Cromwell was concerned. The first was the old project of draining the fens in which he had long been a leading figure. On May 29 Parliament passed an Act to include in a new and comprehensive drainage scheme the counties of Northampton, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Cambridge and Huntingdon. The long and elaborate document which outlined this ambitious design enumerated the districts to which it was applied; authorized William, Lord Bedford, son of the Earl who had begun the undertaking twenty years before, to proceed with the work; and among its fifty-three commissioners and *ex officio* members included both Oliver Cromwell and his son Richard.⁷⁶

The second piece of business looked to a less distant past. On this same 30th of May, Cromwell reported to the House from the Committee of Complaints a resolution that a certain Sir Hugh Owen should be "comprised within the Articles of Anglesea," and it was voted accordingly that this Welsh gentleman should be discharged of delinquency and sequestration for anything before June 14, 1646.⁷⁷ To this Valentine Walton added a petition from inhabitants of Anglesea, considered in the Council of State a fortnight earlier, which seems to have dealt with the whole problem of sequestration for that county, and a committee, of which Cromwell was a member, was named to draw up a bill to determine the status of the county and its obligations under the earlier Act of sequestration.⁷⁸

These minor matters interfered but little with Cromwell's main activity, the preparation of the Irish expedition, in regard to one of

⁷⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 164.

⁷⁶ Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 130-139.

⁷⁷ *C. J.*, vi, 220; *Perfect Occurrences*, May 25-June 1.

⁷⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 142; *C. J.*, vi, 220.

whose many details he wrote to Major Butler of Colonel Reynolds' regiment.⁷⁹

For my very loving friend, Major Butler, at his quarters in Northamptonshire or elsewhere: These

SIR,

It's here resolved you be Major to Col. Harrison's regiment, which is to stay in England: wherefore I desire you to agree so with Capt. Stirke that so many of both your troops as are most willing for Ireland may be under Capt. Stirke, to make his troop complete, and that you, with your own troop do forthwith march into Suffolk, to Col. Harrison's regiment, and that you take the charge of that regiment; the assignments of that regiment (as I take it) being there. I have no more at present, but rest.

Your very affectionate friend,

May 31, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁸⁰

That arrangement, it would appear, was not permanent, for Butler was presently superseded by a certain Stephen Winthrop, son of the Governor of Massachusetts, who in time rose to be colonel of the regiment.⁸¹

Amid these preparations and the infinite variety of lesser business which pressed upon him, Cromwell was not able to find time to attend the meetings of the Council of State. That circumstance seems to have disturbed the other members, and it is notable that on the day he wrote to Butler, he, with Fairfax and Waller, was ordered to attend its afternoon session, but that order appears not to have been obeyed, owing, no doubt, to the press of army business.⁸² On that same day, too, the Aldermen and Common Council of London invited Parliament, the Council of State and the chief officers to a dinner to be given on June 7, and to a service at Christ Church to celebrate the suppression of the Levellers; and Walker adds that Cromwell was appointed chairman of a committee to ask the City for more supplies for Ireland.⁸³

To meet the dangers which confronted them on every hand the Council and the army officers in particular now bent every energy.

⁷⁹ Major Butler, or Boteler, was stationed with Stirke in Northamptonshire where he took part in the capture of Thompson and he was still there on June 20. *The Moderate*, May 15-22, 1649; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 125, 198. He was probably the Major William Boteler who became Major-General of Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, etc. in 1655.

⁸⁰ Printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, (1899), p. 739, from holograph original in *Stowe Mss.*, 142, f. 58; Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 45.

⁸¹ Winthrop was at that time a captain. *C. J.*, vi, 241.

⁸² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 166.

⁸³ *C. J.*, vi, 220-221; Walker, *History of Independency*, ii, 185.

There was reason for anxiety. The two chief Parliamentary commanders in Ireland, Colonel Michael Jones in Dublin and Colonel George Monk in Ulster, had maintained themselves with difficulty during May. The execution of Charles I had brought the enemies of Parliament together. Ormonde had succeeded, for the moment, in establishing peace, if not unity, between the Royalists and the Catholics, had taken Drogheda and was preparing to attack Dublin. The Scots had deserted Monk, who was threatened on all sides at his camp at Dundalk, but most of all by Owen Roe O'Neill, some thirty miles to the west with forces reckoned at six thousand men.

But if the Parliamentarians were hard pressed, their enemies were in scarcely less difficult position. O'Neill, wanting powder and provisions, uncertain of his own position, had negotiated with both sides. Ormonde, short of money and supplies, had difficulty in holding his ill-assorted allies together; and the Scots, as it were, with no standing in the quarrel save their championship of Charles II, were ill-supported by their government. In this situation Monk, playing for time, on May 8 had signed an armistice with O'Neill who agreed not to make terms with any enemy of Parliament for three months.⁸⁴ Whether or not Monk had done this with Cromwell's approval, he explained his reasons at length in a letter to Cromwell on May 25,⁸⁵ which was laid before the Council of State immediately on its arrival. That dangerous piece of information the Council kept secret for two months, until Cromwell was ready to embark for Ireland and Monk had presented himself at Westminster, when it was communicated to the House with the Council's belated disapproval.⁸⁶

The situation demanded such a maneuver on the part of the Council, for not only its policies but its members were far from popular. To testify to the solidarity of the party then in power, June 7 was appointed as a Day of Thanksgiving for the suppression of the Levelers, and the City authorities gave their feast at Grocers' Hall to the Council, Parliament, and all officers above the rank of lieutenant. It was a memorable occasion. At the head of the upper table sat the Speaker of the House, with Fairfax, Bradshaw, the three Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, then Cromwell, and finally the rest of the Council of State and a few members of Parliament. The other members sat at two tables on either side of the hall, and Lambert with other officers at a table in the middle. The judges and the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council

⁸⁴ Articles in *The True State of the Transactions of Col. George Monk with Owen Roe-Mac-Art-O'Neill* (1649), repr. in *Montgomery Manuscripts*, pp. 179-181, and Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland*, (1879-80), ii, 221.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ August 7, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 264; *Modest Narrative; Faithful Scout*; Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 198. Walker (pp. 233, 246) states that Cromwell directly authorized the treaty with O'Neill.

ate in a large upper room; the remaining officers and officials in the "parlour."⁸⁷

It was a great and solemn occasion, not merely a thanksgiving for the suppression of the Levellers but a farewell dinner to the army destined for Ireland. As the *Perfect Diurnall* recorded, "The entertainment was very free and cheerful, Welcome . . . written on a banneret upon most of the dishes which were a very great number. No drinking of healths or other concomitants formerly of such great meetings, nor any other music but the drum and trumpet. A feast, indeed, of Christians and Chieftains."⁸⁸ Nor was this the end of the matter. The next day, Sir John Wollaston with other representatives of the City called upon Fairfax at his house in Queen Street and presented him with a large basin and ewer of beaten gold; while to Cromwell in King Street was sent a gift of plate valued at £300 and two hundred pieces of gold.⁸⁹

These were not merely expressions of thanksgiving and farewell; they were a demonstration of the unity of City, army and Parliament in the face of strong opposition, which even in London on the Day of Thanksgiving managed to express itself. The guests on their way from Westminster into the City were subjected to insults as well as cheers; and for a time the procession of their carriages was entirely blocked by a humorous Royalist or Leveller who removed the linchpin from one of the wheels of Cromwell's carriage and stopped the line until the wheel could be restored. To this general dislike of the existing government was added a growing protest against the continuance of the fragment of a Parliament, so strong that on June 9 there was a long debate in the House in the course of which was introduced a resolution to fill up the seats of all who had refused to retract their votes for the continuance of the Treaty of Newport.⁹⁰

That would have meant the introduction of more than a hundred new members, many if not most of whom would almost certainly have been opposed in greater or less degree to the existing government. Cromwell, fearing the result and realizing that his influence would be greatly weakened by his absence in Ireland, was naturally against such a plan. As usual he did not oppose it directly, but proposed that the elections be postponed and that Parliament adjourn for three months, leaving the government in the hands of the Council of State.⁹¹ In this he was supported by the majority of the House which was as hesitant as Cromwell to risk elections in the temper of

⁸⁷ *Perfect Diurnall*, June 7; Whitelocke (p. 406) gives a somewhat different order.

⁸⁸ *Perfect Diurnall*, June 7.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, June 4-11.

⁹⁰ S. R. Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, from *Moderate Intelligencer*; *Perf. Diurn.* June 9; Whitelocke, p. 406.

⁹¹ Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 202.

the country; and on June 11 the Commons voted to refer to the Council the task of preparing a list of bills to be considered before adjournment, a task which the Council, in turn, assigned to a committee.⁹²

Though this plan was not carried out—for Parliament did not adjourn—the last steps in preparation for the Irish expedition were hurried through. Among them was the destruction of the strongholds which, like Pontefract, might be of use to those who planned an insurrection, or were no longer of any value to the government. Besides this, on June 12, after consultation with Fairfax, Cromwell and Lambert, the castle of Lancaster was ordered demolished, since lack of water and other defects made it untenable by a garrison.⁹³ This done, the Council turned to the matter of a second in command in Ireland. It had been generally assumed that Lambert, now returned from his capture of Pontefract, would be named to that post,⁹⁴ but on June 13 the Council, doubtless on Cromwell's suggestion, recommended Ireton.⁹⁵ Two days later the House approved the appointment and Ireton was commissioned "Major-General of the Army" under Cromwell and voted £2,000 on account of back pay due to him.⁹⁶

The expedition seemed now all but ready, and to clear up all arrears of business, on June 14 Cromwell brought into the House the accounts for his campaign in Wales and Scotland. They were referred to the Committee of the Army, which was ordered to give the Treasurers-at-War a warrant for the allowance of the amount involved and a discharge of the accounts to Cromwell.⁹⁷ With this the Council adjourned its afternoon session for the last great demonstration of the government's strength and position before Cromwell's departure—the funeral of Dr. Dorislaus, which was carried out with becoming solemnity, accompanied by an impressive show of force, designed to strike fear into the hearts of its opponents.⁹⁸

At this moment we get another—if highly prejudiced—glimpse of Cromwell in the page of the violent Royalist news-sheet, *The Man in the Moon*, which, commenting on the success of Rupert at Kinsale, whither he had led his little squadron after relieving the Scillies and taking many prizes, inquired:

"What made Crumwell strike his bloody paw on his perjur'd heart (on

⁹² *C. J.*, vi, 229; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 185. Thirteen bills are listed with his characteristically caustic comments in Walker, ii, 202-6.

⁹³ *Perfect Diurnall*, June 12.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 4-11.

⁹⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 183.

⁹⁶ *C. J.*, vi, 234; *Perfect Occurrences*, June 15; *Perfect Diurnall*, June 15; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 184. His pay was later fixed at £3 per day.

⁹⁷ *C. J.*, vi, 232; *Perfect Diurnall*, June 14.

⁹⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pref. and p. 164.

Thursday last) and say? That they had lost more by sea than they have got by land all this time?"⁹⁹

That in some measure was true, for Rupert had not only relieved the pressure on Sir John Grenville's Royalist privateering headquarters in the Scillies but had provided the court and cause of Charles II with new supplies. As Cromwell perceived, unless something were done quickly it might well be too late to save Ireland from Ormonde. In consequence the leaders did what they could to hasten matters. On June 19, Fairfax sent orders to Cromwell and other officers preparing for Ireland to muster into their regiments no men from other detachments without making careful check as to what troops they had left, and the amount of arrears received by each of them.¹⁰⁰ The next day the House ordered Cromwell's commission to be brought in on the following morning, and the Council accordingly drafted the document, committing it to Scot to present to the House. Its reading, together with a report on bills regarded as needful to consider before the proposed adjournment, was postponed, but on June 22—at the moment that Ormonde appeared before Dublin and began its siege—it was finally read in the House, first in Latin, then in English. By it he was commissioned both commander-in-chief and governor-general of Ireland. The term of his appointment was left to the House which, after some debate fixed it at three years. Thus determined, the commission was ordered to be passed under the Great Seal and the Council was authorized to draw up his instructions.¹⁰¹

Yet even in the midst of such great events, Cromwell found time to concern himself with at least one minor matter. On the same day that he was made commander-in-chief in Ireland, he reported from the Committee on Complaints in regard to the matter of alimony for a Mrs. Anne Bodeville, as a result of which the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal were authorized to hear such cases in the future.¹⁰² On that same morning, according to Clarendon, he accepted the commission in a speech, which, however widely his report may differ from the actual words that Cromwell used, gives evidence of the spirit in which the new Lord Lieutenant undertook his responsibility:

⁹⁹ *The Man in the Moon*, June 13–20. One of the reasons for the existence of this newspaper seems to have been to discredit Cromwell. Among its more absurd charges was that he was secretly pro-Roman and had been responsible for the reprint of the book by the Jesuit Doleman with the new title *Speeches at a Conference Concerning the Power of Parliament*. (See *Man in the Moon*, June 27–July 4). Doleman had been hanged, drawn and quartered after its first appearance.

¹⁰⁰ *Perfect Diurnall*, June 18–25; Whitelocke, p. 409, who derives much of his material from the newspapers, has misquoted this item.

¹⁰¹ *C. J.*, vi, 238–40. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649–50), p. 198; *Perfect Diurnall*, June 18–25.

¹⁰² *C. J.*, vi, 240.

Acceptance of the Commission as Lord Lieutenant, June 23, 1649

"After much hesitation, and many expressions of his own unworthiness, and disability to support so great a charge, and of the entire resignation of himself to their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence and blessing, from whom he had received many instances of his favour, he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desired them that no more time might be lost in the preparations which were to be made for so great a work; for he did confess that kingdom to be reduced into so great straits, that he was willing to engage his own person in this expedition for the difficulties which appeared in it; and more out of hope with the loss of his life to give some obstruction to the successes which the rebels were at present exalted with, that so the Commonwealth might retain still some footing in that kingdom till they might be able to send fresh supplies, than out of any expectation that, with the strength he carried, he should be able in any signal degree to prevail over them."¹⁰³

Still concerned with the problem of the remaining strongholds, on that afternoon the Council ordered Fairfax and Cromwell to consider whether Cardiff Castle, belonging to the Earl of Pembroke, should be continued as a garrison or demolished.¹⁰⁴ On the following Monday, June 25, it sent an order to the Navy Commissioners to send to the Downs the twelve ships which were now ready, of the twenty under contract to transport the Irish expedition. There the vessels were to pick up a convoy to Milford Haven and await Cromwell's orders.¹⁰⁵ At the same time warrants were issued by the Treasurers-at-War to Cromwell, Hewson, Ewer and Cooke for £20 each for surgeons' chests¹⁰⁶ and Cromwell signed two commissions, one to the regicide, Colonel John Moore, who, with Venables' and Huncks' regiments of foot and Reynolds' regiment of horse was being sent to Chester; the other to Moore's son, Edward, as captain in the same regiment:

Commission

Appointing John Moore Colonel of a regiment of foot raised under his command for service of Ireland. The regiment to be transported to Dublin. June 25, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Clarendon, *History*, xii, 72.

¹⁰⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 204.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 576.

¹⁰⁷ This with the other Moore papers owned by Captain Stewart was sold at auction by Sotheby in Nov. 1901. Dated June 26, it was again sold by Sotheby with the collection of S. V. Hare, in May, 1904. Calendared in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 10, App. IV, p. 93 (Capt. Stewart's Mss.). Col. Moore died within a year. Cp. June 24, 1650.

Commission

Appointing Edward Moore a captain of a company of foot in the regiment whereof Col. John Moore is colonel. June 25, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁰⁸

To these details the news from Ireland at this moment gave fresh point. The news-sheets that day, June 25, reported a "paper of requests" for recruits and supplies sent to Cromwell from Sir Charles Coote, in north Ireland, which helps to explain Cromwell's insistence on proper support for his expedition. Coote's three regiments of horse and three of foot, according to his account, had received but eight months' pay in eight years and their rations had consisted of a peck of oatmeal a week.¹⁰⁹ Like complaints had come from other sources, and at whatever cost Cromwell was determined to suffer no such handicap to his coming campaign. He had refused to leave England until he was assured of ample provision for his men; and on this same June 25, the House referred to the Committee of the Revenue the question of Cromwell's personal allowance while he was in Ireland.¹¹⁰ The next day he signed another order "respecting troops for the service of Ireland"¹¹¹ and the day following reported to the House the correspondence between Sir George Ayscue, commander of the Irish Sea squadron, then engaged in keeping the passage to Ireland free from Royalist ships; Colonel Popham, one of the three admirals of the fleet, then in Dublin Bay; Colonel Michael Jones, commanding in Dublin; and the Council of State.¹¹²

The General's preparations were not confined to men, money and munitions. He was still busy, not only with the military and naval preparations, but with negotiations which he hoped might help his cause. Colonel Jones had written him on June 6, suggesting that Cromwell had given Jones to understand that he might be free to negotiate or intrigue with the various parties in Ireland. "I have hitherto fomented," he wrote, "as I still do, the difference between Owen Roe and Ormonde, and am now on the same design for taking Preston off also with his Irish party."¹¹³ While Jones had helped to keep Ormonde and O'Neill from coming to an agreement, Cromwell had approached Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, sometime a soldier in Ireland, first under Ormonde, then under the Parliamentary commissioners, and of late living quietly in Somerset. The King's execu-

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* Now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

¹⁰⁹ *Perfect Diurnall*, June 25.

¹¹⁰ *C. J.*, vi, 243; *Moderate Intelligencer*, June 25; *Perfect Diurnall*, June 25.

¹¹¹ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 1 App. p. 55 (Almack Collection).

¹¹² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 209; *C. J.*, vi, 244; *Perfect Diurnall*, June 29.

¹¹³ S. R. Gardiner, *op. cit.* 1, 85, from *Carte Mss.*, cviii, f. 44b.

tion and his own needs now moved the Irish nobleman to seek a commission for service in Ireland from Charles II. Stopping in London on the way to the Continent to get a pass from Warwick, he was visited by Cromwell, told that the Council of State knew of his designs, and that except for this intervention he would have been "clapped up in the Tower." Instead, Cromwell offered Broghill a commission as a general officer in the Irish expedition, without oaths or obligations save his word of honor to do his best to subdue Ireland, and with the understanding that he need not fight any but Irish. Though hating the Irish even more than he loved Charles, Broghill asked for time to consider, but Cromwell demanded an immediate answer and Broghill consented, was given a commission as Master of Ordnance, and set out at once for Bristol. To him was due in no small part the success of the Irish expedition, and he became not only one of Cromwell's ablest supporters but one of his closest friends.¹¹⁴

With this last addition to his forces, there seemed no reason why Cromwell should longer delay, but he was determined not to leave until his expedition was fully financed and equipped, for if there was one lesson above all others which Irish affairs had taught, it was the absolute necessity for supplies of money as well as of men and war materials. The Council yielded, and on June 27 ordered him to go, with Masham, Harrington and Pickering, to the Excise Commissioners to discuss the possibility of arranging another loan on the credit of the Excise, which on the same day was charged by the House with £400,000 to provide for the army.¹¹⁵ Two days later another Act authorized the borrowing of £150,000 on that security,¹¹⁶ but to get the money was not easy. Apart from the fact that many of the City merchants were unfriendly to the government, the situation of affairs, with trade disorganized and credit uncertain, moved various Londoners to offer odds of twenty to one that Cromwell would not leave England. It seemed for the moment that they might win, for when, on July 5, Cromwell, Vane, Armyne and Masham, with other members of the House went again to the Excise Commissioners to try to borrow £150,000, the City authorities declined, suggesting that the Parliamentary representatives might be able to get the sum from individuals on the security of the excise but the City could not obligate itself.¹¹⁷ For the moment affairs seemed at a stand for want of money.

¹¹⁴ Morrice, *Memoirs of Orrery*, in the preface of *The State Letters of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery*, p. 10. Cp. Inchiquin to Ormonde, Dec. 9, 1649 (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii, 500).

¹¹⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 208; Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 158.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 159.

¹¹⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 219; *C. J.*, vi, 249, 253.

In this interval of suspended animation, with Cromwell straining every nerve to secure funds for his expedition, a variety of small concerns as usual claimed his attention. On June 28 he was put on a committee of twenty-nine to meet that afternoon to consider the repeal of certain Elizabethan acts requiring attendance at church—and he was probably present at that meeting for it is noted in the council minutes that he was late that day.¹¹⁸ At the next Council meeting he was ordered to give an account of the state of Irish affairs on July 2, and the chief officers of the army were asked to be present to listen to his report.¹¹⁹ Finally, among these great and small concerns there was an incident which throws a certain amount of light on another side of the situation and incidentally involves the use of Cromwell's name in one of its minor scandals.

Some time in June, one Henry Parker, who, after the battle of Naseby in 1645, as a secretary of Parliament, had edited, with Thomas May, that famous pamphlet so disastrous to Charles I's cause, *The King's Cabinet Opened*, returned from Hamburg where he had been secretary to the Merchant Adventurers' Company.¹²⁰ He was at once made registrar of the Prerogative Office, and presently secretary to the army in Ireland and so to Cromwell, replacing a certain Robert Spavin who had been convicted of using Cromwell's seal for his own purposes. The circumstances were somewhat remarkable. At a Council of War in the latter part of June it appeared that a Captain Mitchell, Leveller and Agitator, had employed his Catholic servant, one Gairie, to carry some eighty or a hundred passes and protections for delinquents—some blank, some permissions to leave the country—to Spavin to be sealed with Cromwell's seal and endorsed with a forgery of Cromwell's signature. For this service Spavin's fee was the moderate sum of five shillings, while Mitchell and Gairie received from ten to forty-shillings—except from their friends. Some of their transactions were more profitable, among them a pass for a Scotch prisoner, Lord Carnegy, to come to London. For this Spavin and Mitchell had shared £50, and it appeared that £200 had been offered for a pass for Carnegy to go beyond seas, though Cromwell had specifically ordered his detention. As a result of these disclosures, Spavin was dismissed and sentenced to ride on a horse with his face to its tail from Whitehall to Westminster carrying a placard proclaiming his crime. But this did not end the matter, for Mitchell, undeterred by his accomplice's punishment, had a counterfeit seal made and continued his business until he too was caught. The case

¹¹⁸ C. J., vi, 245; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649–50), pref.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

¹²⁰ He published in 1650, *The True Portraiture of the Kings of England*, pr. in *Somers Tracts*, vi, 77–103. May was the historian of the Long Parliament.

came before the Council of State on June 30 and the Judge Advocate was ordered to prepare the evidence to be heard on July 3,¹²¹ the day after that set for Cromwell's report on the Irish situation.

Before that great day arrived, however, there was much to do to arrange matters in the government itself. Despite the proposals to adjourn Parliament, no final steps were taken to relinquish supreme power to the Council of State and no move was made for new elections. Cromwell, therefore, found himself in a difficult position. With the Council of State supreme, he was comparatively safe; but the House, though it had been purged, was less to be relied on, and if it should be recruited while he was gone in Ireland, the result might be not only the wrecking of his own plans but a revolution in the government. The only alternative seemed to be to turn the members out. But the army leaders shrank from this, and, according to Walker, Cromwell induced the officers to frame articles of impeachment against Speaker Lenthall who, however impotent in fact, was now in theory the greatest man in the government, received on all state occasions with almost royal honors. Nor was he wholly trusted by the leaders. He had but lately saved one Royalist, Goring, from punishment by his casting vote; he was soon to save another, the dramatist D'Avenant. He protected the universities. According to his own later account, he was well disposed toward Charles II, whom he claimed to have secretly advised; and he certainly played a leading part in the events which led to the Restoration.

Whether or not Cromwell now moved against Lenthall, nothing came of it, for as Walker says, "this trick, smelt out, was so highly resented that it perished in the birth," and its only result, according to Walker, was that the Speaker was "bled in private £15,000 towards Oliver's expedition."¹²² That expedition, meanwhile, was meeting with more than financial difficulties. Wholesale desertions from the regiments about to embark were reported, and to fill their depleted ranks all soldiers who would go were permitted to enlist.¹²³ Though Walker's statement that only the discontented part was left with Fairfax is hardly true, it is apparent that, with the Leveller sentiment and the prospect of serving in a strange land in what might well be a disastrous enterprise, what little enthusiasm the soldiers had for service in Ireland had waned.

Yet there was no thought among the leaders of withdrawing from the enterprise. With the hour of Cromwell's departure approaching, the House, on July 2, increased his life-guard from fifty to seventy men and appointed the Reverend John Owen to go as chaplain.¹²⁴

¹²¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, June 22-29; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 215.

¹²² Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 211-212.

¹²³ *Ibid.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom. passim.*

¹²⁴ *C. J.*, vi, 248.

On the next day it ordered the Council of State to consider what allowance the Governor-General should receive, with "respect to the Quality of his Command, and to his extraordinary Charges and Expences, as well whiles he stays in England, as afterwards, for the better carrying on the Service and upholding the Honour of this Commonwealth during his abode in Ireland."¹²⁵ On July 12 that sum was fixed at £10 a day as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland while he was in England and £2,000 a quarter while in Ireland. This was in addition to his salary as Lieutenant-General which had been reduced from £4 to £3 a day, but which, with other allowances, doubtless came to much more than that. Whatever it was, he was probably the best paid man who ever held the post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.¹²⁶

Thus at the moment of his departure for his new command, his time, and that of the Council and Parliament, was largely taken up with the clearing up of his past obligations and the securing of money for the future. On July 3 he wrote in regard to one of the vessels destined for the new campaign:

To the Commander in Chief on Board in the Downs

"We have a ship laden at Hull with armour and ammunition for the service of Ireland; but our desire is that though by her first order she was bound for Dublin, that she may now steer her course for Milford Haven, and not pass any further till she receive further directions from myself."
July 3, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹²⁷

The next day a warrant for £30,000 against moneys received from Deans' and Chapters' lands was issued to Cromwell, the money to be sent to Bristol to pay off and disband officers and soldiers refusing to go to Ireland and for advances to those intending to go. The delicate problem of communication with these two groups was left to a committee of the Council of which Cromwell was naturally one. Closely connected with this question was that of the intelligence service now committed to another member of this committee, Thomas Scot.¹²⁸ That was of the utmost importance. Not only was there a small army of Royalist agents intriguing in England, Scotland and Ireland, but while Ormonde was urging him to come to Ireland, Charles had been invited to Paris to consult with his supporters and advised to come to an agreement with the Scots. Whatever the outcome in Ireland, they remained to be dealt with. None the less, now that Charles' most

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 229. In addition, £3,000 was voted on July 13 for transportation, and a warrant was issued for that amount. *Ibid.*, p. 579. His total remuneration seems to have been close to £13,000 a year.

¹²⁷ For sale by Maggs Brothers in 1930, and quoted in their catalogue, no 547, item no. 1370.

¹²⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 221. See also, *ibid.*, p. 248.

dangerous supporters were dead or in exile, it seemed wise to pass an Act of pardon and oblivion to reassure the country, and that measure, brought in on July 5, was read twice and referred to a committee, of which Cromwell was one, to meet on the day following.¹²⁹

On that same July 5, the train of artillery and ammunition was finally shipped to Ireland, and Cromwell gave a farewell dinner to his friends.¹³⁰ Everything was now ready except the quittances for his earlier expenditures, and they were soon disposed of. On July 6 the accounts for his expedition to Wales and the north, signed by his former secretary, Spavin, were brought into the House, read and allowed. From them it appeared that Cromwell had received from the Committee of the Army £2,312 and borrowed from various sources £1,194 more,¹³¹ all this, of course, apart from the pay of the soldiers. To this was added a resolution to require the Eastern Counties' Association to send in the accounts of his expenses while he was connected with that organization, as these, apparently, had never been presented or audited.¹³²

This done, the attention of the House was called to a variety of minor matters connected with his recent activities which needed to be cleared up before he left for Ireland. The first of these was the case of seventeen officers who had recently deserted Inchiquin's army and who had petitioned for pay of their arrears which amounted to some £4,228. In part satisfaction of these, the Council of State was ordered to pay £1,000 to an agent appointed by Cromwell, who was, besides, to thank them for their services.¹³³ At the same time Cromwell was in communication, through Colonel Phayre, with other officers in Inchiquin's command who, at Cromwell's request, were remaining with Inchiquin so that their eventual desertion would have the more effect.¹³⁴

Nothing reveals more clearly the complicated position of Irish affairs and the intrigues which preceded the Cromwellian invasion than these activities of the Lord Lieutenant and commander-in-chief on the eve of leaving for his new adventure. Like a wise commander he provided a bridge of gold for those who were prepared to desert to him; like a shrewd politician he did what he could to divide and rule his enemies; and apart from his military skill—or as part of it—his last minute preparations included not merely arms but what may be called either intrigue or diplomacy.¹³⁵ On July 7 he asked permission

¹²⁹ C. J., vi, 250.

¹³⁰ *Perfect Diurnall*, July 5; Whitelocke, p. 412.

¹³¹ C. J., vi, 253-4.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 253.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 254-5; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 225.

¹³⁴ Caulfield, *Council Book of the Corporation of Cork*, p. 1165.

¹³⁵ Ormonde was aware of this for on July 19 he wrote to Lord Digby: "Munster, I hope is secured against invasion, or treachery, which was more to be feared, as that without the other will not probably be attempted." Carte, *Original Letters*, ii, 391.

to present several petitions to the House, some for friends, some for Irish gentlemen and ladies in distress; and these were duly accepted and orders given for granting them.¹³⁶ Among them was one for a certain Captain Richard Price, sometime in the service of Parliament, whose house had been burned and whose estate had been seized by the Royalists.

For William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament

MR. SPEAKER,

I have been thoroughly acquainted with the sufferings of Capt. Richard Price for his affection to the Parliament from the beginning, how faithfully he hath served, and how useful he still is in the country where his estate lies, being the only man in the country proclaimed rebel by the late King and his estate whilst in your service sequestered, whereby he is utterly disabled for any further actings under your commissions (which will be greatly to your disadvantage) unless some reparations may be made him for his losses, or his modest request granted of having the moiety of his arrears due upon his accounts, as it is stated and registered by the Committee of the Army, paid him, either out of the general composition for North Wales, if that pass, or by the fines of such of the delinquents of North Wales as have not yet perfected their compositions. The paucity of our friends in those parts and the necessity that lies upon us of encouraging them (unless by reason of their poverty disabled to act under your authority, we shall suffer the power to return into the hands of malignants) puts me upon this request to you, which I earnestly recommend to your serious consideration, and rest,

Your most [obedient] servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁷

[1649, early in July?]

Another of like character was written in behalf of Barnabas O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, who, having remained neutral during the massacres of 1641 and having admitted a Parliamentary garrison into his castle, had joined the King at Oxford, but had taken no active part in the Civil War. Some £2,000, it was said, had been left hidden in his castle of Bunratty and appropriated by the Parliamentarians; and it is probably for this, "lent for the service of the state" as Parliament asserted in voting the sum, that he was to be reimbursed.

¹³⁶ *Perfect Diurnall*; Whitelocke, p. 412.

¹³⁷ Printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1899) p. 739 from *Rawlinson Mss.*, D. 923, f. 301, in the Bodleian Library. Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 46. The Act Cromwell speaks of (for General Composition for North Wales) passed on August 10 and one of its provisions was that from the first receipts Price and four other officers were to be given satisfaction. He did finally receive £500, in the spring of 1651, when he was treasurer to the Committee for North Wales. *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, pp. 146, 341, 818, 3261.

To my worthy friend Sir James Harrington

SIR,

You see by this enclosed, how great damage the Earl of Thomond hath sustained by these troubles, and what straits he and his family are reduced unto by reason thereof. You see the modesty of his desires to be such as may well merit consideration. I am confident, that which he seeks is not so much for advantage of himself, as out of a desire to preserve his son-in-law the Earl of Peterburgh's fortune and family from ruin.

If the result of the favour of the House fall upon him, although but in this way, it is very probable it will oblige his Lordship to endeavour the peace and quiet of this Commonwealth, which will be no disservice to the State; perhaps of more advantage than the extremity of his fine. Besides, you showing your readiness to do a good office herein will very much oblige, Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

July 9th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁸

It was at this moment that the new government once more faced the problem of free speech, for it found itself in the embarrassing position of being attacked not only by its former opponents, but by its former allies, the Presbyterians. The emergence of Royalist newspapers, like *The Man in the Moon* and *Mercurius Elencticus*, which lampooned the new government and especially Cromwell from week to week, while annoying, was not so dangerous as the attacks of the clergy, especially the Presbyterian ministers who thundered from their pulpits denunciation of the murderers of the King, the destroyers of the ancient government, and the champions of toleration. With all their professions of religious liberty, the members of Parliament could not endure this constant challenging and undermining of their authority, and on July 9 they passed a resolution proclaiming as delinquents all ministers who should pray or preach against the existing government; publicly mention Charles or James Stuart; or refuse to keep days of public humiliation or to publish the acts and orders of Parliament. It was a natural but a dangerous proposal, for it put the House in an indefensible position and it was sure to antagonize still further that party from which, in view of the Scotch situation, most was to be feared. Against it, in consequence, Cromwell and Ireton appeared as tellers, but they could muster only sixteen votes against twenty-eight, and so were unable to prevent their colleagues

¹³⁸ Henry Cary, *Memorials of the Civil War* (1842), ii, 151, from a copy in *Tanner Mss.*, lvi, f. 69, which was evidently made for presentation in the House, endorsed, "When the Lord Tumend or the Lord Peterburroughs business comes in, give this to Mr. Speaker." Carlyle XCVII. Lord Peterborough, who had associated himself with the Earl of Holland in the rising of St. Neot's, had been fined, the money to be allowed to Thomond in satisfaction of his debt. See *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 1208.

from stultifying themselves, or to soften the antagonism of the Presbyterians.¹³⁹

Apart from this last effort to keep his party true to its professions and to prevent the further embittering of its opponents, Cromwell's last days in London were spent in efforts to do some services to his friends and relatives. On that same day he was able to secure the remission of the fine of his cousin, Henry Cromwell, eldest son of Sir Oliver, as a delinquent, and to have his sequestration removed.¹⁴⁰ At the same time Parliament granted his request that Sir Edward Ford, Ireton's brother-in-law, be permitted to compound upon the Articles of Oxford, despite the lapse of time since the surrender;¹⁴¹ and on the next day he wrote a letter in behalf of his old Cambridge colleague in Parliament, Lowry, who, it seems, had fallen on evil days:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament,
Esquire*

SIR,

I beseech you, upon that score of favour (if I be not too bold to call it friendship) which I have ever had from you, let me desire you to promote my partner's humble suit to the house; and obtain (as far as possible you may) some just satisfaction for him. I know his sufferings for the public have been great, besides the loss of his calling by his attendance here. His affections have been true and constant; and, I believe, his decay great in his estate. It will be justice and charity to him; and I shall acknowledge it as a favour to,

Your most humble servant,

July 10, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁴²

Finally, as his last recorded act before his departure, he wrote in behalf of a kinsman, who, apparently, was made captain of a Norfolk troop in the following February:¹⁴³

To Sir Henry Vane, and Colonels Fleetwood and Harrison

"As his present employment prevents him from being in the House, he desires them to assist his kinsman, William Steward, in his business there."
July 10, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ *C. J.*, vi, 257.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vi, 256; *Moderate Intelligencer*, July 9; Cp. *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 869.

¹⁴¹ *C. J.*, vi, 257; *Cal. Comm. for Comp.* p. 869.

¹⁴² *Harleian Mss.*, no. 6988; pr. in Harris, p. 536; Carlyle, Letter XCVIII. The petition was read and the sum of £300 was allowed on July 17. *C. J.*, vi, 263.

¹⁴³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 504. A Sir William Steward had been colonel of a regiment which had refused to serve under Sir Charles Coote in Ulster.

¹⁴⁴ Once in the library of Sir John Arthur Brooke, Bart., this letter, a half page in length, was sold by Puttick and Simpson on June 2, 1921, to Eden for £14.

The moment of his departure had now finally arrived and it was made the occasion of a solemn ceremony. His friends and fellow-officers assembled at Whitehall, where three ministers invoked the blessings of God on the expedition, and Colonels Goffe and Harrison, with Cromwell himself, who, next to Ireton, was "the best prayer-maker and preacher in the army," "did expound some places of Scripture excellently well, and pertinent to the Occasion."¹⁴⁵ At last, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the new Lord Lieutenant and commander in Ireland began his journey toward Bristol, in magnificent state. He rode in a coach drawn by six whitish-gray Flemish mares, with several other coaches-and-six accompanying him. Many officers and members of Parliament escorted him on his way, and his lifeguard, all of whom had once been officers—some even colonels—and "the meanest whereof a Commander or Esquire in stately habit," rode beside him. "With trumpets sounding almost to the shaking of Charing Cross, had it been now standing," the great procession rode forth under Cromwell's "colours of white."¹⁴⁶ It was an impressive demonstration of the power of the Commonwealth, not lost on the public. The *Moderate Intelligencer* went into somewhat immoderate and ungrammatical transports over the Cromwellian life-guard. "And now have at you, my Lord of Ormond," it exulted, "you will have men of gallantry to encounter, who to overcome will be honour sufficient and to be beaten by them will be no blemish to your reputation. If you say 'Caesar or nothing,' they say 'a republick or nothing.'"¹⁴⁷ On the other hand the irrepressible *Man in the Moon*¹⁴⁸ contributed its bit: "Jones runs often up to the Castle to see if Cromwell's nose appear as a sea-mark of the coming of relief but concludes that the climate will extinguish the Brewer's nose.

"Nol Cromwell now may hang himself
His nose can give no light."

BRISTOL, JULY 14–AUGUST 14, 1649

The members of Parliament who accompanied Cromwell took their leave of him at Brentford and it was expected that he would reach Reading that night.¹⁴⁹ On the next day, July 12, according to a satire on his expedition,¹⁵⁰ he was royally entertained at Pembroke's

¹⁴⁵ Whitelocke, p. 413; Heath, *Flagellum* (1672), p. 121.

¹⁴⁶ *Moderate Intelligencer*, July 5–12; Gardiner (*op. cit.*, i, 96) says Cromwell left on July 12, giving *Perfect Diurnall* as authority, but that newspaper says July 10.

¹⁴⁷ *Moderate Intelligencer*, July 5–12.

¹⁴⁸ July 4–11; July 25–Aug. 2.

¹⁴⁹ *Perfect Politician*, p. 49; Robert Cotymor to Colonel Ed. Popham, July 10, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, Leyborne-Popham Mss., p. 21.

¹⁵⁰ *The Earl of Pembroke's Speech to Nol Cromwell*. Published July, 1649. There is a tradition of his passage through Marlborough. Cp. A. G. Bradley, *Round About Wiltshire*, p. 15.

manor of Ramsbury, in Wiltshire just off the main road to Bristol, where he arrived two days later. While he was on his way, various matters connected with his expedition came before Parliament. On July 12 the Common Council of London finally agreed to lend the £150,000 asked of them a fortnight earlier; and on the same day there was read a petition from the officers engaged for Ireland, expressing their last wishes to the House. That petition combined moral and material demands. On the one hand they requested that drunkenness, profanity and abuses of the Lord's day be restrained. On the other they requested that lands be registered in every parish, with note of all incumbrances; that tithes be abolished and ministers paid by a land-tax; that legal proceedings be in English and made cheap and certain, that public debts be paid and that receivers should be held to account, and that prisoners for debt be relieved.¹⁵¹

It is apparent from this, were there no other evidence, that the Irish expedition was more than a military enterprise designed to break the power of the monarchy in Ireland. It was scarcely less a colonizing venture. Cromwell himself had claims to Irish lands which dated back to the first efforts to suppress the Irish rebellion, and there were many in his army and many more outside who had contributed to that enterprise and had substantial interest in the conquest of the Irish. Nor was it to be supposed that those who conquered it should not inherit it. These brethren of the Covenant and the sword looked forward to the accomplishment of a dream which they had long entertained, the vision of a rich and fertile country, a Promised Land, which should be the prize of victory and whose estates should be enjoyed by its conquerors. That dream was as old as the days of Elizabeth and James I. It had borne substantial fruits in the wide lands which men like Ormonde held, in towns like Londonderry and Belfast, in English and Scotch settlers through the north and east, as well as the southwest. It seemed that now the time had come to complete the work long since begun, even, perhaps, to make Ireland what not so long ago had been imagined, like New England the seat of a godly government, owned and ruled by Independent landholders.

In that spirit Cromwell and his men approached their task. On July 14 he reached Bristol, where Alderman Joseph Jackson's house had been provided for his entertainment at the city's charge; and two years later that worthy, then mayor, was reimbursed £10 for his expense of entertainment and £20 for a butt of sack he had presented to the General.¹⁵² Officers, soldiers and citizens welcomed that General royally and the country folk flocked in to see him, as Bristol held holiday in his honour.¹⁵³ Meanwhile he exerted himself to the

¹⁵¹ Whitelocke, p. 413.

¹⁵² Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the 17th Century*, p. 226.

¹⁵³ *Perfect Diurnall*, July 16-23; Whitelocke, p. 414.

utmost to complete his preparations. He assured his troops that they would not be ordered to embark until the money arrived to meet the expenses of the expedition,¹⁵⁴ and he did what he could by diplomacy to prepare the way for the coming campaign. From Royalist reports it would appear that he was using every means to persuade Charles' supporters to desert, like those of Inchiquin, to Parliament. Ormonde was told that Cromwell had offered the governor of Cork, Sir Robert Stirling, £6,000 to surrender that city when the time seemed ripe, and that like efforts were directed to the securing of other ports without attack or siege.¹⁵⁵ Lord Brudenel wrote that O'Neill had thanked Cromwell for the favors done for him and his army "in paying this half year," but "reminded him that his promise had been conditional on the Pope's approbation, which had not been received."¹⁵⁶ It was with reason that Ormonde wrote Charles that he feared Cromwell's money more than his face,¹⁵⁷ and that Cromwell urged on the Council and Parliament the necessity for supply, not merely to pay his troops but to draw Irish factions and individuals to his side.

Thus he spent the month of July, 1649, in constant communication with Ireland and London. On July 17 the Council of State advised him to make an example of several soldiers of Colonel Reynolds' regiment who had deserted, and informed him that corn and munitions were on shipboard in the Thames ready to go to him.¹⁵⁸ Before the letter reached him he had once more appealed to the government:

[*To the Council of State or to William Lenthall, Speaker of the House?*]

Concerning supplies for his forces and a way of auditing the accounts of the general and staff officers engaged in Ireland. Bristol, July 18, 1649.¹⁵⁹

The authorities were alive to the necessity of supporting him, and on that day the Council wrote to Cromwell notifying him that food worth £10,000, with £30,000 in money, was ready to be sent in a few days. The rest of the £100,000, they said, could be taken from the excise as it came in, to the exclusion of the navy, if Cromwell saw fit to accept it on those terms; and the next day the Treasurers-at-War issued a warrant to him for the £30,000.¹⁶⁰ On that same day he

¹⁵⁴ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*.

¹⁵⁵ See Gardiner, *op. cit.*, i, 97.

¹⁵⁶ News from England sent to Ormonde by Nicholas, July 28/Aug. 7, 1649, Carte, *Original Letters*, i, 297-8.

¹⁵⁷ Letter July 18, *Ibid.*, ii, 390.

¹⁵⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649), p. 336.

¹⁵⁹ Referred by the House to the Committee of the Army to consider and report, July 20. *C. J.*, vi, 265; *Perfect Diurnall*, July 20; debate in the House on the Committee's report, *Perfect Diurnall*, July 21; *C. J.*, vi, 267.

¹⁶⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 239, 581.

found time to write to his son Richard's father-in-law to express his satisfaction with the prosperity of the family and advise him of Mrs. Cromwell's impending visit to the Mayors on her way to join her husband in Bristol:

For my very loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These

LOVING BROTHER,

I received your letter by Major Longe, and do in answer thereunto according to my best understanding, with a due consideration to those gentlemen who have abid the brunt of the service.

I am very glad to hear of your welfare, and that our children have so good leisure to make a journey to eat cherries; it's very excusable in my daughter, I hope she may have a very good pretence for it. I assure you, Sir, I wish her very well, and I believe she knows it. I pray you tell her from me, I expect she writes often to me; by which I shall understand how all your family doth, and she will be kept in some exercise. I have delivered my son up to you, and I hope you will counsel him: he will need it, and indeed I believe he likes well what you say, and will be advised by you. I wish he may be serious, the times require it.

I hope my sister¹⁶¹ is in health, to whom I desire my very hearty affections and service may be presented, as also to my Cousin Ann,¹⁶² to whom I wish a good husband. I desire my affections may be presented to all your family, to which I wish a blessing from the Lord. I hope I shall have your prayers in the business to which I am called. My wife, I trust, will be with you before it be long, in her way towards Bristol. Sir, discompose not your thoughts nor estate for what you are to pay me. Let me know wherein I may comply with your occasions and mind, and be confident you will find me to you as your own heart.

Wishing your prosperity and contentment very sincerely, with the remembrance of my love, I rest,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

Bristol,
July 19, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁶³

Meanwhile he urged more and more strongly the necessity of money, and it is obvious that to his mind the success of his venture depended largely on that resource. It is scarcely less obvious that the long delay was irksome to the men who had now been more than three months on the way to a great adventure and were growing restless in their Bristol quarters. On their behalf Cromwell wrote again on July 20 to the authorities, probably to Lenthall:

¹⁶¹ Mrs. Mayor.

¹⁶² Richard's sister-in-law, afterwards Mrs. Dunch of Pusey.

¹⁶³ Holograph original first amongst the Pusey letters, later in the Morrison Collection and now in the Huntington Library, HM 21,713. Printed in Harris, p. 527; Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*, i, 323; T. Cromwell, *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 450; Lomas-Carlyle, Letter, XCIX.

[*To William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons*]

"Of his preparations and marches in order to his expedition, and desiring supplies, especially of money." Suggesting another way of raising the money. The soldiers are diffident and becoming disloyal to the Commonwealth on account of the delay. What has been done about the two regiments to be raised for Sir Wm. Cole and Col. John King?
Bristol, July 20, 1649.¹⁶⁴

This was received on the 23rd and the Council of State was ordered to take care of the matter, which they did, sending Cromwell a lengthy reply on the 24th, promising to have the £100,000 ready by July 31, and asking how it should be sent. Supplies and convoy had been ordered, they said, but no more regiments could be raised for lack of money.¹⁶⁵ At the same time he began to make local arrangements for supplies. On the day that news reached London of Cromwell's decision to rendezvous his forces at Milford Haven,¹⁶⁶ he wrote to the authorities in several counties to make plans for the forces soon to embark from there:

For the Justices of the Peace for the County of —

GENTLEMEN,

Forasmuch as we are to march by you, to ship for Ireland, and the forces engaged will stand in need of provisions for their shipping; and several regiments having orders from me to march to the port of Milford Haven, and thereabouts; in order thereunto, these are to desire that you will speedily cause proclamations to be made, or public notice given in the several market towns, within your counties, or Association, that a free market will be kept in the several villages lying near Milford Haven, upon Tuesday the 31 of July instant; and to be kept daily, till all the forces be shipped, for all sorts of provisions, both for horse, and men; and that all people, that bring such provisions, shall have ready money for whatsoever we buy. This I thought fit to signify, that if possible there may be a sufficiency of provisions, both for accommodation of the forces, and ease of the places adjacent to the Haven where so many forces are to be drawn together.

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Bristol,
July 21, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁶⁷

The delay at Bristol grew more and more irritating — not only to the soldiers but to Cromwell himself, on whom devolved not merely the

¹⁶⁴ Read in the House and referred to the Council of State, C. J., vi, 268; *Perfect Diurnall*, July 23; Whitelocke, p. 414; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 243. Council's reply in Council Letter Book, *ibid.*, pp. 245-6.

¹⁶⁵ C. J., vi, 268; *Perfect Diurnall*, July 23; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 243.

¹⁶⁶ *Perfect Diurnall*, July 21.

¹⁶⁷ Pr. in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, (1887), p. 150, from the *Moderate*, July 17-24, 1649. Calendared in Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 47.

responsibility for the expedition but an infinity of petty details of all sorts, of which the records of some few remain. On July 23 he wrote once more to the Council of State on behalf of the Earl of Thomond's petition which, with his recommendation, was read three weeks later in the House, and granted.¹⁶⁸ On that same day he intervened with the Council of Bristol in behalf of a surgeon named Allen, to ask that he be admitted to "freedom" without a fine, upon his promise not to open his shop until he had compounded with the Barber Surgeons' Company.¹⁶⁹ He sent Reynolds and Venables with their regiments to relieve Jones in Dublin, which they reached on the 26th.¹⁷⁰ He rode from Bristol to Tenby and Milford Haven to arrange the embarkation. He conferred with Colonel Deane, who commanded the fleet patrolling between Plymouth and Milford Haven and had come to discuss the details of transporting the army to Ireland, which had been entrusted to his care.¹⁷¹ He ordered a certain Lieutenant-Colonel Shelborne to come to him, and protested to the Council the action of the Committee of Accounts which threatened Shelborne with sequestration of his estate if he obeyed.¹⁷² He kept the Council informed of his situation and his plans; and on July 28, apparently as a result of his conference with Deane, he wrote again:

To the Council of State

The forces are ready to take shipping; a few have deserted; money is much needed; five hundred Irish were landed at Jersey probably designed to second the plot for surprising Weymouth, Portland and other garrisons. Tenby, July 28, 1649.¹⁷³

Finally, on July 25, the Council managed to secure £70,000 of the £100,000 by warrants from the excise, from the Deans' and Chapters' lands, from Goldsmiths' Hall and from the Treasurers-at-War, and Fairfax was ordered to appoint a convoy to ensure its safe arrival.¹⁷⁴ On the 30th the Council ordered the Treasurers-at-War to pay not more than £10 a day for the carriage of the money; and on the 31st they wrote Cromwell that the £70,000 had been sent and that the rest would follow soon.¹⁷⁵ To that they added the further information

¹⁶⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 251; Brought to the House August 10 and read. August 15, *C. J.*, vi, 276, 279.

¹⁶⁹ Latimer, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

¹⁷⁰ Jones to Lenthall, Aug. 6, Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 153.

¹⁷¹ Col. Richard Deane to Col. Popham, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* Leyborne Popham Mss., p. 24.

¹⁷² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 254.

¹⁷³ *Perfect Diurnall*, July 30; Whitelocke, p. 416; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 254.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 582.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 257. On July 31 *Mercurius Pragmaticus* and *Moderate Intelligencer* reported that £100,000 had been sent.

that in view of his protest the Committee of Accounts of Buckinghamshire had agreed to release Colonel Shelborne; that ten ships had sailed from the Downs; and that twenty-one hundred foot and a third as many horse had been sent from Chester to Liverpool. They ordered the fortifications of Aberystwith slighted; gave information and instructions as to the supplies of food; and expressed the hope that Cromwell's soldiers would be willing to go to Ireland before the rest of the £100,000 was received.¹⁷⁶

With this the success of the expedition seemed assured. According to his letter of the 28th, Cromwell had gone from Bristol to Tenby, whence he turned back to Swansea and wrote thence on July 30 to the Council in behalf of that Lieutenant-Colonel Owen O'Connellly whom he had called to the attention of Parliament at the outbreak of the Irish rebellion, and who had made a report to the House on the condition of Dublin on July 23.¹⁷⁷

Nor is it without some interest to observe that it was on that day Cromwell was reported to have taken notice of Bulstrode Whitelocke's son James, who had enlisted as a private to go to Ireland. "He was the only gentleman of England," Cromwell remarked, "that came as a volunteer to serve under him, and he would have a very particular care and respect toward him."¹⁷⁸ Matters were now shaping rapidly toward the embarkation of the troops, and on August 1 the Council of State commissioned Scot to write to Cromwell of its resolutions fixing the terms of pay for the Irish service,¹⁷⁹ and ordered a convoy for three ships laden with ammunition and provisions about to sail to join Cromwell.¹⁸⁰

All this was suddenly interrupted by an untoward event. At this moment the Council was surprised by an unexpected visit from Colonel Monk bringing news of most disturbing character materially affecting the whole of the Irish situation. Two weeks earlier Monk had held Dundalk, with O'Neill seven miles away, when news had come that Inchiquin, acting under Ormonde's orders, had taken Drogheda for the King. Sir George Monro and Lord Montgomery, with their Scots, had declared for Charles, and Monk's only hope of holding Dundalk against inevitable attack by Inchiquin had lain in O'Neill's assistance, in accordance with their treaty. But O'Neill had

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 257.

¹⁷⁷ Letter referred to the Irish Committee, Aug. 3. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 261.

¹⁷⁸ Whitelocke, p. 416. Young Whitelocke was made colonel of an Oxfordshire militia regiment the following March.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, The terms of pay for the general officers had been fixed by the House five days before, July 27. *C. J.*, vi, 271. The accounts of the officers and soldiers not yet determined were stated in an Act introduced Aug. 2, *Ibid.*, vi, 273.

¹⁸⁰ Whitelocke, p. 416.

no powder, and the detachment which he sent to secure a supply from Monk got so drunk before they left Dundalk that they fell an easy prey to Colonel Trevor's command which Inchiquin sent to intercept them. On this misadventure, O'Neill marched away to Londonderry, leaving Monk to defend Dundalk if possible against Inchiquin's attack which began on July 24. Ormonde's position at Finglas prevented Jones' coming from Dublin to relieve Monk, whose men refused to fight, and who was compelled to surrender the stronghold of Dundalk. Though the terms of capitulation provided that the men should be allowed to go unmolested, this availed nothing. The soldiers were unpaid and hungry; they were disgruntled at Monk's alliance with those whom they regarded as the perpetrators of the Ulster massacre; and they declined to follow him further. Most of them enlisted under Inchiquin and left Monk to get to England as best he could. From Chester he made his way to London, whence, after a few hours, he started for Bristol to confer with Cromwell on the new situation created by this catastrophe.¹⁸¹

While Monk was on his way west, Cromwell was busy with his last preparations for sailing. On August 2 he was in Tenby where he left "a gift of £10 . . . with the mayor to be distributed to the poor by the churchwardens and overseers,"¹⁸² and from there he wrote a letter to Scot which was read in the House on the 10th, though no hint of its contents remains.¹⁸³ Meanwhile Monk arrived and had an interview with Cromwell at Milford Haven where the whole question of the treaty with O'Neill and the political as well as the military situation was discussed.¹⁸⁴

That situation was full of unpleasant possibilities. Cromwell was no doubt in full agreement with Monk as to the latter's reasons for allying himself with the Irish Catholics, which, from a military standpoint, were unanswerable. But it would never do to admit in England that such an alliance met with the approval of the existing government. Cromwell and his fellow-members of the Council were fully aware of the unfortunate impression such news would produce. They had known of this treaty for two months, but they had agreed to keep it secret, and had it not been for the fall of Dundalk and the desertion of Monk's men, it might perhaps have been withheld entirely from the knowledge of the public.

That seemed no longer possible and only one course was left—to acknowledge the fact of the treaty having been made but to disavow it and discredit its author. Monk was therefore cast for the part of the

¹⁸¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, Aug. 1.

¹⁸² A. L. Leach, *History of the Civil War in Pembrokeshire* (1937), p. 239, from Laws and Edwards, *Church Book of St. Mary the Virgin* (Tenby, 1907), p. 29.

¹⁸³ C. J., vi, 277.

¹⁸⁴ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*.

scapegoat. This course of action was determined on probably in his consultation with Cromwell. At any rate it was concluded that the Council of State, Parliament and Cromwell should denounce Monk and his treaty and leave Monk to shoulder the blame. Whether or not the Council had already decided on that course, its resolution was strengthened by a letter which Cromwell wrote from Milford Haven, probably immediately after his interview with Monk; for he was in Tenby on the 5th intending to return the next day to Milford Haven.¹⁸⁵

[*To the Council of State?*]

Complaining that the agreement with O'Neill had caused many of his men to desert the expedition. He asked the Council of State to treat with Monk to take the whole responsibility for the treaty, and thus clear the Council and himself, adding that he found Monk inclinable to do this. Milford Haven, c. August 4, 1649.¹⁸⁶

Monk was apparently again in London by August 7; and this letter, together with the papers received earlier by Cromwell, seems to have been considered by the Council of State on that day. As a result, the Council decided to "report to the House that the letter and papers concerning a cessation made by Colonel Monk with Owen Roe McCart O'Neale were sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Colonel Monk, and were delivered by Cromwell to the Council, when they considered the whole business and disapproved thereof." Monk was "enjoined to secrecy; that he having now come to England and presented himself, the Council have informed him that they neither did nor do approve of what he has done therein and have ordered that the aforesaid letters and papers and his reasons for making the cessation, should be at once reported . . ." ¹⁸⁷

On August 10 the Council made its report to Parliament and Monk was called to the bar of the House to explain his conduct. The Speaker asked him what persons he meant in his letter to Cromwell in which he said that he had made his agreement with O'Neill with the advice of 'some others.' Monk replied that he had made the agreement on his own responsibility, having as his authority only Colonel Jones' suggestion that it would be wise to prevent the junction of Ormonde and O'Neill, and denied that he had received any advice or authorization from any member of the Council of State or Parliament. On this the House voted that it "doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of Col. Monck in the Treaty and Cessation with Owen

¹⁸⁵ *Perfect Diurnall*, Aug. 7.

¹⁸⁶ Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 230; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 263, 264; *C. J.*, vi, 277; *Perfect Diurnall*, Aug. 10.

¹⁸⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 264.

Roe O'Neile, and . . . doth detest and abhor the thoughts of any closing with any party of Popish Rebels there who have had their hands in shedding the innocent blood there." "Nevertheless," it continued, "the House is content the further consideration thereof as to him be laid aside, and shall not at any time hereafter be called in question."¹⁸⁸

Whether or not Walker's charge is true, that Monk had lied on the advice of Cromwell and the Council of State,¹⁸⁹ the government was able to meet and surmount a difficult and dangerous situation by means of his testimony. Though public censure was considerable, though many besides Walker were convinced that the whole proceeding was devised to clear the skirts of the authorities, there was no tangible evidence of collusion, and the fact that the Council had known of Monk's treaty with O'Neill as early as the first of June remained a secret.

This was not the only annoyance the revolutionary leaders endured at this moment. On the day that Monk made his appearance before the bar of the House there appeared a new attack from Lilburne's pen in the form of a tract entitled *An Impeachment of High Treason against Oliver Cromwell and his Son-in-Law, Henry Ireton*, which marked the beginning of a new paper war that centered in the denunciation of Cromwell as an aspirant for supreme place in the state. In it Lilburne combined his earlier charges with those of Huntington, and the Council, hastening to Cromwell's defence, issued a warrant for Lilburne's arrest on August 20.¹⁹⁰

To these attacks, as to others, Cromwell himself paid no heed, nor was it at that time possible had he been so inclined. The troops were moving toward the ports appointed for their embarkation. It was reported from Hereford on August 4 that part of Colonel Horton's regiment refused to go and had disbanded.¹⁹¹ Other forces were converging on the chief port of embarkation, Milford Haven, and Colonel Ewer's regiment on the 8th was marching toward Appledore on Bideford Bay intending to meet Cromwell in Ireland.¹⁹² And at this moment Cromwell and his men were greatly heartened by the news which reached them from Ireland as the troops were about to go on shipboard.

That news put a different complexion on the whole enterprise. From Jones' letter to Cromwell as well as from another which was sent to Westminster and relayed to Cromwell, reaching him on August

¹⁸⁸ *C. J.*, vi, 277.

¹⁸⁹ Walker, *op. cit.*, ii, 230-231.

¹⁹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 544.

¹⁹¹ *Perfect Diurnall*, Aug. 7.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, Aug. 14.

11, it appeared that the Parliamentarians had what they most needed at this moment, a victory over their chief adversary.¹⁹³ Ormonde had been well aware that it was unwise to await the arrival of fresh reinforcements for his enemies from England and had resolved on a last desperate effort to seize Dublin before they arrived. Having taken Drogheda and Dundalk, by mid-June he had laid siege to Dublin with some four thousand horse and seven thousand foot. Against him Jones defended the city with scarcely more than half his numbers, but, reinforced in late July by some six hundred horse and sixteen hundred foot which Cromwell had sent to his aid,¹⁹⁴ on August 2 he attacked Ormonde's forces then endeavoring to seize the castle of Baggotrath and cut off further aid from England, and drove them off. He then fell on Ormonde's camp at Rathmines, defeating the forces there with a loss of four thousand killed and capturing twenty-five hundred prisoners, with the Royalist artillery and baggage-train. It was a crushing blow to Ormonde, and though he was still strong enough to repulse Jones' effort to capture Drogheda, it was apparent that with the coming of Cromwell, now daily expected, the Royalist resistance was greatly weakened at the moment when it needed all its strength. Moreover it gave a corresponding impetus to the Parliamentary invasion. As Leicester recorded in his Journal, it was thought that many of Cromwell's men would have refused to go to Ireland with him "if they had not been encouraged by this extraordinary victory."

As a reward for this great service, Jones was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general of horse, as Cromwell's letter to Mayor indicates,¹⁹⁵ and it is obvious Jones' victory was an enormous relief to one who had just heard the distressing news of Monk's disaster:

To Richard Mayor, Esquire

LOVING BROTHER,

I could not satisfy myself to omit this opportunity by my son of writing to you; especially there being so late and great an occasion of acquainting you with the happy news I received from Lieutenant-General Jones yesterday.

The Marquis of Ormond besieged Dublin with nineteen-thousand men or thereabouts; seven-thousand Scots and three-thousand more were coming to that work. Jones issued out of Dublin with four-thousand foot and twelve-hundred horse; hath routed his whole Army; killed about four-thousand upon the place, and taken 2,517 prisoners, above three-hundred officers, some of great quality.

¹⁹³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 275.

¹⁹⁴ Venables and Reynolds had reached Dublin with their regiments on July 26. See above after Cromwell's letter of July 21.

¹⁹⁵ His salary was to be £2 per day of which ten shillings was to be paid later in lands. *C. J.*, vi, 271.

This is an astonishing mercy; so great and seasonable as indeed we are like them that dreamed. What can we say! The Lord fill our souls with thankfulness, that our mouths may be full of His praise,—and our lives too; and grant we never forget His goodness to us. These things seem to strengthen our faith and love, against more difficult times. Sir, pray for me, That I may walk worthy of the Lord in all that He hath called me unto.

I have committed my son to you; pray give him advice. I envy him not his contents; but I fear he should be swallowed up of them. I would have him mind and understand business, read a little history, study the mathematics and cosmography:—these are good, with subordination to the things of God. Better than idleness, or mere outward worldly contents. These fit for public services, for which a man is born.

Pardon this trouble. I am thus bold because I know you love me; as indeed I do you, and yours. My love to my dear sister, and my Cousin Ann your daughter, and all friends. I rest,

Sir,

August 13, 1649,
from aboard the *John*

Your loving brother,
O. CROMWELL.

[P.S.] Sir, I desire you not to discommode yourself because of the money due to me. Your welfare is as mine: and therefore let me know, from time to time, what will convenience you in any forbearance; I shall answer you in it, and be ready to accommodate you. And therefore do your other business, let not this hinder.¹⁹⁶

Cromwell was already on shipboard, and, though his wife and eldest son had come to see him off, his last letters written before his departure indicate he was in haste to be gone. But he could not leave without a final admonition to his daughter-in-law:

To my beloved Daughter Dorothy Cromwell, at Hursley: These

MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

Your letter was very welcome to me. I like to see anything from your hand, because indeed I stick not to say I do entirely love you. And therefore I hope a word of advice will not be unwelcome nor unacceptable to thee.

I desire you both to make it above all things your business to seek the Lord; to be frequently calling upon Him, that He would manifest Himself to you in His Son, and be listening what returns He makes to you, for He will be speaking in your ear and in your heart, if you attend thereunto. I desire you to provoke your husband likewise thereunto. As for the pleasures of this life, and outward business, let that be upon the bye. Be above all these things, by faith in Christ, and then you shall have the true use and comfort of them, and not otherwise. I have much satisfaction in hope your spirit is this way set, and I desire you may grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that I may hear thereof. The Lord

¹⁹⁶ Printed in Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, iv, 266, from the original belonging to Lord Nugent. Repr. Carlyle, ³Letter C.

is very near, which we see by His wonderful works, and therefore He looks that we of this generation draw near Him. This late great mercy of Ireland is a great manifestation thereof. Your husband will acquaint you with it. We should be much stirred up in our spirits to thankfulness. We much need the spirit of Christ, to enable us to praise God for so admirable a mercy.

The Lord bless thee, my dear daughter, I rest,

Thy loving Father,

From aboard the *John*,
August 13, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

[P.S.] I hear thou didst lately miscarry. Prithee take heed of a coach by all means; borrow thy father's nag when thou intendest to go abroad.¹⁹⁷

Besides these letters to his family, he sent off a final word to Westminster, probably to Lenthall:

[To William Lenthall, Speaker of Parliament]

Urging the repeal of "penal statutes that enforce the conscience of honest conscientious men," and giving assurance that they are the servants of Parliament, that they will live and die for it and the way the government is erected; and that they are also the servants of God, who as Chief master they must also obey. Milford Haven, August 13, 1649.¹⁹⁸

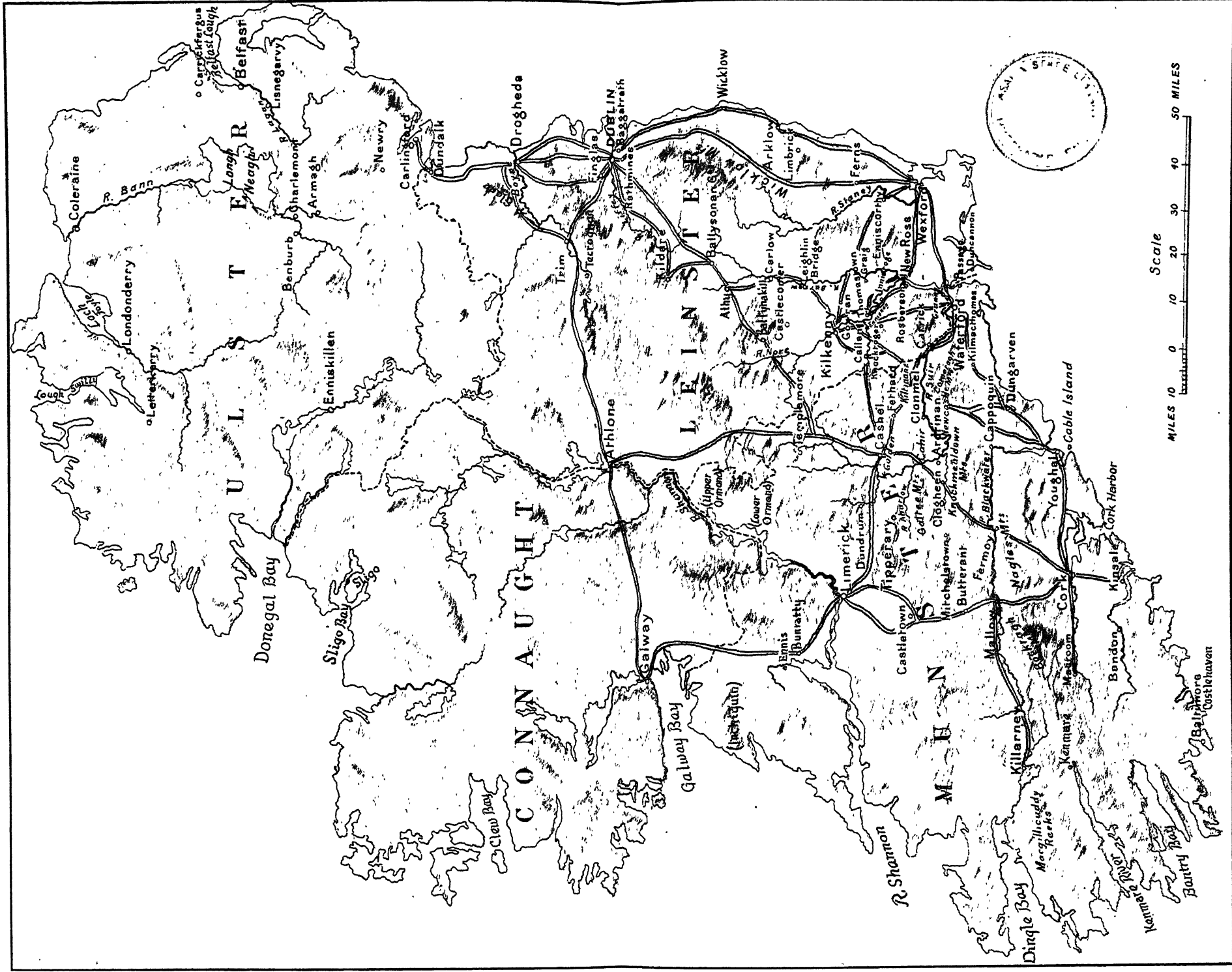
With this last plea for toleration of the men who were following his cause, whether Independent, Baptist, Quaker or Fifth Monarchist, he set forth to the struggle with Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian in behalf of the Commonwealth against the monarchy. As he sent these letters off, the ships got under way to catch the tide. With him went thirty-five sail. Ireton and Deane were left with some seventy-seven other vessels to sail for Kinsale in Munster two days later.¹⁹⁹ Besides these, a third squadron of eighteen ships, commanded by Colonel Horton, left shortly afterward and was followed by still others.²⁰⁰ In all some hundred and thirty ships carrying more than ten thousand men, with ammunition, supplies and artillery, now bore down upon the coast of Ireland. Not since the Spanish Armada had there been seen such a formidable expedition in that quarter of the world. It was small wonder that the followers of Charles II, whether English

¹⁹⁷ Forster, *op. cit.*, iv, 267, from the original then in the possession of Lord Nugent, later owned by Mrs. Prescott and calendared in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* II, App. p. 98. Carlyle, Letter CI. Mentioned in Henfrey, *Numismata Cromwelliana*, p. 182.

¹⁹⁸ *C. J.*, vi, 282; *Perfect Diurnall*, August 21; *Moderate Intelligencer*, Aug. 16-23.

¹⁹⁹ Deane to Popham, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* Leyborne Popham Mss., p. 26; Cotymor to Popham, Aug. 23, 25, *ibid.*, p. 35; *Exact History of Several Changes; Perfect Diurnall*, Aug. 20; Reports differ in the number of ships sailing. See various notices in *Perfect Diurnall*. Bellings, *Vindiciae Catholicorum Hiberniae* (Paris, 1650), p. 206 gives the total number as about 140.

²⁰⁰ *Moderate Intelligencer*, August 30.



IRELAND AT THE TIME OF CROMWELL'S INVASION

or Irish, Anglican, Catholic or Presbyterian, were deeply disturbed at the prospect of encountering such a force under such a commander, to which they could oppose armies as inferior to those of the host now about to invade Ireland in equipment, unity and cohesion as they were in leadership. It was, as had been said of the Norman invasion centuries earlier, the impact of the iron on the earthen pot and the result could hardly ever have been in doubt. Jones' recent victory over Ormonde had cleared the way for Cromwell's success; and this new expedition met not a united, vigorous and successful enemy but one already shattered and divided against itself.

CHAPTER III

DROGHEDA AND WEXFORD

The campaign on which Cromwell now entered differed in many respects from those which he had waged in England. Divided as the English people were between Royalist Anglicans and Presbyterians and anti-Royalist and anti-clerical sectaries, they had a homogeneity which the Irish wholly lacked. There the descendants of the Danish and Norman conquerors had long since intermingled all but indistinguishably with the native Irish. But in the preceding three-quarters of a century there had poured into Ireland thousands of Scotch and English settlers alien in race, speech and especially religion, from those whose country they invaded. Vast estates were in the hands of English and Anglo-Irish nobles, some Catholic but for the most part Protestant. Industries hitherto all but unknown to Ireland had been introduced not only in the north where Ulster had become a Presbyterian stronghold, but in the towns farther south, especially in Munster and Leinster where the English influence under the Butlers and Boyles, now earls of Ormonde and Cork, was powerful.

As always, that had bred increasing hatred between the dispossessed Catholic Irish and the colonizing English and Scotch settlers and landholders, Anglican or Presbyterian as the case might be. The gulf between these elements had deepened with the massacres eight years earlier and the resultant vengeance on the Irish rebels, till it was to all intents and purposes unbridgeable. Thus, in the last resolution, as it proved, Cromwell could count on some support from Protestant elements, despite their hatred of the executioners of the King.

To this was added another factor. There was now no formidable force left in the field to oppose the new invasion. Jones' victory at Rathmines had broken Ormonde's power almost as effectively as Naseby had broken that of Charles. There remained, therefore, only the capture of the various strongholds which remained in the hands of the Royalists—Anglican, Catholic, or Presbyterian—and the elimination of the roving bands of those opposed to the domination of the Parliament. On its face that seemed no overwhelming task; but there were two circumstances, apart from the distance from England, which made it difficult. The one was the lack of roads; the other was the climate. English roads were bad, but Irish roads were worse. English climate was wet, but the Irish climate was wetter. To men

unaccustomed to its peculiarities it was extremely unhealthy, especially in the prevalence of those epidemics of what was called the "plague"—a bubonic fever, a swelling of the glands often producing boils or carbuncles—with a high mortality for which there was at that time no known remedy or even preventive. This, with the influenza, which had afflicted his men in his western campaign in England, was, in fact, more to be feared than the enemy. On these, on the weather, and on the lack of communications, his enemies relied even more than on their arms to repel the new invasion. It was little wonder, then, that the new Lord Lieutenant and commander-in-chief had taken such pains in the preparation of his expedition, not merely in men and in money to pay them and to seduce his enemies, but in supplies of every kind to protect his followers from illness and the weather.

DUBLIN, AUGUST 16-30, 1649

Under such circumstances, Cromwell set sail from Milford Haven on August 13th. The start was not, indeed, auspicious. His ships were becalmed on the first day, and on the second day, though there was a favorable wind, there was a choppy sea, which deeply affected the commander of the expedition, who proved himself a bad sailor. He was, as Peter wrote, "as sea-sick as ever I saw a man in my life," even before he was out of the harbor.¹ Apart from this, the short voyage was uneventful. The fleet was undisturbed by Royalist attack and on the 15th it cast anchor at Ringsend in a harbor previously secured by Sir George Ayscue for the disembarkation.² Landing with three regiments, some three thousand men in all, Cromwell was greeted by the roar of cannon from the walls of Dublin; and when he came into the city he was met by a great crowd of people who "came to see his Lordship, who, making a stand (in a humble posture) with his hat in his hand, made a most sweet and plausible speech":

Speech in Dublin, August 15, 1649

"That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but, by his divine providence, to restore them all to their just liberty and property; and that all those whose heart's affections were real for the carrying on of the great work against the barbarous and bloodthirsty Irish, and the rest of their adherents and confederates, for the propagating of the Gospel of Christ, the establishing of truth and peace and restoring that bleeding nation to its former happiness and tranquillity, should find favour and protection from the Parliament of England and receive such endowments and gratuities, as should be answerable to their merits."³

¹ Letter, Aug. 16, *Perfect Diurnall*, Aug. 27.

² *Moderate Intelligencer*, Aug. 16-23.

³ *Perfect Diurnall*, Aug. 23. Also in *The Perfect Politician* (1660) and in C. L. Stainer, *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (1901), p. 80. The Earl of Leicester's *Journal*

This "sweet and plausible" speech was highly applauded by his hearers of whom "many hundred cried out that they would live and die with him," and with this welcome he entered upon his Irish adventure. It was small wonder that he was received with such enthusiasm in the capital. When Colonel Jones had taken the city from Ormonde, two years earlier, he had driven out every Papist who could be discovered and imposed severe penalties on any who might venture to return. Parliament had confirmed his orders, making it a capital offence to shelter a priest, even for an hour.⁴ When Ormonde had again threatened the city, the order for ejectment of all Catholics was revived and enforced with fresh vigor, and there were, in theory at least, no Catholic men left in Dublin.⁵ Ormonde himself, after his defeat at Rathmines, had withdrawn his remaining force of some eight thousand troops, of which two regiments had been sent to strengthen Drogheda and Trim,⁶ and Cromwell thus found the city and its neighborhood virtually free from his enemies.

For the moment he remained in Dublin waiting for the rest of his command, which, under Ireton's leadership, had sailed for Kinsale but, presumably finding it impossible to land there, had hovered about Cabell Island near Youghal for some days and finally, on August 23, put into Dublin with eighty-four sail under command of Colonel Deane.⁷ Meanwhile Cromwell had set up his first headquarters, according to tradition, in a house which stood at the corner of Castle Street and Werburgh Street.⁸ According to another tradition, the troopers' horses were stabled in St. Patrick's Cathedral,⁹ and "the buff coat instead of the black gown appeared in Dublin pulpits."¹⁰ These early days of Cromwell's stay in Dublin were thus devoted to organizing and arming his forces, unloading stores, and attending to the infinity of details connected with the quartering of the men, and the preparation for the new campaign.

Among those details were letters requesting pay, rewards and recognition of the men under him. Of these the first was in behalf of Ad-

(1825), p. 82, says that "many of his men refused to go over with him, and it is thought many more would have done so, if they had not been encouraged by this extraordinary success," i.e. Jones' victory at Rathmines.

⁴ Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, ii, 43.

⁵ Whitelocke, p. 396.

⁶ Ormonde to King, Aug. 8, *Carte Letters*, ii, 396.

⁷ Deane to Council of State, Aug. 23, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, Leyborne-Popham Mss., p. 34. This seems to indicate a change in the original plans, Leicester's *Journal*, *ut supra*, says "either the wind served not, or else some other thing changed his purpose."

⁸ Demolished by order of the Commissioners of Wide Streets in 1812, Thomas Cromwell, *Excursions through Ireland* (1820), ii, 81.

⁹ *Dublin Penny Journal*, iii, 274 (1835).

¹⁰ *Moderate Intelligencer*, Aug. 30-Sept. 6.

miral Ayscue, urging recognition of his services in covering the landing of the troops:

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament: These

SIR,

Before my coming for Ireland I was bold to move the House on the behalf of Sir George Ayscough, who then I thought had merited the favour of the Parliament, but since, much more, by his very faithful and industrious carriage in this place.

It seems, whilst he is attending your service, a lease he holds of the Deanery of Windsor had like to be purchased over his head, he not coming to buy it himself by the time limited. He holds a very considerable part of his estate in church-leases; one or more being in impropriate tithes, which he and his ancestors have held for a good time: all which is like to determine, and go from him and his, by your orders.

I found the Parliament well to resent the motion I made on his behalf at that time. I desire you please to revive the business; and to obtain the House's favour for him, which they intended and expressed. He will, I presume, herewith send his humble desires: for which I beg your furtherance; and rest, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹¹

Dublin, Aug. 22, 1649.

To this he added on the next day three others. The first demanded, as usual, support from the Council of State:

To the Council of State

Asking for supplies and pressing the sending of the rest of the horse and foot so there will be sufficient number of men to man each garrison as it is captured. August 23, 1649.¹²

The plea was effective. Read in the Council on August 30, it was reported to Parliament the next day and the Council was ordered to comply with its request, "having regard to the increase of the charge," and it was finally referred to the Irish Committee on September 4.¹³ Two weeks earlier the Council had sent orders to Cromwell to turn the house of the Archbishop of Dublin into a hospital, whose estimated upkeep of £743/13/8 a year was to be charged against the church income,¹⁴ and had ordered him to furnish Lieutenant-General

¹¹ Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 163, from *Tanner Mss.*, lvi, 93. Carlyle, Letter CII. Mentioned in Henfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 294-5, 299; *C. J.*, vi, 288; *Perfect Diurnall*, Aug. 31.

¹³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

Jones with saddles, pistols and holsters from the stores which he had taken with him.¹⁵

The second document was a warrant for the payment of a man who, having mustered his regiment with the others on Hounslow Heath in May, was presently to be made governor of Kinsale. This was a certain Colonel Stubbers, suspected of having been the executioner of Charles I, and later, as Governor of Galway, said to have collected over a thousand of its inhabitants to sell in the West Indies.¹⁶

*Warrant to Sir John Wollaston, Knt. and the rest of the
Treasurers-at-War*

For the payment to colonel Peter Stubbers of 360 l. "upon account for a weeks' pay for the present necessary supply of the officers and souldiers of his regiment of foote." August 23, 1649.¹⁷

The third of these documents written on that day was Cromwell's *Declaration to the City of Dublin*, establishing virtually martial law—from which it would appear that he had set up his headquarters in the Castle as Lord Lieutenant as well as commander of the army:

Declaration to the City of Dublin

WHEREAS God Almighty, in the abundance of His mercy and goodness, hath been pleased from time to time to vouchsafe preservation and deliverance unto this city from the rage and cruelty of a bloody enemy, and in a more special manner to manifest His [anger against a] numerous army of rebels encamped about this city; which continual mercies do justly call for a thankful acknowledgment of His gracious goodness by a sincere and earnest endeavour, as well to maintain the honour of His most holy Name as to oppose and take away such offences, being contrary and displeasing to His divine will; and yet notwithstanding, by the frequent practice of profane swearing, cursing, and drunkenness, His holy Name is daily dishonoured and blasphemed, to the scandal and grief of all good men, although the said offences are prohibited by the law of God, the known laws of this land, and the known articles of war, whereby we have just cause to fear, that without a thorough reformation of such sins, He may deservedly break off the continuance of His wonted loving-kindness towards this place, and give us over to destruction:—

And for as much as it is a duty required at the hand of the magistrate, who ought not to bear the sword in vain, but to improve the power committed into his hand for the punishment [or] prevention of offences; we therefore sadly taking the premises into consideration, and resolving that

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹⁶ Murphy, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 241.

¹⁷ Holograph signed by Cromwell for sale by Maggs Bros. in 1931 (catalogue, p. 47). Calendared in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 9 App. II, 441 (Morrison Mss.).

the said offences be strictly proceeded against and punished according to the utmost severity and rigour of law, do by this our proclamation strictly charge and command, that as well the mayor of this city, and other officers and ministers of justice in the same city, whom the same shall concern, as also that all officers of the army, do respectively cause the said laws and articles to be put in execution against all such persons as shall offend against the same. And we do further charge and command all officers of the army to be aiding and assisting to the said mayor of this city, and the other officers and ministers of justice therein, for the apprehending of all and every the said offenders which shall be members of the army, and for the bringing of them before the proper officers, whereby they may be severely punished according to the said articles of war. And we do hereby declare our full resolution to punish the neglect and contempt of this our proclamation with the severest punishment which by law may be inflicted upon the contemners thereof.

(Signed) O. CROMWELL.¹⁸

Given at Dublin Castle this 23 of August, 1649.

This declaration of his principles and purposes was reinforced the next day by a Declaration to all Ireland defining his position as to pillaging and extortion. Modelled upon his earlier proclamations in the Scotch campaign, it was designed to quiet the fears of the Irish, to dispose them to friendly relations with the invading force, to guarantee them the possession and enjoyment of their property—at least until the first of the following year—and to serve notice on his men that any infraction of his orders would be punished with the utmost severity. It was at once sound military procedure and good politics as well as good morals, designed to conciliate the people against whose leaders he was then about to move, and, incidentally, to undermine the position of those leaders, whose hungry and badly-supplied followers had lived at virtually free quarter on a terrified country:

This DECLARATION is appointed to be printed, and published throughout all Ireland: By special direction from—OLIVER CROMWELL.

WHEREAS I am informed that, upon the marching out of the Armies heretofore, or of parties from Garrisons, a liberty hath been taken by the Soldiery to abuse, rob and pillage, and too often to execute cruelties upon the Country People: Being resolved, by the grace of God, diligently and strictly to restrain such wickedness for the future,

I do hereby warn and require all Officers, Soldiers, and others under my command, henceforth to forbear all such evil practices as aforesaid; and not to do any wrong or violence toward Country People, or persons whatsoever, unless they be actually in arms or office with the Enemy; and not to meddle with the goods of such, without special order.

¹⁸ Printed in *Perfect Diurnall*, August 29; Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland* (1880), ii, 231; Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 48. The *Moderate*, according to Leicester's *Journal*, *ut supra*, a Leveller organ, objected strongly to the "royal language of 'we'."

And I further declare, That it shall be free and lawful to and for all manner of persons dwelling in the country, as well gentlemen and soldiers, as farmers and other people (such as are in arms or office with or for the Enemy only excepted), to make their repair, and bring any provisions unto the Army (while in march or camp), or unto any Garrison under my command: Hereby assuring all such, that they shall not be troubled or molested in their persons or goods; but shall have the benefit of a free market, and receive ready money for goods or commodities they shall so bring and sell: And that they, behaving themselves peaceably and quietly; and paying such Contributions, proportionably with their neighbours, as have been, are, or shall be duly and orderly imposed upon them, for maintenance of the Parliament's forces and other public uses, shall have free leave and liberty to live at home with their families and goods; and shall be protected in their persons and estates by virtue thereof, until the 1st day of January next: by or before which time, all such of them as are minded to reside, and plough and sow, in the quarters, are to make their addresses, for now and further protections, to the Attorney-General, residing at Dublin, and to such other persons as shall be authorised for that purpose.

And hereof I require all Soldiers, and others under my command, diligently to take notice and observe the same: as they shall answer to the contrary at their utmost perils. Strictly charging and commanding all Officers and others, in their several places, carefully to see to it that no wrong or violence be done to any such person as aforesaid, contrary to the effect of the premises. Being resolved, through the grace of God, to punish all that shall offend contrary hereunto, very severely, according to Law or Articles of War; to displace, and otherwise punish, all such Officers as shall be found negligent in their places, and not see the due observance hereof, or not to punish the offenders under their respective commands.

Given at Dublin, the 24th of August 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁹

Whether this was an expedient to turn the peasantry against the Irish leaders or whether it was inspired by a tender heart, it was effective as the first move against his enemies over whom he had the enormous advantage of a well-filled purse. He had seen whole districts turn from one side to the other in the English civil wars because of plundering. He knew that many of the contending factions in Ireland had lived off the country for years; and as he saw the peasants flocking into his camp with provisions, for which they were promptly paid, whatever his motives, his policy was more than justified. No blow he struck against his enemies was more effective than this shrewd and politic declaration. To it he joined the prompt payment of his own troops, the want of which had earlier driven many of them to take free quarter in England and turned the people against the army there.

¹⁹ *A Declaration by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* (Dublin, 1649); repr. in London; *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 14; Lomas-Carlyle, i, 456-457. It may be noted that here Cromwell uses "I," not the "we" of his preceding Proclamation.

To prevent this situation in Ireland he bent every energy. On the day of his proclamation two orders bear witness to his care for his men:

Warrant

Ordering the payment of £1,983/17/4 upon account to be made to "Nathaniel Boyse, paymaster of the traine, for the use of himself and officers. The money to be sent to Bristol or other good quarters of the forces engaged for Ireland," etc.

August 24, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.²⁰

The second was of like character:

To Sir John Wollaston

Order to pay Colonel Thomas Horton the sum of £800 for the maintenance of his regiment of horse.

August 24, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.²¹

It is evident from these and other documents that he was no less anxious to keep his own men satisfied than to conciliate the Irish peasantry, and, like a good commander, his constant demands were for men, munitions and especially money. Among the many orders, letters and instructions which he must have issued in these busy days, another, dated August 26, has come down to us which further reveals this side of his activities. It was given to that John Moore, the regicide who had demonstrated his talents as a recruiter in the preceding spring, had raised a regiment there, been given a commission as colonel by Cromwell, and was now about to be sent back to England to enlist more men:

License

By the Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland for Colonel John Moore to repair to England and raise forces within three months.

Dublin, August 26, 1649.²²

²⁰ Signed, and with a receipt acknowledging the payment signed by Boyse. Listed in Sotheby's catalogue of the collection of Sholto V. Hare, of Clifton, Bristol, May, 1904.

²¹ Signed, and with a receipt signed by Thomas Horton. Bound with letters of Charles II, etc. and listed in American Art Association catalogue of the collection of Victor Thane of Chicago, April, 1926, and in the Parke-Bernet catalogue of the W. R. Hearst collection, 1938.

²² This with the rest of the Moore Papers owned by Stewart was sold at auction by Sotheby in November, 1901. Also in Sotheby's 1930 catalogue of the libraries of Cholmondeley and others. Mentioned in Maggs Bros. catalogue no. 570, p. 48 (1932). Calendared in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 10, App. 4, p. 93 (Capt. Stewart's Mss.).

Meanwhile the Council of State and Parliament had not been unmindful of their commander. On August 27 the Council wrote to him to furnish a Captain John Campbell with saddles and pistols for his forty horse when they arrived;²³ and possibly there was sent with this the printed order of Parliament that all deserters from the Parliamentary army and all those still adhering to Charles were to suffer confiscation of their estates.²⁴ And as almost his last act before leaving Dublin, Cromwell signed an order:²⁵

*To Sir John Wollaston and the rest of the Treasurers-at-War or
their Deputy*

Order to pay Wm. Allen, Adjutant General £49/12 for his horse on the recognized rate of pay in Ireland.

August 29, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.²⁶

DROGHEDA, AUGUST 30—SEPTEMBER 16, 1649

The army was now prepared to move, and on August 30, having sent a thousand foot and five hundred horse under Venables to relieve Coote, who was shut up in Londonderry, Cromwell gave orders to advance toward Drogheda thirty miles to the north.²⁷ He had no need to speculate as to the numbers and the situation of his enemies. Apart from such other information as he had secured since his arrival in Dublin, he had in his possession various letters taken from Ormonde's cabinet, especially one from Rupert and a copy of the reply, which must have afforded him much insight into the position and plans of the Royalists. Before he left Dublin, he gave these into the care of Colonel Deane who carried them to England on September 2, sending copies to Popham who commanded the fleet in the Downs and the North Sea.²⁸ With this last precaution the Lord Lieutenant began his advance against his enemies.

Those enemies were ill prepared to meet his formidable force. Their situation was confused almost beyond comprehension, for eight years of civil war had divided the Irish into parties which hated each other only less—or in some cases more—than they hated the Parliamentarians. So far as their forces were concerned, in the north were the Scots now under Hugh, Viscount Montgomery, who had

²³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 293.

²⁴ Ordered sent to Cromwell August 25, *C. J.*, vi, 285.

²⁵ A warrant, perhaps the same document, was purchased in 1919 by Maggs Bros. for £7/10. *Autograph Prices Current*, IV.

²⁶ Receipted by Allen. In Sotheby's Catalogue of Properties of the Earl of Radnor, etc. Dec. 1928.

²⁷ *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 10; *Moderate Intelligencer*, Sept. 6-13.

²⁸ Deane to Popham, Sept. 14, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* Leyborne-Popham Mss., p. 38.

been commissioned commander-in-chief of the royal army in Ulster by Charles II in the previous May. Ormonde was encamped at Tecroghan some thirty-odd miles northwest of Dublin and somewhat more than that from Drogheda. Inchiquin, who had received a commission as lieutenant-general and President of Munster and had brought about the defection of Monk's troops, had himself been deserted by most of his men after the disaster of Rathmines and held scattered posts like Trim and Newry with a few thousand men. Now that Monk was gone, Owen Roe O'Neill renewed his relations with Ormonde, but meanwhile, on the abandonment of the siege of Londonderry by the Scots in August, he secured from its commander, Coote, the supplies he had failed to get from Monk. The news of the coming of Cromwell had thrown him again into the arms of Ormonde, but whether from illness or hesitation, he was of small service to the Royalists now confronting Cromwell with an army weakened in numbers, equipment and morale by Jones' victory at Rathmines. These, with the few scattered followers of Clanricarde in Connaught, formed the forces opposed to the Parliamentarians, who, under Cromwell in Dublin and Coote in Londonderry, surpassed the Royalists so greatly in unity, equipment and leadership, if not in numbers.

The divisions among the armed forces in Ireland reflected those among the Irish people, broken into groups whose shifting alliances resembled nothing so much as the changing figures of a kaleidoscope. The Anglo-Irish, though opposed to the native Irish and still more to Papal dominance, were divided among English and Scotch, Anglicans, Presbyterians, even Catholics, then, after the execution of the King cut across their former antagonisms and alliances, into Royalists and Parliamentarians. The native Irish were still less united among themselves. Of the three main groups into which they fell, the Confederate Catholics were for a united Catholic Ireland, but not, like the party of the Papal legate Rinuccini, for an Ireland under papal dominance, while men like Owen Roe O'Neill, no less Catholic and nationalistic, had been opposed to both the Confederates and the Papal party. Nor was this all, for all three groups had at one time or another acted now with, now against, each other; and some of them with or against the Anglo- and Scotch-Irish as their varying interests or circumstances seemed to dictate. Personal no less than religious or political motives kept apart these various elements even in the face of such danger as now confronted them, and Ormonde's desperate efforts to unite them had been only partially successful.

For the moment the chief opposition to the new invasion lay in the north, and Cromwell, well-advised of the situation of affairs, prepared to advance against his nearest as well as his most formidable antagonists, the forces of the Earl of Ormonde which held the gateway to the

north—the town of Drogheda. Himself remaining at Tecroghan where he awaited developments, with a few thousand men to guard his remaining supplies, Ormonde entrusted the defence of that place to Sir Arthur Aston, an experienced professional soldier who had seen service in Russia, Poland, and under Gustavus Adolphus. From these adventures Aston had returned to join Charles I at the beginning of the Civil Wars and had approved himself a capable commander, disliked for his Catholicism and his sternness but respected for his ability.²⁹ Under his command was placed a garrison of some three thousand men, who, save for one regiment, were nearly all Irish and, like Aston, Catholics.

Neither Ormonde nor Aston entertained any illusions as to their ability to meet Cromwell in the field with their inferior, disheartened and ill-equipped forces, but Aston apparently believed that he could keep Cromwell in play until what Ormonde called “Colonel Hunger and Major Sickness” would compel him to retire. Thus, despite the fact that Aston was outnumbered four or five to one, that his own grandmother tried to betray the place to Cromwell, that he was virtually without cannon, and that his artillerymen consisted of one master-gunner, two gunners and three gunners’ mates, he had hopes of holding the position entrusted to him, for, as was said, “he who could take Drogheda could take hell.”³⁰

Under such conditions, at the end of August, Aston advised Ormonde that Cromwell was advancing with eight thousand foot and four thousand horse³¹ and Ormonde sent his last reinforcements to the garrison. Aston’s information was approximately correct. On August 31, Cromwell, “well and full of spirit,”³² assembled his forces, reckoned at some fifteen thousand men, and, with various readjustments of his troops, chose from the eight regiments of horse and six of foot, twelve regiments of some ten or twelve thousand “stout, resolute men,” and set out leaving Sir Theophilus Jones in Dublin.³³

²⁹ Aston had been governor of Reading and of Oxford in 1643 and 1644.

³⁰ The muster rolls of the Drogheda garrison, dated Aug. 30, 1649, are in Gilbert *op. cit.*, ii, 496. For the story of Lady Wilmot’s attempted treachery, see Aston’s correspondence with Ormonde (Carte “Report,” p. 133, in Gilbert’s *Cont. Hist. of Affairs*, ii, pt. 2, p. 452, quoted in Lady Burghclere’s *Life of . . . Ormonde*, i, 372–3).

³¹ Letter, Aug. 27, *Carte Mss. 32nd Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. I, p. 134.

³² Peter de la Fountagne writing to Mr. Coventry alias Crocker, Aug. 30, expresses the opinion that if Cromwell defeats Ormonde he will undoubtedly be crowned King. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* (Pepys Mss.) p. 299.

³³ Cromwell had reduced six foot regiments commanded by Sir Arthur Loftus, Sir Jo. Burlace, the Earl of Kildare, Col. Long, Col. Kinaston and Col. Hungerford; and one horse regiment commanded by Col. Ponsonby. The reduced officers were not a little discontented. Letter, Aug. 31, 1649, in *Modest Narrative*, Sept. 8–15. The same letter says Cromwell had 13,500 foot and 3,500 horse. See also *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 3–10.

Crossing the Liffey at the head of his army, he camped the first night on the estate of Nicholas, Lord Barnewall, and with Colonel Michael Jones leading the advance, began his march toward Drogheda on the next day. That night the army pitched camp at Ballygarth, some twenty miles from Dublin on the Nanny River,³⁴ and was shortly thereafter cheered by the arrival of a Captain Wentworth with a small party of Inchiquin's horse from Ormonde's camp at Tecroghan.³⁵

This was the first result of Cromwell's negotiations to enlist Inchiquin's officers, which it was expected would be followed by other desertions. Thus reinforced, on September 2 the army reached Drogheda and began to form its lines within a musket-shot of the town and to set in place the guns which had begun to arrive by sea.³⁶ By the next day four of these were mounted and hostilities began with a skirmish in which the Parliamentarians lost three men. Amid the usual circumstances of such an operation, unhindered by the garrison, whose lack of artillery made impossible any effective opposition, the work of unloading the guns, ammunition and supplies from the ships in the harbor was pushed forward rapidly. On September 5 one of Aston's lieutenants was captured scouting near the batteries and on the next day Cromwell issued a proclamation against plundering. To give emphasis to his words, three men were condemned to die for that offence and for straggling from their colours, and two of them were hanged the day following.³⁷

With such minor incidents there began the attack on Drogheda, upon whose fate turned in large measure not only the fortunes of the Irish Royalists but of Ireland itself. Both sides recognized its importance, for, strongly fortified after an older fashion and commanding the way to the north, it was the strategic key to the military situation. Had Aston been well equipped to stand a siege or had Ormonde been in a position to assist him, Cromwell might well have been turned back from the place as Jones had been in the preceding August, for Drogheda, properly defended, was a hard nut to crack.

Though the fact that the town lay on a convenient harbor was of more advantage to the besiegers who controlled the sea than to the besieged, the River Boyne and the sea into which it flowed at this point served to protect the place from being surrounded and made the task of the invaders difficult. The town itself, which rose steeply from the river banks, was cut in two by the Boyne, and it was impossible for a force coming from the south to attack the northern or main part of the city. That was connected with the southern, exposed

³⁴ *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 6, 8, 10; Letter, Sept. 15, in *Cromwelliana*, p. 64.

³⁵ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, I, 114, quoting from *Moderate Narrative* says 150 men came in on Sept. 2. A letter in *Modest Narrative* says fifty men came in on Aug. 30.

³⁶ Cromwell's letter, Sept. 17.

³⁷ Letter signed "R. L." in *Cromwelliana*, p. 64.

quarter by a drawbridge, and this southern quarter was, in effect, the bulwark of defence. It was in the form of a triangle, two sides of which were protected by water, the third heavily fortified by an ancient wall pierced by a single gate and protected on the southeast corner by a deep ravine. In the midst of this triangle was a great artificial mound, known as Mill Mount. In the southeast corner, opposite the ravine, stood St. Mary's church, from whose steeple the garrison could not only observe the besiegers' operations but annoy them by sharp-shooting. There remained, then, only a narrow front between the harbor and the so-called Duleek Gate that Cromwell could hope to penetrate, and his artillery was, in consequence, chiefly concentrated there.

By September 9 he had set in place his mortars and two batteries and the next day was appointed for the beginning of the bombardment. At eight o'clock on the morning of September 10, therefore, he sent Aston a summons to surrender:

To Sir Arthur Aston, Governor of Drogheda

SIR,

Having brought the army belonging to the Parliament of England before this place, to reduce it to obedience, to the end the effusion of blood may be prevented, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same into my hands to their use. If this be refused you will have no cause to blame me,

I expect your answer and rest,

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.³⁸

September 10th, 1649.

It was at this moment, apparently, that he wrote to Colonel Blake, then blockading Prince Rupert's fleet in the harbor of Kinsale, to persuade him to desert his naval enterprise and re-enter the army:

To Colonel Robert Blake

"Inviting him with affection to be Major-General of his foot and telling him that he has written to some friends in London to obtain it."

c. September 10, 1649.³⁹

That assistance he was not destined to obtain, for though he seems to have written as he promised, and Parliament voted on October 2 to allow Blake to choose between his post as second in command of the Generals-at-Sea and that of "Major-General of the Foot" under

³⁸ In *Carte Papers*, Bodleian Library, and calendared in the 32nd *Rept. of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. I, p. 38. Printed in Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, ii, 260; and in Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 92.

³⁹ Mentioned in Blake's letter to Col. Edward Popham, Sept. 16, 1649, in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* Leyborne-Popham Mss., p. 38. The post carried with it a salary of £1/10 a day of which ten shillings was to be paid later in lands. *C. J.*, vi, 271.

Cromwell,⁴⁰ Blake declined the exchange and went on with his blockade. Meanwhile Aston refused defiantly to surrender Drogheda; Cromwell ordered his white flag to be replaced with the red ensign; and the siege began with a bombardment of the town. By nightfall the two batteries had partially destroyed St. Mary's steeple and made two breaches in the ancient wall, which, despite its twenty feet of height and four to six feet of thickness, was no match for Cromwell's artillery, whose fire Aston was unable to answer in kind.

That commander's position, as he knew, was all but desperate. Unless Ormonde could come to his assistance, Drogheda was doomed, but Ormonde was in no position to assist. Apart from his slender resources in men and supplies, the loyalty of his troops was so doubtful that he dared not send them nearer for fear that, like the men of Inchiquin, they would desert to the enemy; and the one recorded instance of a party of a hundred men who approached too close and of whom only its commander, Sir Thomas Armstrong, returned, seemed to indicate his fears were only too well founded.⁴¹ On September 8, Aston had written Ormonde that his money was spent, his food nearly gone and his ammunition low. On the 9th he once more begged Ormonde to attack; and his appeals were reinforced by his followers who, like Verney, were fighting their last battle for the King. But Ormonde could not move, though he assured Aston of such support as he could muster. O'Neill was too ill to march, and no help came from Clanricarde or Inchiquin, while Trevor, who had earlier deserted Monk, advanced too slowly to be of assistance.

Under such circumstances, Aston and his followers made their preparations to defend the place to the last extremity. While Cromwell's cannon pounded their way through the crumbling walls to prepare a breach for infantry attack, the Royalists threw up inner entrenchments to prevent a storm. On September 11, Ormonde wrote to Rupert, "Cromwell shot above 200 shot of cannon at Drogheda and I believe has by this time stormed the breach."⁴² His information was correct. After a steady cannonade all day, the breach was considered sufficient and three regiments under Ewer, Hewson and Castle, struggled up the slope and through the battered wall. Twice repulsed with heavy loss from the triple inner entrenchments, with Colonel Castle killed at the head of the forlorn hope, it was not until Cromwell flung in reserves and himself led an overwhelming force of seven or eight thousand men into the breach and across the inner entrenchments that the defenders were crushed. Their commander,

⁴⁰ C. J., vi, 300; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 326, 328.

⁴¹ Ormonde to King, Sept. 1649, Carte, *Original Letters*, ii, 397; *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 19.

⁴² *Carte Papers* (Dublin), xxv, p. 323, quoted in R. H. Murray, "Cromwell at Drogheda," *Nineteenth Century*, lxxii, 1220-1241.

Colonel Wall, was killed and many of his men with him. Some asked for and received quarter; the rest sought to escape across the bridge into the inner town. Aston and his officers took refuge on the Mount, followed by the victorious Parliamentarians who began to pull down the palisades which protected the foot of the ancient fortification. Terms had been offered to its defenders, but Cromwell, coming up, flushed with combat and fiercely angry at the loss of men, ordered the little garrison put to the sword. Almost to a man Aston's officers were slaughtered; and he himself was beaten to death with his wooden leg, which the soldiers had believed was made of gold—or at least filled with it.⁴³

Nor did the carnage end there. The order went out to put to the sword all who were in arms; and though those who had fled toward the inner town had sought to raise the bridge, the Parliamentarians were too quick for them. Up Ship Street, sloping steeply from the river through St. Peter's Street, they followed the retreating garrison to St. Peter's church and the nearby towers, where a thousand of the defenders met their death in the street-fighting. A hundred more sought refuge in the tower of the church and still others in St. Sunday's tower near the north gate of the town. Those in St. Peter's were called on to surrender, which they refused to do; and, failing to blow up the tower with powder, Cromwell ordered the pews piled underneath and fired the place. Some fifty who endeavored to escape were killed and the remaining thirty were burned to death as they came crashing down with the flaming timbers, roof and bells, shrieking in agony.

Those who had sought refuge in the wall towers were left till the next day closely guarded; and when they were forced by hunger to come down, it appearing that some of the guards had been killed by shots from the towers, Cromwell ordered their officers to be "knocked on the head" and every tenth man of the rank and file to be killed and the rest sent to Barbados. As to the rest of the garrison, it was impossible to tell what happened in the confusion; and in consequence the accounts of their fate vary greatly. It would appear that a few hundred escaped over the walls, though Cromwell declared that not thirty escaped with their lives, and those were "in safe custody for the Barbadoes." Of the defenders of the Mount, most were killed at once, but it is evident that some survived, though not for long. Among them according to the account of a Mr. Buck, were Sir Edmund Verney, son of Charles I's standard-bearer and a relative of Lenthall, Colonel Warren, Lieutenant-Colonel Boyle and a Captain Finglas. But three days later, according to Buck's story, as Verney was

⁴³ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i, 234. They were more fortunate in finding two hundred pieces of gold in his quilted money-belt.

"walking with Cromwell by way of protection, one Ropier, who is brother to Lord Ropier, called him aside in a pretence to speak with him, being formerly of his acquaintance, and instead of some friendly office which Sir Edmund might expect from him, he barbarously ran him through with a tuck; . . . the next day Lt. Col. Boyle, who had quarter likewise given him, as he was at dinner with my Lady More, sister to the Earl of Sunderland . . . one of Cromwell's soldiers came and whispered him in the ear to tell him he must presently be put to death, who, rising from the table, the lady asked him whither he was going, he answered 'Madam, to die' who no sooner stepped out of the room but he was shot to death."⁴⁴

This, apparently, was the fate of all. "I do not believe," Cromwell wrote Lenthall, "that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant." Every priest was killed and a few civilians, some, no doubt by accident, some by intent, suffered the same fate. Save for the sparing of non-combatants and the fact that the town was neither looted nor burned, the capture of Drogheda resembled more closely than any other action of the Civil Wars, those terrible massacres to which Europe had been accustomed in the preceding Thirty Years' War.⁴⁵

In consequence, no event in Cromwell's life has cast such a blot upon his reputation as a hard but, on the whole, merciful antagonist, and no circumstance has been the cause of such bitterness and such controversy. It is due to that, more than to any other thing, that the long hatred of the Irish has endured, till even now "the black curse of Cromwell on ye" is one of their most fearful condemnations. On his behalf it is urged, first, that the heat of the engagement and the fact that the garrison attempted to defend an indefensible position and so brought about a great and needless loss of life, in some sense condoned, if it did not even justify his actions which were in accord with

⁴⁴ Verney, Lady Frances and Mrs. Margaret, *Memoirs of the Verney family during the Civil War and Commonwealth*, etc. (1892-99), ii, 344-5.

⁴⁵ The accounts and evidence for the siege of Drogheda have many times been investigated, discussed and bitterly argued. Contemporary accounts are by Cromwell himself, Ludlow, George Bate (Cromwell's physician and later physician to Charles II), Anthony à Wood, whose brother Thomas was present. A letter signed R. L. in *Cromwelliana*, p. 64 is valuable, as is Hewson's account which appeared in *Perfect Occurrences*. Macray, *Clarendon State Papers*; Murray's transcripts of *Carte Mss.* in Dublin (*Nineteenth Century*, lxii (Dec. 1912); and Carte, *Original Letters*, contain accounts by Ormonde and Inchiquin who wrote from meager information they had gleaned and Aston's own account of the happenings before the storm. Other first as well as second hand accounts, including a tract by Dr. Bernard appeared in newspapers and pamphlets (*Kingdom's Faithful and Impartial Scout* and other sources). These have all been set out by Gardiner, *op. cit.*, i, 115-23; Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-118, both of whom insert a plan of Drogheda; Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, ii, 262-276; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, ii, 193-5; J. B. Williams [J. G. Muddiman] in *Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1912, April 1913; R. H. Murray, in *ibid.*, Dec. 1912; Muddiman, in *Times*, Mar. 21, 1935; M. Clyde, *ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1935, and *Struggle for the Freedom of the Press* (1934), pp. 192-193.

military usage then and much later. It is argued further in his defence that, cruel as it seemed, it was, in the long run, a merciful policy, as striking terror into the rest of his enemies and saving future bloodshed.⁴⁶ Finally, as a plea of confession and avoidance, it has been insisted that his profound conviction of the righteousness of his cause and his sincerity serve as defence of this barbarity.⁴⁷

Whether or not he himself considered any defence necessary—and there is no reason to believe he did—his next letter, to the commander of Dundalk, seems to indicate that he was prepared to use the example of Drogheda to the utmost to terrify that officer into submission:

For the Chief Officer commanding in Dundalk: These

SIR,

I offered mercy to the garrison of Treedagh, in sending the Governor a summons before I attempted the taking of it, which being refused brought their evil upon them.

If you, being warned thereby, shall surrender your garrison to the use of the Parliament of England, which by this I summon you to do, you may thereby prevent effusion of blood. If, upon refusing this offer that which you like not befalls you, you will know whom to blame. I rest,

Your servant,

September 12th, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.⁴⁸

Two days later, he took measures to prevent further violence to inhabitants:

To Henry Parker

Ordering the protection of Christopher St. Lawrence and certain of the inhabitants of Drogheda and the peaceful behavior of the troops. "At the Camp before Drogheda this 14th of Sept. 1649."

O. CROMWELL.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Sir Phelim O'Neill, hearing that Cromwell had taken Drogheda "burst out in a passion, swearing that if Cromwell had taken Drogheda by storm, if he should storm Hell, he would take it." *Exact History of Several Changes*, p. 45. O'Neill himself had besieged Drogheda without success in 1642.

⁴⁷ A strong defence of Cromwell's actions at Drogheda is to be found in Buchan, *Cromwell*, p. 282, though he admits Cromwell's "blind animal ferocity." As to the argument that the General was not well, he was reported on Aug. 30 as "well and full of spirit." Though Mr. Gardiner accepts the Verney story, Mr. Buchan finds it "frankly incredible" (*Cromwell*, p. 280) and believes Verney was killed at Mill Mount. The weakness of the argument in behalf of Cromwell's actions at Drogheda is that it could be used with equal force to defend many actions of the Thirty Years' War, which were so bitterly denounced by the Puritans.

⁴⁸ Carlyle, Letter CIII, from the autograph in the possession of the Earl of Shannon, at Castle Martyr, in the County of Cork.

⁴⁹ These details are taken from two booksellers' catalogues and may be two different documents. The name of the addressee is said in Maggs Bros. catalogue, 1931,

From Drogheda he turned almost at once to secure the other strongholds in the north. Colonel Chidley Coote with two regiments of horse and one of foot followed Cromwell's summons to Dundalk. Ormonde had ordered that place and Trim to be burned when the news of Drogheda arrived but the terror-stricken garrisons merely abandoned them in their haste to get away.

As to Cromwell's own movements after the fall of that city, there is little definite evidence but much legend. There is a tale that he went to Dundalk and while watering his horse at a ford on the way, was recognized by Lord Plunkett, a Royalist officer whose family owned large estates in Meath, and who had also stopped at the ford for the same purpose. Though too far away to kill Cromwell, it is said he flung his sword at Cromwell's head and gashed his nose; and though he managed to escape from Cromwell's guards by a "subterranean passage," he was betrayed by a servant, seized and taken to Castle Cumberland. There Cromwell, rejecting various cruel forms of execution proposed by his officers, asked his prisoner how he preferred to die; and when Plunkett answered, "With my good sword in hand, and any two of your officers before me ready to execute your orders," Cromwell was so moved by his bravery that he spared his life on condition that there should always be an Oliver in his family. There may lurk in this legend some element of truth—dimmed somewhat by the fantastic details and the fact that the name Oliver had been common in the Plunkett family for some three hundred years.⁵⁰

To this there may be added two other tales of perhaps greater probability. The first is that Cromwell passed a night at Trubly Castle, battered down part of the so-called "Yellow Steeple" there and blew up the west tower of the castle itself.⁵¹ This story gains a certain plausibility from the fact that in his letter to Lenthall of September 17, Cromwell speaks of sending a party to a house some five miles from Trim, which might well be Trubly; and though he himself may not have gone, the rest of the story may well be true. There are, besides these, two other notices. One is that at a place still known as "Cromwell's Hill," near Grange,⁵² he had an encounter

to be *Sir* Henry Parker, which may be correct, but it is more likely *Sec.*, for Henry Parker was secretary of the Irish expedition and it seems probable that the title is a mistake. See also Sotheby's catalogue of the Collection of G. W. Panter, item 22, July 15-16, 1929. Sotheby sold this document for Miss Marianne Lowe to Daniell for £18, earlier. *Autograph Prices Current*, ii, 65.

⁵⁰ This story is quoted in D'Alton, *History of Dundalk*, p. 267, with no source for the quotation. Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, was born in 1629.

⁵¹ D. Butler, *The Castle of Trim* (2nd ed. 1840), p. 113-114n. Butler doubts the authenticity of this because the same authority states with positiveness that Cromwell destroyed the Castle of Tecroghan which was not surrendered until the following June after Cromwell's departure from Ireland.

⁵² Butler, *Trim* (3rd ed. 1854), p. 175.

with two brothers named Scurlock; the other is that at Tlachtga, now called the Hill of Ward, a few miles northwest of Trim, he encamped and thence battered down the Plunkett stronghold of Rathmore Castle.⁵³ Though none of these stories may be entirely trustworthy, they seem to indicate that he was at this moment somewhere in the neighborhood of Trim, around which these legends all center.

In any event he was back in Dublin by September 16, there to await his wife, who had left London on September 2, with some of the Cromwell household goods. These, two weeks later, were reported on the way to Ireland in the *Concord*,⁵⁴ and towards the end of September arrived in Dublin. Thence he wrote a full account of his doings, especially the storm of Drogheda, first in a preliminary letter, probably addressed to Bradshaw for the Council of State, then on the next day when the army had arrived, a longer and more detailed official report to Lenthall for the House.

[To the Honourable John Bradshaw, President of the Council of State]

SIR,

It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at Tredah. After battery, we stormed it. The enemy were about 3,000 strong in the town. They made a stout resistance, and near 1,000 of our men being entered, the enemy forced them out again. But God giving a new courage to our men, they attempted again, and entered, beating the enemy from their defences.

The enemy had made three entrenchments, both to the right and left where we entered; all which they were forced to quit. Being thus entered, we refused them quarter; having, the day before, summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did, are in safe custody for Barbadoes. Since that time, the enemy quitted to us Trim and Dundalk. In Trim they were in such haste that they left their guns behind them.

This hath been a marvellous great mercy. The enemy, being not willing to put an issue upon a field-battle, had put into this garrison almost all their prime soldiers, being about 3,000 horse and foot, under the command of their best officers; Sir Arthur Ashton being made governor. There were some seven or eight regiments, Ormond's being one, under the command of Sir Edmund Verney. I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant, who, I hear, going to the enemy said, that he was the only man that escaped of all the garrison. The enemy were filled upon this with much terror. And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God.

I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to

⁵³ A. Cogan, *Diocese of Meath* (1862), i, 161.

⁵⁴ *Cal. S. P. Venetian* (1647-52), p. 116; Deane to Popham, Sept. 18, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* Leyborne-Popham Mss., p. 39.

whom indeed the praise of this mercy belongs. For instruments, they were very inconsiderable the work throughout.

We are marching the army to Dublin, which we hope will be here to-morrow night, where we desire to recruit with victual, and shall then, God willing, advance towards the southern design—you know what—only we think Wexford will be our first undertaking in order to the other.

Captain Brandly did with forty or fifty of his men very gallantly storm the tenalia; for which he deserves the thanks of the State.

September 16th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁵

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These

SIR,

Your Army being safely arrived at Dublin; and the enemy endeavouring to draw all his forces together about Trim and Tecroghan (as my intelligence gave me); from whence endeavours were used by the Marquis of Ormond to draw Owen Roe O'Neal with his forces to his assistance, but with what success I cannot yet learn, I resolved, after some refreshment taken for our weather-beaten men and horses, and accommodations for a march, to take the field. And accordingly, upon Friday the 30th of August⁵⁶ last, rendezvoused with eight regiments of foot and six of horse and some troops of dragoons, three miles on the north side of Dublin. The design was, to endeavour the regaining of Tredah; or tempting the enemy, upon his hazard of the loss of that place, to fight.

Your Army came before the town upon Monday following, where having pitched, as speedy course was taken as could be to frame our batteries, which took up the more time because divers of the battering guns were on ship-board. Upon Monday the 9th⁵⁷ of this instant, the batteries began to play. Whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton, the then Governor, a summons to deliver the town to the use of the Parliament of England. To the which I received no satisfactory answer, but proceeded that day to beat down the steeple of the church on the south side of the town, and to beat down a tower not far from the same place, which you will discern by the chart enclosed.

Our guns not being able to do much that day, it was resolved to endeavour to do our utmost the next day to make breaches assaultable, and by the help of God to storm them. The places pitched upon were that part of the town-wall next a church called St. Mary's, which was the rather chosen because we did hope that if we did enter and possess that church, we should be the better able to keep it against their horse and foot until we could make way for the entrance of our horse, which we did not conceive that any part of the town would afford the like advantage for that purpose with this. The

⁵⁵ In *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 28; *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*; and, with the next to the last paragraph missing, in Whitelocke, p. 428. Carlyle, Letter CIV.

⁵⁶ Friday was the 31st; this error as to the day of the month continues through the letter.

⁵⁷ The 10th.

batteries planted were two: one was for that part of the wall against the east end of the said church, the other against the wall on the south side. Being somewhat long in battering, the enemy made six retrenchments: three of them from the said church to Duleek Gate, and three from the east end of the church to the town-wall and so backward. The guns, after some two or three hundred shot, beat down the corner tower, and opened two reasonable good breaches in the east and south wall.

Upon Tuesday the 10th of this instant, about five o'clock in the evening, we began the storm, and after some hot dispute we entered about seven or eight hundred men, the enemy disputing it very stiffly with us. And indeed, through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss; Colonel Cassell⁵⁸ being there shot in the head, whereof he presently died, and divers officers and soldiers, doing their duty, killed and wounded. There was a tenalia to flanker the south wall of the town, between Duleek Gate and the corner tower before mentioned, which our men entered, wherein they found some forty or fifty of the enemy, which they put to the sword. And this [tenalia] they held, but it being without the wall, and the sally-port through the wall into that tenalia being choked up with some of the enemy which were killed in it, it proved of no use for our entrance into the town that way.

Although our men that stormed the breaches were forced to recoil, as before is expressed, yet, being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt, wherein God was pleased [so] to animate them that they got ground of the enemy, and by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his entrenchments. And after a very hot dispute, the enemy having both horse and foot, and we only foot, within the wall, they gave ground, and our men became masters both⁵⁹ of their retrenchments and the church; which indeed, although they made our entrance the more difficult, yet they proved of excellent use to us, so that the enemy could not annoy us with their horse, but thereby we had advantage to make good the ground, that so we might let in our own horse, which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty.

The enemy retreated, divers of them, into the Mill-Mount: a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men, divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the Town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's church-steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused, whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, where one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: "God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn."

The next day, the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was

⁵⁸ Col. James Castle.

⁵⁹ Carlyle's emendation. The printed tract has "but of their retrenchments, etc."

about six or seven score; but they refused to yield themselves, and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood;⁶⁰ and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. The officers and soldiers of this garrison were the flower of all their army, and their great expectation was, that our attempting this place would put fair to ruin us, they being confident of the resolution of their men, and the advantage of the place. If we had divided our force into two quarters to have besieged the north town and the south town, we could not have had such a correspondency between the two parts of our army, but that they might have chosen to have brought their army, and have fought with which part they pleased, and at the same time have made a sally with 2,000 men upon us, and have left their walls manned; they having in the town the number specified in this enclosed, but some say near four thousand.

Since this great mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent a party of horse and dragoons to Dundalk, which the enemy quitted, and we are possessed of, as also another castle they deserted, between Trim and Tredah, upon the Boyne. I sent a party of horse and dragoons to a house within five miles of Trim, there being then in Trim some Scots companies, which the Lord of Ardes brought to assist the Lord of Ormond. But upon the news of Tredah, they ran away, leaving their great guns behind them, which we also have possessed.

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, That a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so clear? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success.⁶¹ And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory.

⁶⁰ Cromwell seems to have held all Ireland responsible for the massacres of eight years before. There can have been few—if any—at Drogheda who had taken part in them; certainly not the officers, certainly not the English soldiers, and almost certainly not Ormond's own regiment, raised in his ancestral domains, round Kilkenny. "But to Cromwell, as to the majority of Englishmen of his time, every Irishman, and still more every English defender of the Irish cause, had made himself an accomplice in the misdeeds of certain Irishmen." *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, i, 139 [Mrs. Lomas' note].

⁶¹ Morley calls this paragraph "a theory of the Divine tactics in these operations which must be counted one of the most wonderful of all the recorded utterances of Puritan theology." (*Oliver Cromwell*, p. 301.)

It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church called St. Peter's, and they had public mass there: and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two; the one of which was Father Peter Taaff, (brother to the Lord Taaff), whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of; the other was taken in the round tower, under the repute of lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar; but that did not save him.

A great deal of loss in this business fell upon Colonel Hewson, Colonel Cassell, and Colonel Ewers' regiments; Colonel Ewers having two field-officers in his regiment shot; Colonel Cassell and a captain of his regiment slain; Colonel Hewson's captain-lieutenant slain. I do not think we lost one hundred men upon the place, though many be wounded.

I most humbly pray the Parliament will be pleased [that] this army may be maintained; and that a consideration may be had of them, and of the carrying on the affairs here, as may give a speedy issue to this work, to which there seems to be a marvellous fair opportunity offered by God. And although it may seem very chargeable to the State of England to maintain so great a force, yet surely to stretch a little for the present, in following God's providence, in hope the charge will not be long, I trust it will not be thought by any (that have not irreconcilable or malicious principles) unfit for me to move for a constant supply, which, in human probability as to outward means, is most likely to hasten and perfect this work. And indeed if God please to finish it here as He hath done in England, the war is like to pay itself.

We keep the field much, our tents sheltering us from the wet and cold, but yet the country-sickness overtakes many, and therefore we desire recruits, and some fresh regiments of foot, may be sent us. For it's easily conceived by what the garrisons already drink up, what our field-army will come to, if God shall give more garrisons into our hands. Craving pardon for this great trouble, I rest,

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

Dublin,
Sept. 17, 1649.

P.S. Since the writing of my letter, a major who brought off forty-three horse from the enemy told me that it's reported in their camp that Owen Roe and they are agreed.

A list of the defendants in Tredah: The Lord of Ormond's regiment (Sir Edmund Verney Lieutenant-Colonel), 400; Colonel Byrn, Colonel Warren, and Colonel Wall, 2,100; the Lord of Westmeath, 200; Sir James Dillon, 200; and 200 horses.⁶²

⁶² In *Sev. Proc.*, Oct. 2; *Letters from Ireland* (1649); *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 201. Carlyle, CV. The delay in printing this letter has been said to have been due to deliberate suppression of the news. A news item from Chester dated Sept. 24 and published in *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 24–Oct. 1, says, however, that no word had come from Drogheda

The first stage of the campaign for the reduction of Ireland was now finished, and as Cromwell rested and reorganized his army in Dublin, all England and Scotland awaited with eagerness the outcome of the campaign. The Council of State was disturbed at the expense of his expedition. On September 11, it agreed to write him, and after a week of consultation sent him a letter ordering that all forfeited lands in Ireland be rented to the best advantage, the proceeds to be used to pay the army, an account to be rendered to the Council quarterly. He was instructed to report what counties were in the possession of Parliament and what each could be assessed to support the war. At the same time it ordered that fresh supplies and equipment be sent, and advised him that six shiploads of grain were being despatched.⁶³

Meanwhile he was busy repairing the losses to his troops, especially in replacing the officers killed at Drogheda, of which he had already sent a partial list to Lenthall. Of the documents he signed at this period, two survive. Among his new commissions is one to a certain John Raymond, who had, at his own expense, recruited and armed three companies for the Irish expedition:

To John Raymond

Commission by O. Cromwell, Lieut.-General of the forces under the Lord General Fairfax, appointing John Raymond, Lieut.-Colonel, to be captain of a company of foot in the regiment whereof Col. Isaacke Ewers is the colonel and also lieut. colonel of the same regiment.
September 20, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁶⁴

The other is a letter, of which only a notice remains:

To the Council of State

Concerning the want of quartermasters. September 20, 1649.⁶⁵

Meanwhile he eagerly awaited news from Venables whom he had sent with a contingent to take Carlingford and cooperate with Coote in the north. The news of Venables' success in capturing Carlingford and Newry reached him in the course of the ensuing week and he

since some Dutchmen brought it and that since then not a single ship had arrived. The letter was read Oct. 2, probably soon after its arrival. There were apparently other delays in the post at that time as the Council wrote to Cromwell on Sept. 29 asking him to investigate the case against Capt. Stephen Rich, accused of neglecting his duty as postmaster in not transporting packets between Holyhead and Dublin. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 324-5.

⁶³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 305, 313; *Cal. S. P. Ireland*, Addenda, p. 792; *Perfect Diurnall*, Sept. 14.

⁶⁴ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 3, App. p. 266 (Mss. of Rev. F. Hopkinson).

⁶⁵ Referred to the Irish Committee, Nov. 12, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 388

hastened to assure Parliament of that fact, taking that opportunity to send in a list of the enemy slain at Drogheda, with recommendations of two men for Parliamentary recognition of their distinguished services:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

MR. SPEAKER,

I had not received any account from Colonel Venables (whom I sent from Tredah to endeavour the reducing of Carlingford, and so to march northward towards a conjunction with Sir Charles Coote) until the last night.⁶⁶

After he came to Carlingford, having summoned the place, both the three castles and the fort commanding the harbour were rendered to him; wherein were about forty barrels of powder, seven pieces of cannon, about one thousand muskets, and five-hundred pikes wanting twenty. In the entrance into the harbour, Captain Fern, aboard your man-of-war, had some danger, being much shot at from the sea fort, a bullet shooting through his mainmast. The Captain's entrance into that harbour was a considerable adventure, and a good service; as also was Captain Brandley's, who with forty seamen stormed a very strong tenalia at Tredah, and helped to take it; for which he deserves an owning by you.

Venables marched from Carlingford, with a party of horse and dragoons, to the Newry; leaving the foot to come up after him. He summoned the place, and it was yielded before his foot came up to him. Some other informations I have received from him, which promise well towards your northern interest, which, if well prosecuted, will, I trust God, render you a good account of those parts.

I have sent those things to be presented to the Council of State for their consideration. I pray God, as these mercies flow in upon you, He will give you an heart to improve them to His glory alone; because He alone is the author of them, and of all the goodness, patience and long-suffering extended towards you.

Your army has marched; and, I believe, this night lieth at Arcklow in the County of Wicklow, by the sea-side, between thirty and forty miles from this place. I am this day, by God's blessing, going towards it.

I crave your pardon for this trouble; and rest,

Your most humble servant,

Dublin,

September 27, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

[P.S.] I desire the supplies moved for may be hastened. I am verily persuaded, though the burden be great, yet it is for your service. If the garrisons we take swallow up your men, how shall we be able to keep the field? Who knows but the Lord may pity England's sufferings, and make a short work of this. It is in His hand to do it, and therein only your servants rejoice.

⁶⁶ Venables' letter, dated September 22, is in *Letters from Ireland* and repr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 267.

I humbly present the condition of Captain George Jenkins his widow. He died presently after Tredah storm. His widow is in great want.

A list of the officers and soldiers slain at the storming of Tredah: Sir Arthur Aston, Governor; Sir Edmund Verney, Lieutenant-Colonel to Ormonde's regiment; Colonel Fleming, Lieutenant-Colonel Finglass, Major Fitzgerald, with eight captains, eight lieutenants, and eight cornets, all of horse; Colonel Warren, Wall and Byrn, of foot, with the lieutenants, majors, etc.; the Lord Taaff's brother, an Augustine friar; forty-four captains, and all their lieutenants, ensigns, etc.; 220 reformadoes and troopers; 2,500 foot-soldiers, besides staff-officers, surgeons, etc. and many inhabitants.⁶⁷

So far as the north of Ireland was concerned, the situation was now well in hand. Cromwell had taken the strongholds which lay between his forces and those of Coote, with whom he had now established communications, so that from Dublin to Londonderry there was little to be feared. Coote, who had been relieved by the aid brought by his brother from what seemed inevitable surrender, was now in command of the district about Londonderry. Venables added Lisburn and Belfast to his conquests; and Coote meanwhile overran Down and Antrim. Of their opponents, Montgomery, after his failure to capture Londonderry, held his position with difficulty and prepared to join Ormonde in the south; Monro was in much the same situation, while O'Neill, sickening to his death, was then entering on his last negotiation with Ormonde on the basis of recognition of Irish Catholic claims to the restoration of the confiscated estates and of the Roman clergy to their old livings.

WEXFORD, SEPTEMBER 23-OCTOBER 15, 1649

There remained, therefore, only southern Ireland to be conquered or defended and to this task both sides addressed themselves. While Ormonde sought the aid of Montgomery and O'Neill in a last desperate effort to preserve the King's authority, he gathered such forces as he could summon on his advance from Teroaghan toward Wexford. Meanwhile the Parliamentary army left Dublin, and on September 23 marched into the county of Wicklow, driving before it a Royalist garrison at Killincarrig some fourteen miles from Dublin, which retired on its approach. Leaving a company there, the troops had reached the neighborhood of Ormonde's castle and barony of Arklow, some thirty miles away, by September 27, and the garrison of the

⁶⁷ *Letters from Ireland*; Repr. *The Lord Lieutenant's letters, from the original edition printed by John Field for Edward Husband, printer to the Parliament of England, and published by their order*. Repr. from the latter in *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 207-9. Carlyle, Letter CVI. Carlyle says that *Old Parl. Hist.* added the phrase at the end "and many inhabitants" and that no source for the letter is given. Both statements are incorrect. Firth suggests that the list given at the end was not a part of Cromwell's letter but added by the printer, perhaps by Parliament's orders.

castle, like that of Killincarrig, had fled before them. It was on that day, apparently, that Cromwell, appointing Colonel Hewson governor of Dublin, left the city with his wife and the remainder of his forces to join the army before Arklow, which, confronted by his army of some nine thousand men, surrendered on September 28. Again there lingers a tradition of Cromwell in this region. In the lower town there was, according to this tale, a place called "Cromwell's Plot," from the name of its owner, who, brought before Cromwell and asked what his namesake might do for him, replied, after the manner of Diogenes, with a request that he be permitted to retain his property. To this the Lord Lieutenant is reported to have agreed, with the somewhat contemptuous reply, "A poor man I find you, and a poor man I leave you," and so turned again to his conquest.⁶⁸

The way from Arklow to Wexford, Cromwell's next objective, lay through hilly country and, according to the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, the army was ambushed in one of the passes by Brian McPhelim O'Byrne and lost many of its horses. Among them Cromwell's own horse and "furniture" were carried off by a certain Christopher Tuohill, whose father refused Cromwell's reward of £100 for the return of the charger, as he said, "For gold or silver he would not give him back, but preferred to keep him as a monument."⁶⁹

Whatever truth lies in this legend, it did not check the progress of the Parliamentary forces, which presently reached the castle of Limerick or Limbrick, one of the estates of the Esmond family, to find it burned and deserted. On Saturday, the 29th, the Parliamentary army arrived at Rosseminoge, within three miles of Ferns Castle.⁷⁰ Colonel Reynolds was sent to summon its defenders who, abandoning their arms, ammunition and supplies, marched out of the castle. Leaving a garrison, the army resumed its march that night and, taking a fort at Slane Passage and crossing the river Slaney by the Scarawalsh ferry, early the next morning reached Enniscorthy, some twelve miles from Wexford. There a strong castle belonging to Robert Wallop refused to surrender on summons. But one gun having been set in position, its defenders thought better of it and marched out after giving up their arms save for the officers' swords; and there a certain Captain Thomas Todd was left in command, with dire consequences to himself and to his garrison.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 141.

⁶⁹ *Aphorismical Discovery*, ed. by Gilbert, in his *Contemporary History*, ii, 54. On September 9 Ormonde ordered Col. Hugh Byrne to annoy Cromwell in Wicklow when he should pass there. *Ibid.*, ii, 430.

⁷⁰ P. H. Hore, *History of Wexford* (Ferns, Enniscorthy) (1911), p. 22, quoting from *A Perfect and Particular Relation* (1649); *op. cit.* (Wexford) p. 278, quoting a letter from Butler to Ormonde, Sept. 29. Cp. Cromwell's letter, Oct. 14.

⁷¹ Hore, *op. cit.* (Ferns), pp. 122, 491-3. Enniscorthy was retaken by the Irish. Cp. p. 189.

On October 1, in wet and stormy weather, the advanced guard reached the army's objective. Passing along the right bank of the Slaney, by Muchwood and Ardcanrisk, it encamped at the north-west corner of Wexford, where the next day it was joined by the main body of the troops, seven thousand foot and two thousand horse in all.⁷² In the mean time Deane had arrived in Wexford harbor on September 29, with twenty ships carrying food, siege-guns and ammunition; but though he had established a blockade of the town, he was unable to land his stores for a week on account of the autumnal storms.⁷³

While Cromwell and his army had pushed forward on the second stage of the Irish adventure, his achievements had been recognized at home. The day the army drew up before Wexford, Parliament voted to send him formal thanks for his success at Drogheda. The Council's secretary, Gualter Frost, was commissioned to write the letter of congratulation; Lenthall was to sign it in behalf of Parliament; and October 30 was designated as a day of thanksgiving for the victory.⁷⁴ This was accompanied by more substantial proofs of the government's approval. The letter, dated October 3, informed Cromwell that five thousand more men were to be sent to his assistance,⁷⁵ and on the same day the Council of State ordered a warrant to be issued to the Treasurers-at-War to pay him his salary in instalments as it fell due, if he desired it to be paid in that fashion.⁷⁶ On the other hand, the next day it voted to ask him if he could dispense until spring with Colonel Hacker's regiment which was still in England and needed there.⁷⁷

It is evident that by this time Cromwell was in a different situation than he had occupied before and that in some measure his character as well as his position had altered. He had risen from a captain of cavalry to a commander-in-chief, experienced not only in field but in siege operations. Wholly independent, entrusted with a force which exceeded in numbers any he had hitherto commanded and with responsibilities greater even than those of his earlier years, he had grown to greater stature. That attention to the details of men, money and equipment which had characterized his career since his first entry into the war had developed from care for his immediate command into long and elaborate preparation for a whole campaign. His incessant

⁷² Hore, *op. cit.* (Wexford), p. 281.

⁷³ Letter from Peters, Oct. 3, Hore, *op. cit.* (Wexford), p. 285. Deane to Popham, Oct. 22, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* (Leyborne-Popham, p. 47). Cp. extract from *A Very Full and Particular Relation* in Hore, *op. cit.* pp. 286-287.

⁷⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 326-327.

⁷⁵ *Cal. S. P. Ireland*, Addenda, p. 792.

⁷⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 327.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

demands for money and supplies which marked his stay at Bristol showed not only the new responsibility which he felt but revealed him as the most careful of commanders in anticipating all possible contingencies. In other respects, as well, he seemed to have changed, though that change was perhaps less real than apparent. It lay in an increasing sternness toward his enemies, as was shown at Drogheda and was to be still more evident at Wexford. The "outward dispensation" of God's approval of all his actions seems to have grown on him with each success; and more and more he seemed inclined to identify himself with the designs of the Almighty.

That was especially true in Ireland, where for the first time there was ground for the old claim of his party that it was fighting "papists," and for its determination to root out such superstitions from the British Isles. Apart from this there was another grievance against the men of Wexford. Like the Dunkirkers across the Channel, they had profited greatly by the state of war in the preceding years, as smugglers, privateers, or, as the English called them, "pirates," preying on English commerce under guise of supporting the monarchy. Thus as a nest of piracy as well as of Papistry, the place was doubly anathema to the men now about to attempt its capture. Nor were its inhabitants of one mind as to the advisability of attempting its defense, nor were the rest of the Irish unanimous in its support, for the leading men of Wexford had belonged to the Papal party to which the Confederates and still more the party of Ormonde had been opposed.

There was, in fact, no garrison stationed there, and it was not until September 28 that the Earl of Castlehaven, who had been entrusted with the forces for defence of the south, appointed Colonel David Sinnott, sometime an officer of the Confederate forces, governor of the town, against the opposition of the Papal party which dominated its affairs. Only the arrival of Colonel Sinnott with orders from Ormonde to defend the place prevented its inhabitants from surrendering at once to Cromwell.⁷⁸ Thus, divided among themselves and terrified by the fate of Drogheda, the men of Wexford, even with the help of the fifteen hundred foot which arrived with Sinnott, were in no position to make a desperate defence, nor was Ormonde in a situation to lend them more aid than by harassing Cromwell's forces.

Those forces, meanwhile, faced problems of their own. Lying along the harbor as it did, Wexford presented a long line for attack on the land side, but heavy rains had made this area little more than a quagmire where the men had much trouble to make a camp and still more trouble to escape the dysentery which was thinning their ranks.

⁷⁸ Sinnott to Ormonde, Sept. 30. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 282. Sinnott complains that the forces left for the defence of Wexford were not allowed in the town. See also Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, v, 138.

The chief defences of the town were the fort of Rosslare which commanded the entrance to the harbor, and on the south the castle, against which Cromwell began to erect his batteries. Almost at once Rosslare, a tenable fortress, was evacuated on the approach of Jones at the head of a small party of dragoons; and the fleet entered the harbor with guns and provisions, while the Rosslare garrison escaped on a frigate. This, in effect, sealed the fate of the town, and, according to Castlehaven, its Recorder, a leader of the Confederate party named Hugh Rochford, opened negotiations with Cromwell through one Nicholas Loftus, described by Carte as "a very active instrument in engaging all the inhabitants [of Wexford] to be subservient to Cromwell's purposes."⁷⁹ They came to nothing, but Rochford's flight to Waterford on the approach of Cromwell's scouts indicated to his opponents that he had intended to betray the town.⁸⁰

Rosslare in his hands and the fleet in the harbor, on October 3 Cromwell sent his summons to Sinnott:

For the Commander-in-Chief within the town of Wexford: These

SIR,

Having brought the army belonging to the Parliament of England before this place, to reduce it to its due obedience, to the end effusion of blood may be prevented and the town and country about it preserved from ruin, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same to me, to the use of the State of England.

By this offer, I hope it will clearly appear where the guilt will lie, if innocent persons should come to suffer with the nocent. I expect your speedy answer; and rest, Sir,

Your servant,

Before Wexford,
October 3d, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁸¹

Sinnott was in no position to resist, but, hoping for reinforcements from Ormonde, he endeavored to gain time, while his opponents in the town, seeking to soften Cromwell's wrath, sent the General a present of "sack, strong waters, and strong beer."⁸² To Cromwell's summons, therefore, Sinnott replied on the same day that he would call together the town officials and meanwhile refrain from hostilities,

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Castlehaven to Ormonde, Oct. 1, and Rochford to Ormonde, Oct. 5, in Hore, *op. cit.*, (Wexford), pp. 281-2. Rochford had served in Parliament, as sheriff of the county and was to continue his career with credit later.

⁸¹ Holograph. *Tanner Mss.* lvi, with the rest of the Wexford correspondence. Pr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 283 from *A Perfect and Particular Relation of the Several Marches and Proceedings of the Armie in Ireland from the Taking of Drogheda to this Present*, etc. London, Oct. 27, 1649. Pr. in Cary, *op. cit.*, ii, 168. Carlyle, CVII.

⁸² *Perfect and Particular Relation.*

if Cromwell would do the same. Unappeased by the peace-offering and the proposal for an armistice, Cromwell replied at once:

For the Commander-in-Chief in Wexford: These

SIR,

I am content to expect your resolution by twelve of the clock in the morning. Because our tents are not so good a covering as your houses, and for other reasons, I cannot agree to a cessation. I rest,

Your servant,

Before Wexford,
October 3d, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁸³

On the next day, Thursday, October 4, Sinnott wrote again, advising Cromwell that he had consulted with the mayor and officers and proposing to send four men to consult with four of Cromwell's representatives under safe-conduct from both sides, at eight o'clock the next morning to "see if any agreement and understanding may be begot between us." To this Cromwell replied with a peremptory repetition of his demand for surrender, but agreeing to a conference to that end:

To the Commander-in-Chief in Wexford: These

SIR,

Having summoned you to deliver the town of Wexford into my hands, I might well expect the delivery thereof, and not a formal treaty; which is seldom granted but where the things stand upon a more equal foot.

If therefore yourself or the town have any desires to offer, upon which you will surrender the place to me, I shall be able to judge of the reasonableness of them when they are made known to me. To which end, if you shall think fit to send the persons named in your last, entrusted by yourself and the town, by whom I may understand your desires, I shall give you a speedy and fitting answer. And I do hereby engage myself, that they shall return in safety to you.

I expect your answer hereunto within an hour; and rest,

Your servant,

October 4th, 1649.

[O. CROMWELL.]⁸⁴

Still delaying, Sinnott sent what he called "a civil answer to the best of my judgment," demanding "honourable terms," failing which he professed himself prepared "to die honourably, or make such conditions as may secure my honour and life in the eyes of my own party," suggesting once more a delay until eight the next morning.

⁸³ *See. Proc.*, Oct. 19-26. *Tanner Mss.*, lvi. In Gilbert, ii, 284, in somewhat different words. Carlyle, CVII.

⁸⁴ Note 81.

To this Cromwell, busied with the landing of the cannon and provisions for the army, did not deign to reply, and the next day Sinnott wrote again, explaining that his propositions and his agents were ready and requesting a safe-conduct. Hard on the despatch of this message, Castlehaven reached Wexford, with the reinforcements of fifteen hundred Ulstermen under Lord Iveagh for which apparently Sinnott had been waiting.⁸⁵ Protesting that he had not carried on this negotiation "to trifle out time," he advised Cromwell of their arrival and asked time for Castlehaven to consider the proposals to be offered for surrender. Meanwhile he wrote to Ormonde asking for more help, expressing his belief that the town could hold out against assault, at least for a time.⁸⁶ To Sinnott's excuses and explanations, Cromwell, now thoroughly aroused, replied in no uncertain terms, revoked his safe-conduct, and advised Sinnott to defend himself if and as he could:

For the Commander-in-Chief in Wexford: These

SIR,

You might have spared your trouble in the account you give me of your transaction with the Lord General of your horse, and of your resolution in case he answer not your expectations in point of time. These are your own concernments, and it behoves you to improve [them] and the relief you mention to your best advantage.

All that I have to say is, to desire you to take notice, that I do hereby revoke my safe-conduct from the persons mentioned therein. When ye shall see cause to treat, you may send for another. I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

O. C.⁸⁷

Oct. 6th, 1649.

Meanwhile, too, he made his preparations for the care of his forces and for attack. The wind had abated by the 6th; the camp was removed on October 9 to the rocky ground still known as "Cromwell's Fort," at the southeast corner of the town;⁸⁸ the guns were set in place, and everything made ready to batter down the castle. At the same time he turned his attention to the question of payment of two of the officers, Colonel Phayre for his regiment of foot and Colonel Le Hunt of the Life Guard:

*To Sir John Wollaston, Knt. and the rest of the Treasurers-at-War
or their Deputy*

These are to require you out of such moneys as are or shall be appointed for payment of the force under my command and for the incident charges

⁸⁵ Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, p. 116. Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, v, 140. Arthur Viscount Magennis of Iveagh was attainted in 1642.

⁸⁶ Letters in Hore, *op. cit.* (Wexford), p. 290.

⁸⁷ Note 81.

⁸⁸ Hore, *op. cit.* (Wexford), p. 291.

of the said forces to issue out and pay unto Col. Phayre upon account the sum of two hundred pounds for the present supply and maintenance of his regiment of foot. And for so doing this with the receipt of the said Col. Phayre shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given under my hand this 7th of Octob: 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

Received then of Sir John Wollaston, knight and the rest of the Treasurers at war in full payment of this warrant the sum of two hundred pounds. I say received	}	ll	s	d
		200	00	00

Robt. Phaier.⁸⁹

To Sir John Wollaston

For payment to Col. Le Hunt the sum of £181 for maintenance of officers, gentlemen and their servants, of my Life Guard. October 8, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁹⁰

On October 8 Ormonde arrived at the ferry which connected Wexford with the country to the north. There on that day and the next he conferred with Sinnott and the principal townsmen to whom he promised support and the replacement of Sinnott by Butler, who, on the 11th, brought an additional reinforcement of some five hundred foot and one hundred horse.⁹¹ Thus inspired, according to an attorney, William Basil, who has left an account of the proceedings, Sinnott wrote again to Cromwell on the 9th, refusing to surrender on any condition, as Basil believed he had intended all along.⁹² In any event, whatever his intentions, they had not delayed Cromwell's preparations. By the evening of the 10th the batteries were ready, and before Butler arrived with his reinforcements the bombardment began. After a hundred shot had made two great breaches in the wall "the governor's stomach came down," and Sinnott hastened to send the governor of the castle, Captain Stafford, two other officers and an alderman, with a letter covering his proposals for the surrender of the place.

Those proposals were ten in number. They began with a demand for the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion for the inhabitants, the guarantee of the possessions of the Catholic clergy, and the continuance of the jurisdiction of Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns. They continued with a demand for the safe evacuation of the

⁸⁹ Original in the Tangye Collection, now in the London Museum.

⁹⁰ Also signed by Le Hunt. Original noted in Sotheby's Catalogue, Dec. 1930, as the property of W. H. Woodward and others. Colonel Richard Le Hunt received large estates in Cashel and co. Wexford for his services.

⁹¹ Ormonde's letters to Sinnott, Mayor, Clanrickard, and Commissioners in *Carte MSS.*, xxv, pp. 691, 698, 724, 716, resp. Pr. in Hore, *op. cit.* pp. 292-293.

⁹² Letter from Wexford, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 291n.

garrison and such inhabitants as chose to go with them, with arms, ammunition, colors, horses, goods and money, to the town of Ross, together with permission for such inhabitants as desired in the future to take their ships and goods to wherever they saw fit. They went on to demand the perpetuation of the charters and liberties of the town and the security of the property of the inhabitants, "either native or strangers" of three months' residence, anywhere in Ireland, and the right to sell such property and move to where they would under safe-conduct, "under the full liberty of free-born English subjects." Finally they ended with a demand that "no memory remain of any hostility or distance which was hitherto between the said Town and Castle . . . and the Parliament or State of England," that all "acts, transgressions, offences, depredations and other crimes, of what nature or quality soever, be they ever so transcendent, attempted or done, or supposed to be attempted or done, by the Inhabitants of the said Town or any other, . . . shall pass into oblivion."⁹³

These high terms from a town then scarcely able to defend itself reveal, among other things, a certain doubt in the minds of their authors of the legality of some of their previous activities, and no less the presumptive attitude of their besiegers toward them. Yet with whatever impatience Cromwell read this long document, and with whatever "disdain" he regarded its provisions, he was as yet inclined to be merciful, as his reply to Sinnott shows:

For the Commander-in-Chief in the Town of Wexford

SIR,

I have had the patience to peruse your propositions; to which I might have returned an answer with some disdain. But (to be short) I shall give the soldiers and noncommissioned officers quarter for life, and leave to go to their several habitations, with their wearing-clothes; they engaging themselves to live quietly there and take up arms no more against the Parliament of England. And the commissioned officers quarter for their lives, but to render themselves prisoners. And as for the inhabitants, I shall engage myself that no violence shall be offered to their goods, and that I shall protect the town from plunder.

I expect your positive answer instantly; and if you will upon these terms surrender and quit; shall in one hour send forth to me four officers of the quality of field-officers, and two aldermen, for the performance thereof, I shall thereupon forbear all acts of hostility.

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.⁹⁴

Oct. 11th, 1649.

⁹³ With the rest of the Wexford Correspondence, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁴ Original in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; a contemporary copy in *Carte Mss.*, xxv, 446, Bodleian Library. Facsimile in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, facing p. 288. Carlyle, with Letter CVII.

But all these negotiations were suddenly cut short, for even while Cromwell's reply was being prepared, Captain Stafford "being fairly treated," as Cromwell said, betrayed his trust and surrendered the castle. The Parliamentarians immediately occupied it and turned the guns against the town, and the soldiers who manned the town walls took to flight. Cromwell's men hastened to climb up the undefended wall and poured into the town. The first resistance which they met was in the market-place, guarded by ropes or cables stretched across the streets which led to it, behind which were gathered soldiers and townsmen prepared to defend themselves. On these there fell the fury of the Parliamentarians, and Cromwell and his officers refused to stop the massacre which ensued when the weak resistance of the Wexford men broke down. Soldiers, townsmen, priests and friars were butchered without mercy as the crowd hurried to the waterside. There all who could sought refuge in the boats, which, overloaded, added some three hundred victims of drowning, including Sinnott, to the list of those who were slaughtered in the town. A number estimated at some fifteen hundred or two thousand thus lost their lives in a massacre which, like that of Drogheda, rivalled the exploits of the religious wars just past in Germany. In the minds of Roman Catholics the name of Cromwell was raised to the bad eminence which Tilly then held in the minds of Protestants as Drogheda and Wexford suffered the fate of Magdeburg.⁹⁵ For what happened there we do not need the evidence of his enemies since Cromwell's own letter describing the exploit remains the most revealing document as to the ruin of Wexford:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

SIR,

The army marched from Dublin, about the 23d of September, into the county of Wicklow, where the enemy had a garrison about fourteen miles from Dublin, called Killingkerick; which they quitting, a company of the army was put therein. From thence the army marched through almost a desolated country, until it came to a passage over the river Doro,⁹⁶ about a mile above the castle of Arcklow, which was the first seat and honour of the Marquis of Ormond's family; which he had strongly fortified, but was, upon the approach of the army, quitted; wherein we left another company of Foot.

⁹⁵ By far the best and fullest account of the capture of Wexford is in Hore, *op. cit.* (Town of Wexford), pp. 278-304, who publishes the correspondence between Cromwell and Sinnott and quotes profusely from contemporary authorities including: *A Very Full and Particular Relation; A Letter from the Siege before Wexford; Aphorismical Discovery; Leyborne-Popham Mss.; The Taking of Wexford: A Letter from an eminent officer in the Army; Carte Mss.* See also Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 282 ff; J. B. Williams, "Cromwell's Massacre at Wexford," *Irish Ecclesiastical Review*, series 5, vol. i, 561-578.

⁹⁶ River Darragh, a branch of the Avoca.

From thence the army marched towards Wexford; where in the way was a strong and large castle, at a town called Limerick, the ancient seat of the Esmonds; where the enemy had a strong garrison, which they burnt and quitted, the day before our coming thither. From thence we marched towards Ferns, an episcopal seat, where was a castle, to which I sent Colonel Reynolds with a party to summon it; which accordingly he did, and it was surrendered to him; where we having put a company, advanced the army to a passage over the River Slane, which runs down to Wexford; and that night marched into the fields of a village called Eniscorfy, belonging to Mr. Robert Wallop,⁹⁷ where was a strong castle very well manned and provided for by the enemy; and, close under it, in a very fair house belonging to the same worthy person, a monastery of Franciscan friars, the considerablist in all Ireland: they ran away the night before we came. We summoned the castle, and they refused to yield at the first, but upon better consideration, they were willing to deliver the place to us; which accordingly they did, leaving their great guns, arms, ammunition and provisions behind them.

Upon Monday the first of October, we came before Wexford, into which the enemy had put a garrison, consisting of [part of] their army; this town having, until then, been so confident of their own strength as that they would not, at any time, suffer a garrison to be imposed upon them. The commander that brought in those forces was Colonel David Synnott, who took upon him the command of the place, to whom I sent a summons, a copy whereof is this enclosed; between whom and me there passed answers and replies, copies whereof these also are.

Whilst these papers were passing between us, I sent the Lieutenant-General⁹⁸ with a party of dragoons, horse and foot, to endeavour to reduce their fort, which lay at the mouth of their harbour, about ten miles distant from us, to which he sent a troop of dragoons, but the enemy quitted their fort, leaving behind them about seven great guns; betook themselves, by the help of their boat, to a frigate of twelve guns lying in the harbour, within cannon-shot of the fort. The dragoons possessed the fort, and some seamen belonging to your fleet coming happily in at the same time, they bent their guns at the frigate, and she immediately yielded to mercy both herself, the soldiers that had been in the fort, and the seamen that manned her. And whilst our men were in her, the town, not knowing what had happened, sent another small vessel to her, which our men also took.

The Governor of the town having obtained from me a safe-conduct for the four persons mentioned in one of the papers, to come and treat with me about the surrender of the town, I expected they should have done so, but instead thereof, the Earl of Castlehaven brought to their relief, on the north side of the river, about five-hundred⁹⁹ foot, which occasioned their refusal to send out any to treat, and caused me to revoke my safe-conduct, not thinking it fit to leave it for them to make use of it when they pleased.

Our cannon being landed, and we having removed all our quarters to the

⁹⁷ M. P. for Andover; Member of the Council of State; a Republican who sat on the High Court of Justice.

⁹⁸ Michael Jones. He received the appointment in July, as the Council of State calls him "Major-General" on the 24th and "Lieutenant-General" on the 26th.

⁹⁹ Number inserted by Cromwell in blank space.

south-east end of the town, next the castle, it was generally agreed that we should bend the whole strength of our artillery upon the castle, being persuaded that if we got the castle, the town would easily follow.

Upon Thursday the 11th instant (our batteries being finished the night before) we began to play betimes in the morning; and having spent near a hundred shot, the Governor's stomach came down, and he sent to me to give leave for four persons intrusted by him, to come unto me, and offer terms of surrender, which I condescending to, two field-officers, with an alderman of the town and the captain of the castle, brought out the propositions enclosed, which for their abominableness, manifesting also the impudency of the men, I thought fit to present to your view, together with my answer, which indeed had no effect. For whilst I was preparing of it, studying to preserve the town from plunder, that it might be of the more use to you and your army, the captain, who was one of the commissioners, being fairly treated, yielded up the castle to us, upon the top of which our men no sooner appeared, but the enemy quitted the walls of the town, which our men perceiving, ran violently upon the town with their ladders, and stormed it. And when they were come into the market-place, the enemy making a stiff resistance, our forces brake them, and then put all to the sword that came in their way. Two boatfuls of the enemy attempting to escape, being overprest with numbers, sank, whereby were drowned near three-hundred of them. I believe, in all, there was lost of the enemy not many less than two-thousand; and I believe not twenty of yours killed from first to last of the siege.

And indeed it hath not without cause been deeply set upon our hearts, that, we intending better to this place than so great a ruin, hoping the town might be of more use to you and your army, yet God would not have it so; but, by an unexpected providence, in His righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them, causing them to become a prey to the soldier, who in their piracies had made preys of so many families, and made with their bloods to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the lives of divers poor Protestants; two of which I have been lately acquainted with.¹⁰⁰ About seven or eight score poor Protestants were put by them into an old vessel, which being, as some say, bulged by them, the vessel sank, and they were all presently drowned in the harbour. The other [instance] was thus: they put divers Protestants into a chapel (which, since, they have used for a mass-house, and in which one or more of their priests were now killed), where they were famished to death.

The soldiers got a very good booty in this place, and had they¹⁰¹ not had opportunity to carry their goods over the river, whilst we besieged it, it would have been much more. I could have wished for their own good, and the good of the garrison, they had been more moderate. Some things which were not easily portable, we hope we shall make use of to your behoof. There are great quantities of iron, hides, tallow, salt, pipe- and barrel-staves, which are under commissioners' hands, to be secured. We believe there are near a hundred cannon in the fort, and elsewhere in and about the town. Here is likewise some very good shipping: here are three vessels, one of them of thirty-four guns, which a week's time would fit to sea; there is another of

¹⁰⁰ One was Nicholas Codd, of Castleton. Hore, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

¹⁰¹ The townspeople.

about twenty guns, very near ready likewise, and one other frigate of twenty guns, upon the stocks, made for sailing, which is built up to the uppermost deck. For her handsomeness' sake, I have appointed the workmen to finish her, here being materials to do it, if you or the Council of State shall approve thereof. The frigate, also, taken by the fort, is a most excellent vessel for sailing. Besides divers other ships and vessels in the harbour.

This town is now so in your power, that [of] the former inhabitants, I believe scarce one in twenty can challenge any property in their houses. Most of them are run away, and many of them killed in this service. And it were to be wished, that an honest people would come and plant here, where are very good houses, and other accommodations fitted to their hands, and may by your favour be made of encouragement to them, as also a seat of good trade, both inward and outward, and of marvellous great advantage in the point of the herring and other fishing. The town is pleasantly seated and strong, having a rampart of earth within the wall, near fifteen foot thick.¹⁰²

Thus it hath pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy, for which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory. Indeed your instruments are poor and weak, and can do nothing but through believing, and that is the gift of God also.

I humbly take leave, and rest,

Your most humble servant,

Wexford,

October 14th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

[P.S.] A day or two before our battery was planted, Ormond, the Earl of Castlehaven, the Lord of Ardes and Clanneboyne were on the other side of the water with about 1,800 horse, 1,500 foot; and offered to put in four or five hundred foot more into the town, which the town refusing, he marched away in all haste. I sent the Lieutenant-General after him with about 1,400 horse, but the enemy made haste from him.¹⁰³

The capture of Wexford and the massacre of its inhabitants, coming hard on the tragedy of Drogheda, spread the terror of Cromwell's name through Ireland and inclined many waverers and time-servers to his side. His stay there was short and was spent, according to tradition, in Sinnott's old residence, a castellated house on the main street, known as Kenny's Hall.¹⁰⁴ There he busied himself with the

¹⁰² On the receipt of this letter Parliament ordered the Council to consider transplanting families into Wexford. *C. J.*, vi, 315; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 369. Cromwell, apparently, at this or a later time, wrote to settlers in Connecticut (his old associates) urging them to come to Ireland. They replied, asking what terms they might expect, but apparently nothing came of it, unless Roger Ludlow's move was part of this. See Nickolls, *State Papers*, p. 44.

¹⁰³ Original in *Tanner Mss.*, lvi, 132. Printed in *A Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Several Proceedings*; Oct. 26-Nov. 2; Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 289-93; Hore, *op. cit.*, p. 294; Carlyle, Letter CVII.

¹⁰⁴ Kenny's Hall, one of the best houses in the town, was no. 29. The oak panelled room where Cromwell is supposed to have slept is pointed out with its concealed door opening into a shaft in the wall, the *oubliette* or "murdering hole," extending down to unknown depths, which is frequently to be found in early Norman castles, for the disappearance of undesirable guests.

disposition of the plunder, drawing up his report to Parliament, and writing a note to Fairfax:

For his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, General

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I could not satisfy myself to omit this opportunity; it rejoiceth me to hear of the prosperity of your affairs, wherein the good of all honest men is so much concerned, and indeed, my Lord, such intemperate spirits being suffered to break forth and show their venom, and yet from time to time to be suppressed, shows the same good God watches over you which hath gone with you all along hitherto and will be with you to the end. I am verily persuaded the discovery of these men[’s spirits] makes them [so] manifest that I hope at least the godly shall not be deceived by them, which will be cause of much rejoicing. Truly, my noble Lord, my prayers are for you, and I trust shall be, that God will still continue His presence and the light of His countenance with you to the end. The Lord shows us great mercy here, indeed He, He only, gave this strong town of Wexford into our hands. The particulars I forbear, because I have spent some pains in writing them to the Parliament.

I have no more at present but the tender of the integrity and affection of, My Lord,

Your Excellency’s most humble servant

Wexford, October 15, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

SIR,—If by your favour or interest Sir John Barlacye¹⁰⁵ may obtain any encouragement for his forepast services for the State, either from Parliament or the Council of State in England, and that any direction may be given to me therein, I shall be glad to be serviceable to him in executing their commands, and this I can assure your Excellency, that the reducing of his regiment was not in the least a reflection upon him, but to save the State a charge.¹⁰⁶

ROSS AND DUNCANNON, OCTOBER 15–NOVEMBER 14, 1649

Besides the property of the people of Wexford which was reckoned as the prize of war and confiscated by its conquerors, there was captured much military material, including fifty-one pieces of ordnance and some forty vessels in the harbor.¹⁰⁷ Much of the plunder was sent to Dublin¹⁰⁸ and there disposed of; some was seized by the soldiers; and Wexford for the time being was ruined. “It is,” wrote Peter a week later, “a fine spot for some godly congregation, where

¹⁰⁵ Son of the Sir John Borlace who in 1642 was one of the Lord Justices, with Loftus and Parsons. Sir John the elder had died in the previous year.

¹⁰⁶ Holograph. *Egerton MS.* 2620. Printed in *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1887, p. 150. Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement, no. 49.

¹⁰⁷ *History or Brief Chronicle* (London, 1650), repr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, iii, 159.

¹⁰⁸ Roche to Taaffe, Oct. 16, in Hore, *op. cit.* (Duncannon), p. 197.

house and land wait for inhabitants and occupiers."¹⁰⁹ So, leaving Colonel George Cooke in command of the town and despatching Ireton with his command and two guns to take the fort of Duncannon on the eastern side of the entrance to Waterford harbor, Cromwell set out on October 15 with his forces, now much depleted by the necessity of garrisoning the strongholds he had taken, toward his next objectives, Ross and the port towns of Munster.¹¹⁰

Sending detachments to besiege and destroy Ballyhally Castle, the residence of the Cheevers, and to reduce the garrisons of Tintern and Dunbrody abbeys, Cromwell reached New Ross, which covered the passage over the Barrow River, on October 17. There he found the thousand men of the garrison of that walled town reinforced by fifteen hundred men under Sir Lucas Taaffe, the newly appointed governor, to whom on the evening of his arrival, he sent a summons to surrender:

For the Commander-in-Chief in Ross: These

SIR,

Since my coming into Ireland, I have this witness for myself, that I have endeavoured to avoid effusion of blood, having been before no place to which such terms have not been first sent as might have turned to the good and preservation of those to whom they were offered, this being my principle, that the people and places where I come may not suffer except through their own wilfulness.

To the end I may observe the like course with this place and people therein, I do hereby summon you to deliver the town of Ross into my hands to the use of the Parliament of England. Expecting your speedy answer, I rest,

Your servant,

October 17th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹¹¹

The trumpeter who carried the summons was met at the gate and told that an answer would be sent. It was slow in coming, and Cromwell, having spent the 18th in preparing his batteries, put the guns in action early in the morning of the 19th. With this, Taaffe hastened to apologize for his delay and to explain that, though he was better able to defend the town than when Cromwell first arrived, he would none the less surrender upon acceptable conditions. To that Cromwell replied at once, offering honorable, even generous terms:

¹⁰⁹ *Collection of Letters* (1649), quoted in Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, ii, 201n.

¹¹⁰ Deane to Popham, Oct. 16, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* (Leyborne-Popham Mss.),

p. 47.

¹¹¹ Contemporary copy in *Carte Mss.*, Bodleian Library. Printed in *A Brief Relation of Some Affairs and Transactions; in A Perfect and More Particular Relation; Several Proceedings*, Nov. 16; *Cromwelliana*, p. 67; and Carlyle, Letter CVIII.

For the Governor in Ross: These

SIR,

If you like to march away with those under your command, with their arms, bag and baggage, and with drums and colours, and shall deliver up the town to me, I shall give caution to perform these conditions, expecting the like from you. As to the inhabitants, they shall be permitted to live peaceably, free from the injury and violence of the soldiers.

If you like hereof, you can tell how to let me know your mind, notwithstanding my refusal of a cessation. By these you will see the reality of my intentions to save blood, and to preserve the place from ruin. I rest,

Your servant,

October 19th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹¹²

None the less he did not cease his bombardment. The guns continued to play on the wall and a breach was made near Bewley Gate, called since that time Three Bullet Gate because of the three cannon shots fired against it. These, tradition says, were sufficient to bring another message from Taaffe saying he would accept Cromwell's terms if the townspeople who wished to leave were allowed to depart with their goods; if those who remained might be permitted liberty of conscience; and if he might carry his artillery and ammunition away with him. To this Cromwell replied:

For the Governor in Ross: These

SIR,

What I formerly offered, I shall make good. As for your carrying away any artillery or ammunition that you brought not in with you or hath not come to you since you had the command of that place, I must deny you that, expecting you leave it as you found it.

For that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of. As for such of the townsmen who desire to depart and carry away themselves and goods (as you express), I engage myself they shall have three months time so to do; and in the mean time shall be protected from violence in their persons and goods, as others under the obedience of the Parliament.

If you accept this offer, I engage my honour for a punctual performance hereof. I rest,

Your servant,

October 19th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹¹³

¹¹² Pr. in *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*; in *Several Proceedings*, Nov. 16; in *Cromwelliana*, p. 68; and Carlyle, Letter CIX.

¹¹³ Manuscript copy in *Additional Mss.*, British Museum, B. 4769. Pr. in *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*; *Sev. Proc.*, Nov. 16.; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 68-69, and Carlyle, Letter CX.

Taaffe agreed to Cromwell's terms and asked for a safe conduct to such agents as he might send and for immediate cessation of hostilities. To these requests Cromwell replied promptly but firmly:

For the Governor of Ross: These

SIR,

You have my hand and honour engaged to perform what I offered in my first and last letters; which I shall inviolably observe. I expect you send me immediately four persons of such quality as may be hostages for your performances, for whom you have this safe-conduct enclosed, into which you may insert their names, without which I shall not cease acts of hostility. If anything happen by your delay, to your prejudice, it will not be my fault. Those you send may see the conditions perfected. Whilst I forbear acts of hostility, I expect you forbear all actings within. I rest,

Your servant,

October 19th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁴

The agreement¹¹⁵ was drawn up and signed the same day and a month later Cromwell signed an extension of the articles:

Articles concluded and agreed upon, by and between the Right Honourable the Lord Lieut. of Ireland of the one part, and the Governor of Ross of the other part, this 19 Octob. 1649.

1. It is concluded and agreed, That the Governor of Ross with all under his command, may march unto Kilkenny or Loughlen Bridge, with their arms, bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, bullet in mouth, bandeliers full of powder, and match lighted at both ends, provided they march thither in three days, and that no acts of hostility be committed during the said time.

2. It is concluded and agreed, That such townsmen as desire to depart, and to carry away themselves and their goods, shall have three months time so to do; and in the meantime shall be preserved from violence in their persons and goods, as others under the obedience of the Parliament; and that a convoy be sent with them to secure them in their journeys.

3. It is concluded and agreed, That the inhabitants shall be permitted to live peaceably, and enjoy their goods and estates free from the injury and violence of the soldier.

4. In consideration whereof, the Governor of Ross is to surrender into my hands the town of Ross, artillery, arms, ammunition, and other utensils of war that are therein, by three of the clock this present day, except such as were brought in by the said Governor, or such as came in since he had the command thereof; and by two of the clock, to permit the Lord Lieutenant to put three hundred men into the blockhouse, gatehouse near the breach, and the White Tower near the same.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* The two versions vary slightly. Carlyle CXI.

¹¹⁵ Pr. in *Sev. Proc.*, Nov. 16, from a copy which bore the signatures of the Governor and his representatives; also in Borlase, *Irish Rebellion*, App. p. 2.

5. For the performance of the Articles on the said Governor's part, he is to deliver four such hostages as I shall approve.

O. CROMWELL.

[*Extension of Articles*]

I do hereby grant and desire that the promises of protection and all other benefits granted to the inhabitants of the town of Ross in the third article concluded upon the surrender of the said town, shall be extended and continued to the said inhabitants, as well after the three months mentioned in the second of the said articles as during that space, they behaving themselves peaceably and faithfully as becometh persons under protection submitting to the authority of the Parliament of England.

Given at Ross the thirteenth day of November, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹¹⁶

The surrender of New Ross—which was doubtless facilitated by the fear engendered at Drogheda and Wexford—was fortunate for Cromwell in many ways. It gave him a free passage over the Barrow River and it saved the losses to his own army which he could ill afford and which would inevitably have occurred, however successful his operations might have been. With his forces diminished by detaching men for garrisons, by the losses at Drogheda and Wexford, and by the sickness on which Ormonde had relied to weaken his army, of nearly fifteen thousand men he had brought from England scarcely more than five thousand remained in the field, besides those sent into the north of Ireland. He was now cheered by the addition of some five or six hundred English troops of the New Ross garrison who, as their comrades were ferried across the Barrow, joined his ranks. Their loss was a further blow to Ormonde who had left Ross for Kilkenny and on the 19th was still close enough to hear the thunder of Cromwell's cannon. The Royalist ranks—Inchiquin's forces in particular—were discouraged and disaffected. Weeks earlier, Ormonde had written to Charles II declaring that the only possible salvation of the royal cause lay in the presence of the young king and his personal conduct of his army to hearten his discouraged subjects.¹¹⁷ To Clanricarde he had written on October 6 that though Inchiquin's army had been increased by the desertion to him of Monk's troops at Dundalk, his men were not to be relied on. More recently that had been confirmed by the news which the Royalist commander had received that Sir Pierce Smith, who had once been prepared to surrender Youghal to Ireton, and three of Inchiquin's colonels had declared for Cromwell. In view of these events Ormonde himself was so discouraged that he was already contemplating a request for his own recall.

Nor was his great opponent without his own difficulties and dan-

¹¹⁶ Printed in Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 189, from a manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy.

¹¹⁷ Sept. 27. Carte, *Original Letters*, ii, 402-405.

gers, at this moment increased by the threat of assassination. According to the story, one of his late opponents, a certain Captain Browne, had crossed the river with the men being evacuated from New Ross, but returned and asked to see Cromwell, who, late as it was, received him. Browne's tale was to the effect that there was a plot to murder Cromwell when, and if, according to his custom in all newly captured towns and forts, he should walk along the walls of his next objective, Duncannon Fort. Browne said that he had been entrusted with a letter to Ormonde from the originator of the design, one Davenport, who was immediately brought before Cromwell and a Council of War, where he was condemned, but spared by the General.¹¹⁸

Browne's tale may or may not have been true, but it did not alter Cromwell's plans. He had promised his army that winter-quarters should be established in Ross, but instead he planned a bridge across the Barrow to replace the one destroyed at his coming,¹¹⁹ and despatched two thousand men under Lieutenant-General Michael Jones to join Ireton at the siege of Duncannon. Two days later, on October 27, having sent siege-guns on by water, Cromwell himself joined the forces before that place. Then, after some deliberation, most of the army was withdrawn from Ross and distributed among lesser fortified posts, like Tintern, round about to form a blockade while the siege of Duncannon went on. Precautions were taken to see that no relief should be sent from Waterford,¹²⁰ though, as it proved, they were unnecessary, since, save for some few scattering supplies, Waterford refused to part with any of its own scanty provisions.

When Cromwell arrived at Duncannon, Ireton had been there for some time, and with him Cromwell had apparently sent a summons for its delivery. The commander of the fort, Thomas Roche, had assured Ormonde that he could not hold the fort against Cromwell and the summons would have been obeyed probably without hesitation, had not Ormonde, realizing the great importance of the place, sent Colonel Edward Wogan to replace Roche. Some time captain of a Worcestershire troop of horse, probably in Ireton's regiment, Wogan had deserted the New Model a year earlier, joined Langdale, and led his troop safely into Scotland.¹²¹ He was now in command of Ormonde's life-guard, of whom some hundred and twenty were sent with him to defend Duncannon Fort. They came just in time to save

¹¹⁸ Hore, *History of Wexford* (Ross), p. 325, from *Additional Mss.* British Museum, 4769, f. 91.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* (Duncannon), p. 208.

¹²⁰ "Aphorismal Discovery," Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 309; Cliffe's Narrative, in Borlase (1743), App. p. 3; Hore, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-3; Deane to Popham, Oct. 22, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* (Leyborne-Popham Mss.), p. 47.

¹²¹ The troop deserted on being threatened with disbandment and used a counter-feit order of Fairfax's to reach Scotland.

the situation; and the new commander sent a defiant answer to the besiegers two days before Cromwell arrived.¹²²

THE REVOLT OF THE MUNSTER GARRISONS, OCTOBER 16–NOVEMBER 15,
1649.

Although Duncannon Fort was thus saved, a far more important place was being lost to the Royalists; for while these operations were going on, there came news of a sudden revolt of the garrison in Cork in favor of the Parliamentarians. The seeds of that revolt had been sown before Cromwell's coming to Ireland, chiefly by his negotiations with Lord Broghill, who, commissioned as Master of Ordnance, had sailed from Bristol and landed in Wexford in October.¹²³ In his designs Broghill was aided by his wide influence in Munster and by the desire of its Protestant inhabitants to break the domination of the Catholics, especially the party of the Confederates. He was further greatly assisted by the activities of Colonel Richard Townsend, sometime a captain, later a major, under Blake and Ceely, advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the western campaign in England, and thence ordered with his regiment to Munster to serve under Inchiquin. With him, Townsend deserted the cause of Parliament but recanted and went back to England, whence he returned to Ireland on the death of the King, professedly on account of his resentment, but in reality as Cromwell's agent to corrupt the Munster forces.¹²⁴

The activities of Broghill and Townsend were not long in bearing fruit, for, as usual, Irish history had not ceased to be Irish politics. More than sixty years earlier, the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond had brought a terrible revenge upon the people of Munster, of whom it was said more than thirty thousand had perished. Every effort was made to replace them with English settlers, and, thanks to the energy and ability of Broghill's father, the first Earl of Cork, to whom extensive estates there had been granted, Munster became one of the most flourishing provinces of Ireland. As Cromwell is said to have remarked on seeing the "prodigious" improvements which were effected, 'if there had been one like Boyle in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion.'¹²⁵ It was not, therefore, surprising that Cromwell had chosen Broghill for the enterprise of saving this magnificent heritage for the English; that Broghill had accepted; or that he was successful in his efforts; for the Protestant English in Munster were only too eager to

¹²² Answer in Hore, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

¹²³ Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, v, 155.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, v, 77; Depositions of the Revolters in Caulfield's *Council Book of the Cork Corporation* (1868), App., p. 1156.

¹²⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography* (Art. on the 1st Earl of Cork). See also Bagwell, *op. cit.*, ii, 12; Cox, *History of Ireland*, ii, 17.

embrace any opportunity to break with the Confederate Catholics, from whom they had nothing to hope and everything to fear.

In consequence Broghill quickly raised fifteen hundred foot and a troop of horse on his own family's estates, while Townsend had equal success in Cork, where he with two other officers, Gifford and Warren, had been imprisoned on a charge of planning the revolt of Youghal. Liberated from prison, their plans were soon laid and on the night of October 16, while Cromwell was besieging Ross, the English part of the garrison of Cork, supported by the English inhabitants of the city, rose against the authorities, while the governor, Sir Robert Stirling, slept; drove him and his Irish followers out; and declared for the Parliament.¹²⁶

The revolt was a greater disaster to Ormonde than the mere loss of Cork. On every side there rose the usual cry of treachery, and as usual there was enough of truth in it to make it doubly dangerous. The Irish complained bitterly of Ormonde's favor to the English, and he was compelled to restore Roche to the command of Duncannon. On the other hand, the revolt of Cork inspired Inchiquin's troops, whose allegiance had already been undermined by Cromwell's agent, to fresh desertions. As early as October 1 Ormonde had been informed—or misinformed—that only two hundred remained and he believed that even these would be gone by the day following.¹²⁷ Inchiquin himself came under suspicion when a Catholic priest, Father Patrick, stated publicly that he had seen a copy of Inchiquin's agreement dated the day of the Cork mutiny, October 16, by which he promised to deliver Youghal to Cromwell and receive a command of six thousand men. That charge was supported by other witnesses, one of whom, a colonel under Ormonde, added later that the original was taken from the body of Bishop Egan of Ross when he was captured and hanged the following spring.¹²⁸ Inchiquin denied the charge, and even wrote to General Michael Jones to vindicate him, but the harm was done. Inchiquin's authority was weakened and though he gathered new forces in Leinster, his influence in Munster was largely replaced by that of Broghill.

It was peculiarly fortunate for Cromwell that his plans to undermine the allegiance of the English soldiers in Ireland had been crowned with success at this precise moment, for he had need of some such good fortune. On October 2 his report of the capture of Drogheda had been read in the Commons, which ordered it printed and took

¹²⁶ Deane to Lenthall, Nov. 8, in *Cary Memorials*, ii, 185.

¹²⁷ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, i, 136, from the *Carte Mss.*

¹²⁸ Letter of "Ja. Barn [well?]," 1650, *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii, 68. The editor of the Clarendon Papers adds that the whole thing was a forgery contrived by Lord Antrim. See also Ormonde's charges against Antrim in his letter to Charles, Dec. 15, *Carte, Original Letters*, ii, 417. Broghill's letter, April 16, 1650, about Egan speaks of finding significant papers in Egan's pocket. *Several Proceedings*. Cp. below, p. 239, and Gardiner, i, 138n.

steps to raise more money for the army in England and Ireland; but it was slow business to secure it. Men were more plentiful, and on the day that Ross surrendered, the Council of State received a report that there were five thousand recruits for Ireland, fully officered, instructed, and with provision made for their pay. Four days later it wrote Cromwell of the progress in meeting his requests for aid, but informed him that the treasury was low and much in need of any revenue which Ireland could produce.¹²⁹

Though he had been well provided with funds before he sailed, the expenses of his campaign had been great and the proceeds from the sale of the spoil thus far not considerable. How his money went is revealed by two of the many orders which he wrote at this time:

*To Sir John Wollaston Kt. and the rest of the Treasurers at War
or their Deputy.*

These are to require you out of such moneys as are or shall be appointed for payment of the officers under my command and for the charges of the said officers to issue out and pay unto Coll. Robert Phayre, upon account, the sum of one hundred forty and eight pounds, for the present supply and maintenance of his regiment of foot, and for so doing this with the receipt of the said Coll. Phayre shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given under my hand this 23th of Octob. 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁰

Warrant

For the payment of the sum of twenty pounds to Captain Alexander Staples for the supply and maintenance of his company of foot soldiers.
Oct. 23, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹³¹

The General was at that moment in Ross, living in the house of a certain Francis Dormer, where, according to tradition, he saw a portrait of Ormonde, whom he had never met; and being told who it was, observed somewhat acidly, if acutely, that Ormonde seemed to him "more like a huntsman than anyway a soldier."¹³² It was from here that he sent his report of the capture of Ross to Lenthall:

For William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England

SIR,

Since my last from Wexford, we marched to Ross, a walled town, situated upon the Barrow; a port-town, up to which a ship of seven or eight hundred tons may come.

¹²⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 349, 360.

¹³⁰ Receipted by Phayre on October 23rd. From the original in the possession the author.

¹³¹ At the foot of the document there is said to be a receipt signed by Staples. Listed for sale in Maggs Catalogues, Nos. 365 (1918) and 371 (1925) for £22.

¹³² *Aphorismical Discovery*, ii, 55.

We came before it upon Wednesday the 17th instant, with three pieces of cannon. That evening I sent a summons; Major-General Taaff, being Governor, refused to admit my trumpet into the town, but took the summons in, returning me no answer. I did hear that near 1,000 foot had been put into this place some few days before my coming to it. The next day was spent in making preparations for our battery, and in our view there were boated over from the other side of the river, of English, Scots, and Irish, 1,500 more, Ormond, Castlehaven, and the Lord of Ardes, being on the other side of the water to cause it to be done.

That night we planted our battery, which began to play very early the next morning. The Governor immediately sent forth an answer to my summons, copies of all which I make bold herewith to trouble you, the rather because you may see how God pulls down proud stomachs. He desired commissioners might treat, and that in the mean time there might be a ceasing of acts of hostility on both sides, which I refused; sending in word, that if he would march away with arms, bag and baggage, and give me hostages for performance, he should. Indeed he might have done it without my leave, by the advantage of the river. He insisted upon having the cannon with him, which I would not yield unto, but required the leaving the artillery and the ammunition, which he was content to do, and marched away, leaving the great artillery and the ammunition in the stores to me. When they marched away, at least 500 English, many of them of the Munster forces, came to us.

Ormond is at Kilkenny, Inchiquin in Munster, Henry O'Neal, Owen Roe's son, is come up to Kilkenny, with near 2,000 horse and foot, with whom and Ormond there is now a perfect conjunction. So that now, I trust, some angry friends will think it high time to take off their jealousy from those to whom they ought to exercise more charity.

The rendition of this garrison was a seasonable mercy, as giving us an opportunity towards Munster, and is for the present a very good refreshment for our men. We are able to say nothing as to all this, but that the Lord is still pleased to own a company of poor worthless creatures, for which we desire His name to be magnified, and the hearts of all concerned may be provoked to walk worthy of such continued favours. This is the earnest desire of

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Ross, October 25th, 1649.

P.S. Colonel Horton is lately dead of the country-disease, leaving a son behind him. He was a person of great integrity and courage. His former services, especially that of the last summer, I hope will be had in remembrance.¹³³

To this he added another letter written the next day, addressed probably to a member of the Council of State. Both were evidently transmitted by the government to the newspaper which printed them three weeks later.

¹³³ Pr. in *Several Proceedings*, Nov. 16; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 224-226; Carlyle, *Letter CXII*.

[To a member of the Council of State?]

SIR,

Since my last to you, it hath pleased God to give us in Ross, a port much more considerable for great shipping than Wexford, and we can be able by ships and boats to make a bridge over. We are in a fair way to enter into the bowels of Munster, this town is in the circuit of the wall, I believe, every whit as big if not bigger than Wexford, and therefore you may easily imagine what this and some other places in this county and up the Barrow will take us up. Our army lies in the field, and we could not satisfy our consciences to keep the field as we do were it not that we hope we save blood by it, and indeed do follow Providence in prosecuting the enemy whiles the fear of God is upon them; how be it if our success in taking garrisons should continue unless we be furnished with fresh supplies of foot, we shall quickly be at an end with our field army. Therefore I cannot but again importune you that as you have ordered us 5000 foot, so you would also speed some good proportions of them unto us. Yet we think we ought to love England and our friends there so well that what you cannot safely spare we hope God will make us willing to want.

We think it our duty to let you know that all the Popish party in Ireland and the Septs and Ormondian party are like to join as one man. Owen Roe Oneale his son is come up to Kilkenny with a great party. We trust when they are gathered together it shall be that God may yet more manifest himself. How be it, we having those ways to spend our force, are not to be wanting to let our friends know their concernments.

Yours very affectionately,

Ross,

26 Octob. 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁴

This letter, delivered by Hugh Pèter's servant, Cornelius Glover, may have contained more than appears in the printed version, for on November 13 the Council ordered Lieutenant Colonel Daniel to hasten to Ireland, "as desired by Cromwell."¹³⁵

Meanwhile, still at Ross, in his capacity of Lord Lieutenant he took occasion to issue another order against plundering:

Proclamation

By the Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland. Whereas there are divers complaints daily made by the inhabitants in and near the town of Ross that the soldiers under my command do daily take away their garrons and plough horses and their seed corn, and do hinder them from threshing their seed corn and from following their business of husbandry, whereby the land is unmanured and unsown, which doth manifestly tend to the prejudice of the public and may prove to be of very ill consequence if not timely prevented:

¹³⁴ *General Proceedings*, Nov. 16. It is obviously to a member of the Council of State, and very possibly is the letter to Scot asking for additional troops which is said to be dated Oct. 29 and read in Parliament Nov. 13. Cp. *C. J.*, vi, 321; *Sen. Proc. in Parl.*, Nov. 13.

¹³⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 390.

These are strictly to charge and command all officers and soldiers under my command that they do not presume to take away any plough horses or garrons or any seed corn from any persons whatsoever residing and inhabiting within our quarters, nor in any wise to hinder them from threshing out their corn, ploughing their lands or following their business of husbandry, upon pain of the severest punishment that may be inflicted on them. And I do hereby require all officers under my command in their several places to endeavour the preventing of the said outrages and offences, and to bring all offenders of that kind to condign punishment.

And I do hereby require the Provost Marshall of the army to cause this my Proclamation to be published in the town of Ross and also to the several and respective regiments of the army. Given under my hand at Ross this 27th of October, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁶

On the day that he wrote this letter, Cromwell went to Duncannon to observe the progress of the siege. Its prospects were not bright and when, on November 5, with the aid of a party of horse sent to him by Castlehaven in boats by night, Wogan seized Ireton's artillery, the siege was raised and the Parliamentarians retired.¹³⁷ Meanwhile Cromwell had returned to Ross and set his men to rebuild the bridge over the swift tidewater at the junction of the Barrow and the Nore into the county of Kilkenny. Ormonde was severely criticized for not offering resistance to this project,¹³⁸ whose prevention, Inchiquin wrote, would have been the greatest reverse Cromwell could have suffered short of actual defeat.¹³⁹ But Ormonde, though his forces were numerically superior to the English,¹⁴⁰ was ill-provided with war materials. He was disturbed at the surrender of Cork and the desertion of Inchiquin's men; and he felt that he could not trust his own troops until the results of the recent disasters had been appraised. For the moment Inchiquin was helpless to aid him, and Ormonde dared not risk defeat.

This was the more true in that shortly before Ireton raised the siege of Duncannon, another port was opened to Parliament in that quarter of Ireland. Blake's squadron had been driven from its blockade of Kinsale by a storm and Rupert took the opportunity to escape to Lisbon with his fleet which had been held for months in the Irish harbor.¹⁴¹ No longer needed at Kinsale, Blake was employed to take

¹³⁶ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Various Collections*, vi, 435 (Tighe Mss.).

¹³⁷ Castlehaven, *Memoirs*, p. 16.

¹³⁸ The length (740 feet) is given in a petition from Derrick Curtis, a ship's carpenter employed in its construction, to the Admiralty Committee, Oct. 13, 1655. *S. P. Dom.*, cxv, 154. Cp. *Aphorismical Discovery*, loc. cit., iii, 155.

¹³⁹ Inchiquin to Ormonde, Nov. 4. Macray, *Clarendon Papers*, ii, 29.

¹⁴⁰ Ormonde to Jermyn, Nov. 30. Carte, *Orig. Letters*, ii, 415.

¹⁴¹ Deane to Popham, Nov. 8. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.* (Leyborne-Popham Mss.), p. 50.

Broghill to Cork, which they reached on November 3, to meet Colonel Phayre who had arrived from England with his regiment.¹⁴²

With the arrival of these two commanders in Cork and the advance of Cromwell from Ross, the balance of the Irish campaign shifted to the province of Munster, which was to be the scene of Cromwell's activities during the rest of his stay in Ireland. Ulster was being cared for by Coote and his associates; Leinster was controlled by Hewson from his headquarters in Dublin; Connaught had as yet hardly come into the scope of operations, nor, if the rest of Ireland was subdued, was it likely to offer any serious resistance. To the subjugation of the great southern province, therefore, the Parliamentarians now addressed themselves.

¹⁴² Blake to Popham, Nov. 5. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAMPAIGN IN MUNSTER

With the capture of the chief strongholds on the eastern coast, Drogheda and Wexford, and the possession of Cork, the first stage of Cromwell's Irish campaign was over. Though he had failed to take Duncannon, and though various fortified places like Waterford, Youghal and Kilkenny, with lesser posts, were not yet in his hands, the mutiny in Cork had given him a great advantage in his next move. His task was clear. It was to reduce the garrisons which still held out in Munster and secure that great province for Parliament. It involved more than military operations. The rising in Cork offered an opportunity to undermine the allegiance of the Anglo-Irish to Ormonde and to drive a wedge between them and the native Irish. This was no less, perhaps even more, important than his operations in the field, and though he did not neglect them, he mingled them with diplomatic manoeuvres which might well prove more effective and far less costly than sieges and engagements.

In consequence his energies in the ensuing months were divided between war and intrigue, as with the help of Broghill and Townsend he strove to loosen the hold of his antagonist on Munster, and with this began another chapter in the history of the Cromwellian conquest. Its beginnings were, in a sense, the clue to the whole, for the arrival of Blake and Phayre in Cork to co-operate with Broghill and Townsend was typical of the whole of this important episode. The two officers had instructions from Cromwell to organize an insurrection in Munster; and in preparation for that event the men of Cork sent a memorial to Cromwell, proposing the terms on which they would agree to assist him.

Those terms were, first, that Inchiquin should be given complete indemnity for all his acts, "quietly enjoy his own estate and that satisfaction be made him for what arrears are due to his Lo^p until the perfection of the late peace." To this was added a like request for themselves and clear title to all the "prize goods" they had bought. They desired a new charter for the city in place of the old which had been forfeited; and to be given "satisfaction" for "what money or goods they can make appear by ticket they have anyways lent, disbursed or delivered for the use of the public before the late unhappy peace," the claims to be audited by one of their number. They further desired that for "what they shall make appear is due to them by

specialties or otherwise, from any person or persons whatsoever, before or since the wars, satisfaction be made as to justice appertaineth"; that all English garrisons and persons "that will come in and submit to these proposals," should have equal benefit; that titles to all lands and tenements in both city and county be confirmed; and finally that the inhabitants be "regulated into a Regiment under the command of Mr. John Hodder, Colonel, and to have the State's pay when they pass on duty."¹

To these terms in the main Cromwell agreed, though it is notable that in his reply he omitted all mention of the immunity for Inchiquin or his property which the men of Cork had put at the head of their demands. And it is perhaps no less notable that he confirmed the signers of the petition, John Hodder and Maurice Cuffe, as colonel and lieutenant-colonel respectively of the regiment to be raised:

Answer to the several desires of the inhabitants of Cork sent by their Commissioners and received 12 Nov., 1649

By the Lo. Lieut. of Ireland.

1st. I shall forbear to make answer.

2nd. The Inhabitants of the City of Cork, that have joined in the late declaring for the Parliament, shall be fully indemnified for anything that's past, as is desired, so as to restore them to the same condition of freedom, privilege, and safety, that they were in before the Lord Inchiquin's defection. And as if the same, or anything that had issued thereupon had never been, and particularly shall enjoy the benefit of any prize goods they have bought, without being troubled or damnified by any for the same.

3rd. That the Charter of the City of Cork shall be renewed, as is desired, and no advantage taken of the forfeiture mentioned.

4th. For what they have lent, disbursed, or delivered for public service, since the Declaration, or hereafter shall send or advance. It shall be satisfied with all speed, out of any revenue or income, in those parts, out of which it may best and surest be done, which I leave to themselves to think of and propose. And if anything so due to them from the public, before the Lord Inchiquin's defection, they shall have the same right, and be in the same capacity of satisfaction, as before the said defection, they were, and I shall endeavour it for them equally, as for any other, to whom such debt, from the public is due, by all ways and means in my power. But for anything so lent, disbursed, or delivered (as to a public use) since the said defection, and before the said declaration. It cannot otherwise be considered, than as damages sustained by persons well effected, lying under the power of the enemy. And in that nature, so far as anything shall appear to have been formerly taken from such persons, it shall be considered, examined and represented

¹ *Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal*, ed. Richard Caulfield, pp. 281-2. Pr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 327, from a manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy; and in Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 204, from the same manuscript. Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 50, from Gilbert.

to the Parliament, to be satisfied equally, as the damages of any other well effected persons in Ireland.

5th. For debts due from private persons, they shall be left to their full legal rights.

6th. As all that is granted to the soldiery and inhabitants of Cork, Youghal, and other neighbouring places, that have already corresponded and joined with them, in their late declaration, is most freely and heartily granted, because not bargained for before their declaring, and because to men appearing (by the carriage of the business), to have done, what they have done therein, really, from a recovered sense, and affection to the English parliamentary and protestant interest in this nation, so to any other places and persons that (having formerly been of the Parliamentary party), shall so come in, as that it appear to be from the same sense and affection, and not from policy or necessity. I shall bear the same mind and have the same readiness to do them good and no hurt.

7th. Not fully understanding the nature and extent of the things desired, I can give no present full resolution, but shall be ready, not only to do them full right in all things, but also to perform, any such good office of respect (within my power) unto the City of Cork, as may be a reward and memorial of their faithfulness and public affection, which in this late action, I really think they have deserved.

Lastly, as to the desire in the other paper, concerning the Militia of the City of Cork, I am very willing, that the inhabitants be formed into a regiment under Mr. John Hodder as Colonel, Mr. Maurice Cuffe to be Lieut.-Col. and Major Borman, Major. And the regiment or any part thereof when called upon duty, to have the State's pay. For other officers of the regiment, I leave to the said field officers, or any two of them to nominate, and I propound to the Lo. Broghill, Sir Will. Fenton, and Col. Phayre for approbation.

O. CROMWELL.²

Such was the first step in the new enterprise, but while it was being set in train, after his return from Duncannon, Cromwell fell ill. The population of Ross was decimated that winter by what was called "the plague," but whether it was that, or what was currently called "the country disease," or dysentery, at this time almost universal among the soldiers, save that his health was "crazy," we do not know from his letter:

*For my beloved Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley
in the County Hampton: These*

DEAR BROTHER,

I am not often at leisure, nor now, to salute my friends; yet unwilling to lose this opportunity. I take it, only to let you know that you and your family are often in my prayers. I wish the young ones well,

² Letter Book of Lord Broghill, British Museum, *Additional Mss.*, 25, 287, pr. in Caulfield, *Council Book of Youghal*, App. p. 557-558. In *ibid.*, 282-284, from the Council Book. Pr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 328, from a manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy. Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 50.

though they vouchsafe not to write to me. As for Dick, I do not much expect it from him, knowing his idleness, but I am angry with my daughter as a promise-breaker. Pray tell her so; but I hope she will redeem herself.

It has pleased the Lord to give us (since the taking of Wexford and Ross) a good interest in Munster, by the access of Cork and Youghall, which are both submitted; their Commissioners are now with me. Divers other lesser garrisons are come in also. The Lord is wonderful in these things; it's His hand alone does them: oh, that all the praise might be ascribed to Him!

I have been crazy in my health, but the Lord is pleased to sustain me. I beg your prayers. I desire you to call upon my son to mind the things of God more and more; alas, what profit is there in the things of this world; except they be enjoyed in Christ, they are snares. I wish he may enjoy his wife so, and she him; I wish I may enjoy them both so.

My service to my dear sister [and] Cousin Ann, my blessing to my children, and love to my Cousin Barton and the rest. Sir, I am,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

Ross,

Nov. 13th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.³

His letter noted the visit of the commissioners of Cork and Youghal to seek terms for their submission to Parliament. This was the result of the activities of Broghill and his companions. Soon after the revolt, Colonel Phayre, who was in Cork, had endeavored to persuade Inchiquin to go to Youghal, take possession of the place and declare it the property of Parliament, presumably as the price of his own immunity.⁴ In this Phayre failed, but when Blake dropped anchor in Cork harbor, Broghill had hastened to Youghal whose inhabitants he and Phayre had persuaded without much trouble to follow the course which Inchiquin had rejected. In consequence, on November 7, the mayor and corporation of Youghal, like the Cork authorities, addressed a letter of submission to Cromwell,⁵ to which he replied a week later:

To the Corporation of Youghal

GENTLEMEN,

I received a letter from you by the hand of Col. Townsend of the 7th inst., and as I cannot but have a good resentment of the matter of your letter, so I do therein very much rejoice, that you therein give the glory to God, by acknowledging the praise of the things that have been done by us to belong to God, as the Author of them, and that they are the fruits of your prayers to God. I hope that by that time you have had a little more

³ Facsimile in Maggs Catalogue, no. 449 (1924). Original first in the Pusey Collection, then in the Morrison Collection and finally sold in 1928 by Henkels in Philadelphia. Printed in Noble, *op. cit.*, i, 324; Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 528. Carlyle, Letter CXIII.

⁴ Inchiquin to Ormonde, Nov. 3, Macray, *Clarendon Papers*, ii, 28.

⁵ Caulfield, *Council Book of Youghal*, App. p. 556, from Lord Broghill's Letter Book, *loc. cit.* Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 51.

experience of the fruit you are like to reap, thereupon it will be made manifest to you, that God intended the inclination of your hearts to this, as a blessing to the place you live in. What you expect from me, in order to the enjoyment of your charters, privileges, lives and estates, I desire you to rest confident that wherein I may advantage you, in any of these relations, by any power committed unto me by the Parliament, you shall find me willing to answer your expectations, and wherein I may prefer any thing unto the Parliament in England, for your further advantage, I shall be ready to do it, when I receive particulars from you. In the mean time I rest,

Your very loving friend,

Ross,
Nov. 14, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁶

Nor was this the end of the rapid interchange of letters, submissions, and civilities. At the same time the English officers wrote Cromwell of the enthusiasm with which they had received Broghill and Phayre; and in reply to that letter, delivered by Colonel Townsend on November 13—and perhaps inspired by him—Cromwell sent to the officers of Cork and Youghal jointly the terms on which he would receive them into his service:

To the English Officers in Cork and Youghal

1st. That both the officers and soldiers now in the said Garrisons, and all that have joined and corresponded with them in the late declaring for the Parliament, shall have full indemnity for all things past, in relation to any differences mentioned, as is desired. But as this, and what else is by me granted to them, is granted freely and heartily, and much the more, because not bargained for before this declaring, and because the whole company seemed to have done what they did herein, from a renewed sense of the English parliamentary and Protestant interest (to the prejudice whereof they had formerly been drawn and deluded), so will I not be obliged to extend the same to all that shall hereafter come in, who now may be inclined unto it only from necessity or policy. But for such as shall so come in and join, as it appear to be from the same sense and affection, I shall bear the same mind towards them, and have the same readiness to do them what good I can.

2nd. Presuming the number of men to be sufficient for two regiments (as is alleged) I am willing that the foot be formed into two regiments. Ten companies in a regiment. Col. Gifford to command the one and Col. Townsend the other, as colonels. And that Lieut.-Col. Smithwick be Lieut.-Col. of one of them, and Major Widnam⁷ [Widenham] major of the other, and for other officers, I refer them to the approbation of Lord Broghill, Sir Will Fenton, and Col. Phayer.

3rd. I shall have the horse for the present as the Lord Broghill and the other Commissioners have disposed them under Col. Warden and Major

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 557; Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 51.

⁷ See the depositions of Townshend, Widenham and others in *Council Book of Cork*; *Council Book of Youghal*; and Murphy, *op. cit.*, App. VII.

Purdon as majors, both to be in one regiment under the Lord Broghill as colonel.

4th and 5th. That the officers that have deserved well and cannot for present have command, shall be in one troop as reformadoes, and have such allowance as the Lord Broghill and said Commissioners have already set down. And this troop (the Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master being appointed as I understand) shall be under the Lord Broghill as their captain, and for further rewards either promised or merited, as soon as I am assured particularly of their merits, or the reward promised, I shall be ready to make them good, and in the mean time leave it to the Lord Broghill and the other Commissioners to do in part as they find moneys with them will enable them.

6th. When the accounts are made and delivered, it shall be paid as desired, either out of the present treasury of the army, or some certain incomes in those towns or counties adjacent, out of which it may best be had and surest to the officers concerned, or join with the inhabitants of Cork, as to the moneys advanced by them on the same occasion.

Ross,

O. CROMWELL.⁸

c. Nov. 14, 1649.

Partly, it would appear, on account of the sickness in the army and Cromwell's own indisposition, partly in order to complete the bridge over the Barrow, but chiefly to give opportunity for his agents to prepare the way for him, the army remained in Ross the better part of a month, while town after town "came in." But there is no better account of what happened in those days than that given in his own letters of November 14 to Lenthall and Scot:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

SIR,

About a fortnight since, I had some good assurance that Cork was returned to its obedience, and had refused Inchiquin, who did strongly endeavour to reintegrate himself there, but without success. I did hear also that Colonel Townsend was coming to me with their submission and desires, but was interrupted by a fort at the mouth of Cork Harbour. But having sufficient grounds upon the former information, and other confirmations (out of the enemy's camp) that it was true, I desired General Blake (who was here with me), that he would repair thither in Captain Mildmay's frigate, called the Nonsuch. Who, when they came thither, received such entertainment as these enclosed will let you see.

In the mean time the Garland, one of your third-rate ships, coming happily into Waterford Bay, I ordered her, and a great prize lately taken in that bay, to transport Colonel Phayre to Cork; witherward he went, having along with him near five-hundred foot, which I spared him out of this poor army, and fifteen hundred pounds in money, giving him such instructions as were proper for the promoting of your interest there. As they went with an intention for Cork, it pleased God the wind coming cross, they were forced to ride off

⁸ Caulfield, *Council Book of Youghal*, p. 558, from Broghill's Letter Book.

from Dungarvan, where they met Captain Mildmay returning with the Nonsuch Frigate, with Colonel Townsend aboard, coming to me, who advertised them that Youghall had also declared for the Parliament of England. Whereupon they steered their course thither, and sent for Colonel Gifford, Colonel Warden, Major Purden (who with Colonel Townsend hath been very active instruments for the return both of Cork and Youghal to their obedience, having some of them ventured their lives twice or thrice to effect it), and the Mayor of Youghall aboard them; who, accordingly, immediately came and made tender of some propositions to be offered to me. But my Lord Broghil being on board the ship, assuring them it would be more for their honour and advantage to desire no conditions, they said they would submit. Whereupon my Lord Broghil, Sir William Fenton, and Colonel Phayre, went to the Town, and were received (I shall give you my Lord Broghil's own words) "*with all the real demonstrations of gladness an overjoyed people were capable of.*"

Not long after, Colonel Phayre landed his foot. And by the endeavours of the noble person afore mentioned, and the rest of the gentlemen, the garrison is put in good order, and the Munster officers and soldiers in that garrison in a way of settlement. Colonel Phayre, as I hear, intends to leave two-hundred men there, and to march with the rest overland to Cork. I hear by Colonel Townsend, and the rest of the gentlemen that were employed to me, that Baltimore, Castlehaven, Caperquin, and some other places of hard names, are come in (I wish foot come over seasonably to man them); as also that there are hopes of other places.

From Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Connought, I had a letter, about three or four days since, that he is come over the Bann, and hath taken Coleraine by storm, and that he being in conjunction with Colonel Venables, who I hear hath besieged Carrickfergus, which if through the mercy of God it be taken, I know nothing considerable in the North of Ireland, but Charlemount, which is not in your hands.

We lie with the army at Ross, where we have been making the bridge over the Barrow, and hardly yet accomplished as we could wish. The enemy lies upon the Nue [Nore], on the land between the Barrow and it, having gathered together all the force they can get. Owen Roe's men, as they report them, are 6000 foot, and about 400⁹ horse, beside their own army; and they give out they will have a day for it, which we hope the Lord of His mercy will enable us to give them, in His own good time. In whom we desire our only trust and confidence may be.

Whilst we have lain here, we have not been without some sweet taste of the goodness of God. Your ships have taken some good prizes. The last was thus: there came-in a Dunkirk man-of-war with 32 guns, who brought-in a Turkish man-of-war whom she had taken, and another ship of 10 guns laden with poor-john and oil. These two your ships took. But the man-of-war whose prizes these two were, put herself under the Fort of Duncannon, so that your ships could not come near her. It pleased God we had two demi-cannon with the foot, on the shore, which being planted, raked her through, killing and wounding her men, so that after ten shot she weighed anchor, and ran into your fleet, with a flag of submission, surrendering herself. She

⁹ *See. Proc.* has "4000."

was well manned, the prisoners taken being two-hundred-and-thirty. I doubt the taking prisoners of this sort will cause the wicked trade of piracy to be endless. They were landed here before I was aware; and a hundred of them, as I hear, are gotten into Duncannon, and have taken up arms there; and I doubt the rest, that are gone to Waterford, will do us no good. [The seamen, being so full of prizes and unprovided of victual, knew not how otherway to dispose of them.]¹⁰

Another was this. We, having left divers sick men, both horse and foot, at Dublin,—hearing many of them were recovered, sent them orders to march up to us, which accordingly they did. Coming to Arcklo, on Monday the first of this instant, being about 350 horse and about 800 foot,—the enemy, hearing of them (through the great advantage they have in point of intelligence), drew together a body of horse and foot near 3,000, which Inchiquin commanded. There went also, with this party, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Colonel Trevor, and most of their great rantors.¹¹ We sent fifteen or sixteen troops to their rescue, near eight hours too late. It pleased God we sent them word by a nearer way, to march close, and be circumspect, and to make what haste they could to Wexford, by the sea-side. They had marched near eighteen miles [and were come within seven miles of Wexford] (the foot being miserably wearied), when the enemy gave the scouts of the rearguard an alarm. Whereupon they immediately drew up in the best order they could upon the sands, the sea on the one hand, and the rocks on the other; where the enemy made a very furious charge, overbearing our horse with their numbers, which, as some of their prisoners confess, was fifteen-hundred of their best horse, forced them in some disorder back to the foot. Our foot stood, forbearing their firing till the enemy was come almost within pistol-shot, and then let fly very full in the faces of them; whereby some of them began to tumble, the rest running off in a very great disorder, and faced not about until they got musket-shot off. Upon this our horse took encouragement, drawing up again, bringing up some foot to flank them. And a gentleman of ours, that had charged through before, being amongst them undiscerned, having put his signal into his hat as they did, took his opportunity and came off; letting our men know that the Enemy was in great confusion and disorder, and that if they could attempt another charge, he was confident good might be done on them. It pleased God to give our men courage; they advanced and, falling upon the enemy, totally routed them, took two colours [and divers prisoners],¹² and killed divers upon the place and in the pursuit. I do not hear that we have [two]¹³ men killed; and but one mortally wounded, and not five that are prisoners.

The quick march of our party made Inchiquin he could reach them with nothing but his horse, hoping to put them to a stand until his foot came up; which if he had done, there had probably been no saving of a man of this party. Without doubt Inchiquin, Trevor, and the rest of those people, who are very good at this work, had swallowed up this party, and indeed it was,

¹⁰ The words in brackets are inserted in Cromwell's own hand.

¹¹ Braggarts. Ludlow gives a curious account of this same running-fight on the sea-beach of Arklow (i. 309).

¹² These words inserted by Cromwell, over "some say near forty prisoners" *erased*.

¹³ Inserted by Cromwell over "ten" *erased*.

in human probability, lost; but God, that defeated Trevor in his attempt upon Venables (who¹⁴ as I hear this night from the enemy's camp, was shot through the belly in this service, and is carried to Kilkenny), [Sir Thomas Armstrong is also wounded],¹⁵ hath disappointed them, and poured shame upon them in this defeat; giving us the lives of a company of our dear garrisons, which I hope will be improved to His glory and [their]¹⁶ country's good.

Sir, having given you this account, I shall not trouble you much with particular desires. Those I shall humbly present to the Council of State. Only, in the general, give me leave humbly to offer what ever in my judgment I conceive to be for your service, with a full submission to you. We desire recruits may be speeded to us. It is not fit to tell you how your garrisons will be unsupplied, or no field marching army considerable, if three garrisons more were in our hands.¹⁷ It is not well not to follow providences. Your recruits, and the forces desired will not raise your charge. If your assignments already for the forces here did come to our hands in time, I should not doubt, by the addition of assessments here, to have your charge in some reasonable measure borne and the soldier upheld without too much neglect or discouragement, which sickness, in this country so ill agreeing with their bodies, puts upon them, and [which] this winter's-action, I believe not heretofore known by English in this country, subjects them to. To the praise of God I speak it, I scarce know an officer of forty amongst us that hath not been sick, and how many considerable ones we have lost, is no little thought of heart to us.

Wherefore I humbly beg that the moneys desired may be seasonably sent over, and those other necessities, clothes, shoes and stockings, formerly desired, that so poor creatures may be encouraged; and, through the same blessed Presence that hath gone along with us, I hope, before it be long, to see Ireland no burden to England, but a profitable part of its Commonwealth. And certainly the extending your help in this way, at this time, is the most profitable means speedily to effect it, and if I did not think it your best thrift, I would not trouble you at all with it.

I have sent Sir Arthur Loftus with these letters. He hath gone along with us, testifying a great deal of love to your service. I know his sufferings are very great, for he hath lost near all: his regiment was reduced to save you charge, not out of any exceptions to his person. I humbly therefore present him to your consideration.¹⁸

Craving pardon for this trouble, I rest,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁹

Ross,

Nov. 14, 1649.

¹⁴ *i.e.* Trevor.

¹⁵ Inserted in the margin, by Cromwell.

¹⁶ Inserted by Cromwell over "the" *erased*.

¹⁷ Sentence omitted in the newspapers.

¹⁸ Paragraph omitted.

¹⁹ Original, signed and corrected by Cromwell in *Tanner Mss.*, vi, 142. Printed in Lomas-Carlyle, Letter CXV; Cary, *op. cit.*, ii, 189-97; Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 319; *Several Proceedings in Parl.*, Nov. 30-Dec. 7; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 69-71. Received by the House Dec. 1 and ordered by the Council of State to be published.

For the Hon. Thomas Scott, Esq. a member of the Council of State: These

SIR,

I hope you will excuse this trouble. I understand the House did vote Lieutenant-General Jones five hundred pounds *per annum* of lands of inheritance of Irish lands, upon the news of the defeat given to the enemy before Dublin, immediately before my coming over. I think it will be a very acceptable work, and very well taken at your hands, to move the House for an immediate settlement thereof. It will be very convenient at this time.²⁰

Another thing is this. The Lord Broghill is now in Munster, where he, I hope, will do very good offices. All his suit is for two hundred pounds to bring his wife over, such a sum would not be cast away. He hath a great interest in the men that come from Inchiquin. I have made him and Sir William Fenton, Colonel Blake and Colonel Deane (who I believe, one of them will be frequently in Cork Harbour, making that a victualling place for the Irish fleet, instead of Milford Haven), and Colonel Phayre, Commissioners for a temporary management of affairs there.

This business of Munster will empty your Treasury; therefore you have need to hasten our money allotted us, lest you put us to stand with our fingers in our mouths. I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

Ross,

Nov. 14th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.²¹

THE SIEGE OF WATERFORD, NOV. 15-DEC. 8, 1649.

Nothing could have been more welcome to those in charge of affairs in England than the news of Cromwell's successes in Ireland, for things had gone ill with them since his departure. Following up his attacks in his *Legal and Fundamental Liberties* and his *Impeachment* of Cromwell and Ireton with a still more violent pamphlet, the *Outcry of the Young Men and Apprentices of London*, John Lilburne from his imprisonment in the Tower stood forth as the champion of English liberties and especially of the *Agreement of the People* against what he and many men considered the usurpation of the Independent group of army leaders. At the moment that Cromwell began his assaults on Drogheda, Lilburne's pamphlet bore fruit in a mutiny of the garrison of Oxford, which seized its officers and the magazines in New College and threatened to repeat the events of the recent rising of the Levellers. Under the influence of Colonel Ingoldsby who was sent to repress the mutiny, the men were reduced to obedience. But the government at once brought Lilburne to trial, and while Cromwell was at Ross the Guildhall was crowded with those who came to see

²⁰ This was considered in Parliament on December 4, the day Ireton was made president of Munster, and £200 was voted to send Lord Broghill's wife to him. *C. J.* vi, 328.

²¹ Original, signed by Cromwell, in *Tanner Mss.* Printed in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 188; Carlyle, Letter CXIV. Read in the House Dec. 4.

the show and remained to cheer the acquittal of Lilburne on October 26, with such wild enthusiasm that the government, realizing its weakness, presently released him and his colleagues, Walwyn, Prince and Overton.²²

It was no wonder that the Council was relieved by Cromwell's success. Had he failed, had he even been seriously checked, it seems not improbable that the continuance of the Commonwealth would have been extremely doubtful. It was extraordinarily unpopular at home; it was threatened by the hostility of Scotland; and at this very moment it appeared that its agent in Holland, Walter Strickland, had not merely not been received by the States General but was apparently in some danger of the fate which had overtaken Dr. Dorislaus a few months earlier. It was, then, with much relief that when, on October 30, the Attorney General reported to the House the result of the Lilburne trial, his report was accompanied by the reading of Cromwell's letter regarding the correspondence with Sinnott and the fall of Wexford. All these the Commons ordered to be printed and read in the churches of London, and November 1 was appointed as a day of thanksgiving.²³

Nor was the Council less appreciative. A week later the son of Lord Edward Howard was given a pass to Ireland and entrusted with a letter to Cromwell, and within a few days Lieutenant Colonel Daniel and Captain Sandford were ordered to Ireland in response to Cromwell's requests.²⁴ In addition to this, twice within a month the Admiralty Committee ordered money collected from the counties to be sent to Ireland. On November 14 Captain Robert Hackwell was appointed commander-in-chief in the Irish Sea under Cromwell's orders; and two days later a special messenger was sent to Cromwell to deal with the problem of furnishing his men with boots, stockings and other supplies.²⁵ It was evident from these and like activities that the Irish expedition was not to be allowed to fail from lack of support from the English authorities.

For Ireland was as yet by no means conquered and in the face of Cromwell's victories even the old Irish animosities seemed about to disappear. By the middle of November the Parliament held the eastern coast from Belfast to Wexford, with Youghal and Cork beyond. Venables who had been sent by Cromwell to assist Coote in Ulster had defeated Trevor at Dromore, taken Newry and Carlingford, and occupied Lisburn and Belfast. In the north Carrickfergus and Charlemont alone remained in Irish hands.²⁶ But meanwhile

²² Nov. 8. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 552.

²³ *C. J.*, vi, 314-15; *Several Proceedings*, Nov. 2.

²⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 384, 387, 390.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 386-7, 393, 396, 429.

²⁶ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, iii, 159-60; Deane to Popham, Nov. 16, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* (Leyborne-Popham Mss.), p. 50.

Owen Roe O'Neill, sickening to his death, had signed a treaty with Ormonde on October 20 by which he agreed to bring his army to Ormonde's support in return for a promise that all lands in Ulster which had been confiscated by the English should be returned to his followers.²⁷ He had sent part of his forces south after the treaty. On November 1, knowing that he was about to die, he had appealed to Ormonde to have son, Henry, succeed him in royal favor.²⁸ But though the treaty provided for the election of another leader by the nobility and gentry of Ulster if O'Neill died, there was no one left to take his place; and at his death, on November 6, there arose at once a contest for the leadership of his forces, as he had anticipated.

Such was the situation of affairs in England and Ireland by the middle of November, 1649; and as soon as the bridge at Ross was passable, though he himself was still unable to leave his bed, Cromwell sent Jones and Ireton across to the county of Kilkenny on November 15 to secure garrisons there, cut off Ormonde from Waterford, and if possible draw him into an engagement. The plan was not successful. The Royalists retired first to Thomastown, then to the fortified city of Kilkenny. Ireton sent Colonel Abbott to take the walled town of Inistioge on the River Nore, but, unable to cross the flooded stream and finding the bridge at Thomastown destroyed, Jones and Ireton were compelled to be content with sending Colonel Reynolds to seize Carrick and returned to Ross with the main army. It almost seemed at this moment that Ormonde was right, but that besides his Colonel Hunger and Major Sickness there was added to Cromwell's enemies General Weather, who might yet bring his plans to ruin.

The fall of Carrick was not long delayed, and, advised of its surrender, Cromwell, now recovering from his illness, and leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Axtell as governor of Ross, resolved to lead his army thither, there to cross the River Suir into County Waterford. As the army began its march Cromwell despatched a summons to the city which was his next objective:

To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford

GENTLEMEN,

I have received information that you hitherto refused a garrison of the enemy to be imposed upon you; as also that some factions in the town are very active still, notwithstanding your refusals, to persuade you to the contrary.

Being come into these parts, not to destroy people and places, but to save them, that men may live comfortably and happily by their trade, (if the faults be not in themselves); and purposing also, by God's assistance, to re-

²⁷ Articles in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 300.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, 313-317.

duce this City of Waterford to its due obedience, as He shall dispose the matter, by force, or by agreement with you upon terms wherein your own good and happiness, and of your wives, children and families may consist, notwithstanding some busy-headed persons may pretend to the contrary, knowing that if after all this you shall receive a garrison, it will probably put you into an incapacity to make any such accord for yourselves which was the cause of the ruin of the town and people of Wexford; and now I thought fit to lay these things before you, leaving you to use your own judgment therein.

And if any shall have so much power upon you as to persuade you that these are the counsels of an enemy, I doubt it will hardly prove, in the end, that they give you better. You did once live flourishingly under the power and in commerce with England. It shall be your own fault if you do not so again. I send these intimations seasonably unto you. Weigh them well; it so behoveth you. I rest,

Your loving friend,

[Nov. 21, 1649].²⁹

O. C.³⁰

It was probably the next day that he wrote a brief account of his doings and his plans to one of his commanders, apparently Broghill,³¹ in a letter which fell into Ormonde's hands and was endorsed by him, "Cromwell's letter concerning his march to Carrick."

*For the Commander in Chief of the Parliament's Force at
or near Dungarvon*

The whole army is marched to Carrick, having a good pass over the river by boats and otherwise, and may attempt upon 047 or 227. I thought fit to give you notice hereof, that so you may know our state. I should be glad also to hear from you how it is with you, and how things stand in those parts.

If we attempt 227 or 047, we think your conjunction would be of good use. The enemy would not be gotten to engage. Our army marched up above Thomastown towards them, but they broke the bri[dge], and it proved so wet we could not get o[ver], and they marched to Kilkenny, and put their foot into the town and suburbs; so that, notwithstanding their great brags, its probable they intend not to fight except necessitated thereunto.

I rest,

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.³²

²⁹ So dated, according to the Mayor's reply.

³⁰ In Cliffe's "Narrative" in Borlase, *Irish Rebellion* (1743), App. pp. 6-8; Carlyle, App. 15. Cliffe, who was Ireton's secretary, says in his text the summons was sent from Kilbarry which is probably an error. Kilbarry is southwest of Waterford and was presently to be made headquarters. Cromwell could hardly have been there on the 21st. Another possibility is that the letter was incorrectly dated.

³¹ See Cromwell's letters of Nov. 25 and Dec. 19.

³² Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement, 52. Original, signed by Cromwell, in the *Carte Mss.*, vol. xvi, in the Bodleian. Cal. in 32nd *Rept. Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. I, p. 38, "Report on the Carte Papers." The numbers possibly refer to Clonmel and Waterford.

Cromwell's departure was not long delayed. His forces were reported as marching toward Carrick on November 21 and 22; and on the 23rd, leaving Reynolds in command of Carrick, whence on the next day Inchiquin vainly endeavored to dislodge him, he appeared before Waterford at the moment of Inchiquin's attack on Reynolds. His first act was to send Jones to take Passage Fort, on the same side of the harbor as Waterford and opposite Duncannon. It surrendered at once and Cromwell now commanded the sea-way into Waterford which he had vainly sought to control by the seizure of Duncannon. With the town thus effectively blockaded both by sea and land, he sent a summons to its mayor, John Lyvett, requesting news of the messenger he had sent three days earlier and demanding the surrender of the town:

For the Mayor, Aldermen, or other Governor or Governors of the City of Waterford

GENTLEMEN,

I expected to have heard from you before this, by my trumpet; but he not coming to me, I thought fit to send this that I might have an account given me, how you have disposed of him. And to save farther trouble, I have thought fit hereby to summon you to surrender the City and Fort into my hands, to the use of the State of England.

I expect to receive your answer to these things, and rest,

Your servant,

From my Camp before Waterford,
November 24th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.³³

To this Lyvett replied courteously, explaining that his first letter had probably miscarried and enclosing a copy, which asked for fifteen days cessation and to which he wished a reply before committing himself to a formal answer to Cromwell's demand, and again requested a cessation of hostilities during the negotiations. In turn Cromwell agreed to this on condition that no fresh troops be introduced into the town, for Ormonde had been appealed to for aid:

To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford

SIRS,

My first trumpet not being yet come to me, makes me suspect (as you say) that he has suffered some mischance going by the way of the County of Kilkenny.

If I had received your letter sooner, I should nevertheless (by the help of God) have marched up to this place, as I have done. And as for your desire of a Treaty, I am more willing to that way, for the prevention of blood and

³³ In Cliffe's Narrative, (*Ayscough's Mss.*, 4769), in Borlase, *History of the Irish Rebellion*, App. pp. 7-8. ³⁴ Carlyle, App. 15.

ruin, than to the other of force; although if necessitated thereunto, you and we are under the overruling providence of God, who will dispose of you and us as He pleaseth.

As to a cessation for fifteen days, I shall not agree thereunto; because a far shorter time may bring this business to a conclusion. But for four or five days I am content that there be a cessation of all acts of hostility betwixt your city and this army, provided you give assurance that, in the mean time, no soldiers now out of the city shall be received into it, during the cessation, nor for twenty-four hours after.

I expect to have your present answer; because, if this be agreed, I shall forbear any nearer approach during the said cessation.

Your servant,

November 24th, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

[P.S.] I have by this bearer returned a safe-convoy, as you desired, for what commissioners you think fit to send out to me.³⁴

The interval provided by these negotiations enabled Cromwell to prepare a report of his activities of the preceding fortnight to Parliament:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

MR. SPEAKER,

The enemy being quartered between the two rivers of Nore and the Barrow, and masters of all the passages thereupon; and giving out their resolution to fight us, thereby, as we conceived, labouring to get reputation in the countries, and accession of more strength, it was thought fit our Army should march towards them. Which accordingly upon Thursday the 15th instant was done. The Major-General and Lieutenant-General³⁵ (leaving me very sick at Ross behind them), with two battering guns, advanced towards Inistioge; a little walled town about five miles from Ross, upon the Nore, on the south side thereof, which was possessed by the enemy. But a party of our men under the command of Colonel Abbott, the night before approaching the gates and attempting to fire the same, the enemy ran away through the river, leaving good store [of provisions]³⁶ behind them.

Our commanders hoped by gaining of this town to have gained a pass,³⁷ but indeed there fell so much sudden wet as made the river unpassable, by that time the army was come up. Whereupon, hearing that the enemy lay about two miles off, near Thomastown, a pretty large walled town upon the Nore, on the north side thereof having a bridge over the river, our army marched thither. But the enemy had broke the bridge, and garrisoned the town; and in the view of our army marched away to Kilkenny, seeming to

³⁴ In Cliffe's Narrative, (*Ayscough Mss.*, 4769), in Borlase, *op. cit.*, App. p. 8. Carlyle, App. 15.

³⁵ Ireton and Jones.

³⁶ The words in square brackets are inserted in Cromwell's hand.

³⁷ A ford over the River.

decline an engagement, although I believe they were double our numbers, which they had power to have necessitated us unto; but was noways in our power (if they would stand upon the advantage of the passes) to engage them unto; nor indeed to continue out two days longer, having almost spent all the bread they carried with them.

Whereupon, seeking God for direction, they resolved to send a good party of horse and dragoons under Colonel Reynolds to Carrick; and to march the residue of their army back towards Ross, to gain more bread for the prosecution of that design, if by the blessing of God it should take. Colonel Reynolds, marching with twelve troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, came betimes in the morning to Carrick, where, dividing himself into two parties, whilst they were amused with the one, he entered one of the gates with the other. Which the soldiers perceiving, divers of them and their officers escaped over the river in boats: about a hundred officers and soldiers taken prisoners, without the loss of one man of our part. In this place is a very good castle, and one of the ancientest seats belonging to the Lord of Ormond, in Ireland; the same was rendered without any loss also, where was good store of provisions for the refreshing of our men.

The Colonel giving us speedy intelligence of God's mercy in this, we agreed to march, with all convenient speed, the residue of the army up thither, which accordingly was done, upon Wednesday and Thursday the 21st and 22d of this instant; and, through God's mercy I was enabled to bear them company. Being come hither, we did look at it as an especial good hand of Providence to give us this place; inasmuch as it gives us a passage over the river Sewer [Suir] to the city of Waterford, and indeed into Munster to our shipping and provisions, which before were beaten from us out of our Waterford Bay by the enemy's guns. It hath given us also opportunity to besiege or block up Waterford; and we hope our gracious God will therein direct us also. It hath given us also the opportunity of our guns, ammunition, and victual; and indeed quarter for our horse, which could not have subsisted much longer, so sweet a mercy was the giving of this little place unto us.

Having rested there a night, and by noon the next day gotten our army over the river, leaving Colonel Reynolds with about one-hundred-and-fifty foot, his own six troops of horse, and one troop of dragoons, with a very little ammunition according to the smallness of our marching store, we marched away towards Waterford, upon Friday the 23d; and on Saturday about noon came before the city. The enemy, being not a little troubled at this unsuspected business (which indeed was the mere guidance of God), marches down with great fury towards Carrick, with their whole army, resolving to swallow it up; and upon Saturday the 24th, assaults the place round, thinking to take it by storm. But God had otherwise determined, for the troopers and the rest of the soldiers, with stones did so pelt them, they continuing very near four hours under the walls; having burnt the Gates, which our men barricadoed up with stones; and likewise digged under the walls, and sprung a small mine, which flew in their own faces, but they left about forty or fifty men dead under the walls; and have drawn off, as some say, near four-hundred more, which they buried up and down the fields; besides what are wounded. And, as Inchiquin himself confessed in

the hearing of some of their soldiers lately come to us, [this] hath lost him above a thousand men. The enemy was drawing off his dead a good part of the night. They were in such haste upon the assault, that they killed their own trumpet as he was returning with an answer to a summons sent by them. Both in the taking and defending of this place Colonel Reynolds his carriage was such as deserves much honour.

Upon our coming before Waterford, I sent the Lieutenant-General with a regiment of horse, and three troops of dragoons, to endeavour the reducing of Passage Fort, a very large fort with a castle in the midst of it, having five guns planted in it, and commanding the river better than Duncannon, it not being much above musket-shot over, where this fort stands; and we can bring up hither ships of three-hundred tons, without any danger from Duncannon. Upon the attempt, though our materials were not very apt for the business, yet the enemy called for quarter, and had it, and we the place. We also possessed the guns which the enemy had planted to beat our ships out of the bay, two miles below. By the taking of this fort, we shall much straiten Duncannon from provisions by water, as we hope they are not in a condition to get much by land; besides the advantage it is of to us to have provisions to come up the river.

It hath pleased the Lord, whilst these things have been thus transacting here, to add to your interest in Munster, Bandon Bridge; the town [as we hear]³⁸ upon the matter, thrusting out young Jepson,³⁹ who was their governor, or else he deserting it upon that jealousy; as also Kinsale, and the fort there, out of which fort four-hundred men marched upon articles, when it was surrendered. So that now, by the good hand of the Lord, your interest in Munster is near as good already as ever it was since this war began. I sent a party about two days ago to my Lord of Broghil; from whom I expect to have an account of all.

Sir, what can be said to these things? Is it an arm of flesh that doth these things? Is it the wisdom, and counsel, or strength of men? It is the Lord only. God will curse that man and his house that dares to think otherwise. Sir, you see the work is done by divine leading. God gets into the hearts of men, and persuades them to come under you. I tell you, a considerable part of your army is fitter for an hospital than the field; if the enemy did not know it, I should have held it impolitic to have writ it. They know it, yet they know not what to do.

I humbly beg leave to offer a word or two. I beg of those that are faithful, that they give glory to God. I wish it may have influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those that are now in place of government, in the greatest trust, that they may all in heart draw near to God; giving Him glory by holiness of life and conversation, that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren on all sides to agree, at least, in praising God. And if the Father of the family be so kind, why should there be such jarrings and heart-burnings amongst the children? And if it will not yet be received that these are seals of God's approbation of your great change of Government, which indeed was no more yours than these victories and successes are ours;

³⁸ Words in brackets inserted by Cromwell.

³⁹ Col. Francis Courtenay was made governor immediately after the revolt at Cork. See Bennett, *History of Bandon*; and Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

yet let them with us say, even the most unsatisfied heart amongst them, that both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God; that He hath pulled down the mighty from his seat, that calls to an account innocent blood,⁴⁰ that He thus breaks the enemies of His Church in pieces. And let them not be sullen, but praise the Lord, and think of us as they please; and we shall be satisfied, and pray for them, and wait upon our God. And we hope we shall seek the welfare and peace of our native country, and the Lord give them hearts to do so too. Indeed, Sir, I was constrained in my bowels to write thus much. I ask your pardon; and rest,

Your most humble servant,

Nov. [25], 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁴¹

Despite the general tenor of Cromwell's report, matters were going badly for him and his command. While he awaited a reply from the mayor of Waterford, the weather, which since his advance from Ross had been unusually fine, turned stormy; the roads became impassable for heavy guns, and sickness was once more epidemic among the soldiers. The very fact that he did not press the siege nor make such demands for surrender as was his custom when he felt himself to be master of the situation, reveals the difficulty of his position. Moreover, though the mayor of Waterford had gained time to ask Ormonde what terms he should demand of Cromwell, the citizens hardly needed Ormonde's sharp reprimand to the mayor to refuse to surrender under any conditions. Traditionally devoted to their king, still more to their religion, and feeling secure behind their strong defenses, even the fall of Passage Fort did not much discourage them and they now refused Ormonde's offer of a thousand men under Castlehaven, though they admitted O'Neill's Ulstermen under Major-General Ferrall, who remained as military governor.

For the moment, as the men of Waterford were doubtless well aware, Ormonde's allies, sickness, hunger and weather, were too much for Cromwell, whose forces had dwindled to some three thousand effective troops. These, just as reinforcements for Waterford appeared on the other side of the river, he led in a retreat—one of the few such operations in his career—toward the castle of Kilmac-Thomas, some twelve miles away, defending the crossing of the Mahon River on the road to Dungarvan. Seizing the fort and passage that night, he went on next day to Dungarvan where Broghill awaited him with twelve hundred Munster foot and news that the place had surrendered a few hours earlier. There he remained for two or three

⁴⁰ Altered by Carlyle to "and calls to an account for innocent blood" which Mrs. Lomas thinks is probably Cromwell's meaning but Cromwell's original, as here printed, seems clearer and more reasonable.

⁴¹ Carlyle, Letter CXVI. Original in *Tanner Mss.*, lvi, 150, signed and corrected by Cromwell. Pr. as "*A Letter from the Right Honourable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and as Een Brief van Cromwell* (Rotterdam). In *Several Proceedings*, Dec. 7-14; repr. in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 71-73. In Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 324.

days and thence marched to Youghal,⁴² where he issued a proclamation against plundering, printed at Cork:

Proclamation

Whereas I am informed that the horse under my command (since their being quartered within the Black-water) have and do in their several quarters take away and waste wheat and barley for their horses, and do behave themselves outrageously towards the inhabitants, not contenting themselves with such provisions as they are able to afford them, but do kill their sheep and other cattle within and as often as they please.

I do hereby straightly charge and command all soldiers to forbear such like practices upon pain of death. . . . And I do farther will and require all officers and soldiery within the limits aforesaid, that they do not break down any stacks of barley or wheat in their respective quarters, to give the same to their horses; but that they content themselves with peas, oats, hay, and such other forrage, as the country affords, paying or giving tickets at such reasonable rates for the same, as they were usually sold for, before their coming into the said quarters.

Given under my hand this 8 day of December 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁴³

CORK AND YOUGHAL, DEC. 8-JAN. 16, 1649

The repulse from Waterford was not the end of Cromwell's misfortunes. On the retreat from that place Cromwell's ablest commander, Lieutenant-General Jones, had fallen sick and was unable to leave Dungarvan, where he died on December 10. It was a great loss to the army, but it seems possible that all was not well between Cromwell and his lieutenant-general. The Royalists' story that Jones was poisoned by Cromwell is incredible;⁴⁴ but another, told by Broghill, is less easily dismissed. It is to the effect that when Jones was dying he sent for Broghill and, passionately denouncing Cromwell, begged Broghill to help beat him out of Ireland.⁴⁵ If, in delirium, he gave utterance to such sentiments, the reasons are not wholly obscure. Jones is believed to have disapproved of the King's execution, and he may well have been jealous of the man who superseded him in command at the moment he had saved Ireland for the Parliament. In any event, if he said this to Broghill and Cromwell heard of it, there

⁴² He was there on Dec. 6, according to Hayman, "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Youghal," *Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, N. S. i, 15.

⁴³ Broadside; repr. in J. E. Hodgkin, *Rariora*, iii, 35. Noted in Crawford, *Proclamations*, ii, 57.

⁴⁴ Sir R. Fanshaw to Secretary Long, Jan. 23, Macray, *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii, 41.

⁴⁵ Morrice, *Memoirs of Orrery* (1742), p. 16. Cp. Charles Smith, *History of Waterford* (Dublin, 1746), p. 87n. Jones' body was buried in the Earl of Cork's chapel in St. Mary's Church, Youghal. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

is no hint in his letter to Parliament which he sent from Cork two days after his arrival.⁴⁶ There his first piece of business, apparently, was to issue an order for payment of the Muster-Master General's office force; his next to make a report of his recent operations:

To Sir John Wollaston, Knight & the rest of the Treasurers at War

These are to require you out of the moneys appointed for payment of the forces under my Command & for the Incident Charges of the said forces to Issue out & pay unto Sir Robert King, Knight, Muster Master General the sum of thirty nine pounds, eighteen shillings for 42 days pay for himself and two Clarkes Commencing the 8th of Novemb. and determining the 26 Decemb. 1649, inclusive. And for so doing this with the receipt of the said Sir Robert King shall be the sufficient warrant & discharge. Given under my hand this 17th Decemb. 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁴⁷

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*⁴⁸

MR. SPEAKER,

Not long after my last to you from before Waterford [finding the indisposition in point of health increasing, and our foot falling sick near ten of a company every night they were upon duty, and our numbers not above three thousand healthful foot in the field, being necessitated to put so many into garrisons as I have given you an account all along, the enemy mustering about ten or twelve thousand horse and foot, having well near as many in the town as we without, our bread and other necessities not coming to us] by reason of the tempestuousness of the weather, we thought fit and it was agreed to march away to winter quarters to refresh our men until God shall please to give further opportunity for action.

We marched off the second of this instant, it being as terrible a day as ever I marched in, in all my life. Just as we marched off in the morning, unexpected to us the enemy had brought an addition of near two thousand horse and foot to the increase of their garrison, which we plainly saw on the other side of the water.

We marched that night some ten or twelve miles through a craggy country to Kilmac-Thomas, a castle some eight miles from Dungarvan [where we had to many scarce straw, food or firing, being deceived in reports of the place].

⁴⁶ Herbert to Lenthall, Dec. 18, *Brief Relation*, Jan. 1-8. *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 29, prints an account which gives the date of Cromwell's arrival the 15th.

⁴⁷ Received by King on December 17. Original in the New York Public Library, Emmet Collection, no. 6178.

⁴⁸ As this letter was printed in the newspapers it was very incomplete, many passages being suppressed, no doubt by the authorities, who feared to let the real condition of the army in Ireland become known. The portions omitted are here given in brackets, the letter being printed from an old copy amongst the House of Lords MSS. (See *Seventh Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 73.) [Mrs. Lomas' note.]

As we were marching off in the morning from thence, the Lord Broghil (I having sent before to him to march up to me) sent a party of horse to let me know he was with about twelve or thirteen hundred of the Munster horse and foot about ten miles off, near Dungarvan, which was newly rendered to him. [And indeed, upon this occasion I must needs say that in the bringing in of this garrison, Kingsale, the fort of Bandonbridge, Mallow and divers other garrisons, his Lordship hath been most eminently serviceable unto you, and I do earnestly and humbly desire he may be taken into consideration, his Lordship never having shrunk from your interest, though under as great trials and necessities as any man, he having his whole fortune under the power of the enemy, which was in Ireland, and that little in England so engaged that I dare say his wants were scarce to be paralleled; and as yet his estate lies in those countries which are under the enemy's power. Sir, I take no pleasure to mention these things of charge, but where eminent services are done, and those enabling the State to give marks of their favour and good acceptance, I trust it will be accounted no fault in me to represent the merits of men to you.] In the midst of those good successes, wherein the kindness and mercy of God hath appeared, the Lord in wisdom and for gracious ends best known to Himself, hath interlaced some things which may give us cause of serious consideration what His mind therein may be; and we hope we wait upon Him, desiring to know and to submit to his good pleasure. The noble Lieutenant-General (whose finger to our knowledge never ached in all these expeditions) fell sick (we doubt upon a cold taken upon our late wet march and ill accommodation) and went to Dungarvan, where (struggling some four or five days with a [pestilent and contagious spotted] fever) he died, having run his course with so much honour, courage and fidelity, as his actions better speak than my pen. What England hath lost thereby is above me to speak. [I am sure I have lost a noble friend and companion in labours. Before that, my poor kinsman, Major Cromwell (if I may name him) died before Waterford of a fever; since that, two persons, eminently faithful, godly and true to you, Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe and Scout-Master-General Rowe, are dead at Youghall. Thus] you see how God mingles out the cup unto us; indeed we are at this time a crazy company, yet we live in His sight, and shall work the time that is appointed us, and shall rest after that in peace.⁴⁹

But yet there hath been some sweet at the bottom of the cup, of which I shall now give you an account. Being informed that the enemy intended to take-in the Fort of Passage, and that Lieutenant-General Farrell with his Ulsters was to march out of Waterford, with a considerable party of horse and foot, for that service, I ordered Colonel Zanchy (who lay on the north side of the Blackwater) to march with his regiment of horse, and two pieces of two troops of dragoons to the relief of our friends, which he accordingly did, his party consisting in all of about three-hundred-and-twenty. When he came some few miles from the place, he took some of the enemy's stragglers in the villages as they went, all which he put to the sword; seven troopers of his killed thirty of them in one house. When he came near the place, he found the enemy had close begirt it, with about five-hundred Ulster foot under Major O'Neale; Colonel Wogan also, the governor of Duncannon,

⁴⁹ Scoutmaster-general Rowe was still alive in 1657.

with a party of his, with two great battering guns and a mortar-piece, and Captain Browne, the governor of Ballehack, was there also.⁵⁰ Our men furiously charged them and beat them from the place. The enemy got into a place where they might draw up, and the Ulsters, who bragged much of their pikes, made indeed for the time a good resistance, but the horse, pressing sorely upon them, broke them, killed near a hundred upon the place; took three-hundred-and-fifty prisoners, amongst which, Major O'Neale, and the officers of five-hundred Ulster foot, all but those which were killed; the renegado Wogan, with twenty-four of Ormond's kurisees,⁵¹ and the governor of Ballehack. As⁵² concerning some of these, I hope I shall not trouble your justice.

This mercy was obtained without the loss of one on our part, only one shot in the shoulder. Lieutenant-General Farrell was come up very near, with a very great party to their relief, but our handful of men marching towards him, he shamefully hasted away, and recovered Waterford. It is not unworthy taking notice, that having appointed a public day of thanksgiving throughout your territories in Ireland (as well as a week's warning would permit) for the recovery of Munster, which proves a sweet refreshment to us, even prepared by God for us, after our weary and hard labour, that that very day, and that very time that men were praising God, was this deliverance wrought.

[Sir, in all my addresses to you, I have much declined to make discourses either of the enemy's numbers or other advantages, or of what remains to be recovered to you, or of the ways and means best to break or hinder the enemy's design or interests or what might best promote your own, or indeed to trouble you with many discourses of this kind, desiring chiefly to present you with narratives of fact. But forasmuch as there is an aptness from a current of successes to apprehend a work to be done when indeed the greater part rest behind, and thereby that which should enable to finish and perfect may be withdrawn or slackened to the prejudice of public interest, I thought fit to take the boldness to present you with a true view of the state of affairs here, so far as occurs to me. At the present, O'Neale's party are in full conjunction with the Earl of Ormond, by which they contribute the assistance of near seven thousand effective horse and foot, these being the eldest sons of the Church of Rome, most cried up and confided in by the clergy.

The rest of the army consists of the old English-Irish, some protestants, some papists, and other popish Irish, who are carried by the interest of Ormond, Clanrickarde, Castlehaven, Muskery, Taaff and other old English and Irish, both lords and gentlemen, who are able to bring, and have already in the field, very considerable numbers of bodies of men not to be neglected upon any human confidence, or under-valued. They have so much of Ireland still in contribution as ministers to them a livelihood for the war; all the natives, almost to twenty, being friends to them, but enemies to you. And although God hath blessed you with a great tract of land in longitude alongst the shore, yet it hath but a little depth into the country; and the people that are under your contribution, being so daily robbed by their neighbours,

⁵⁰ Ireton's letter says about 900 enemy troops in all, *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 8.

⁵¹ "Fuseses" in the MS. [Mrs. Lomas' note.] Obviously *cuirassiers*.

⁵² "Are" in MS.

are disabled from following their tillage, whereby to pay the same; and we cannot be in all places to protect them, unless we should resolve to keep no body of an army in any one place. I mention this, not to increase your charge, but to prevent mistakes concerning an over-value of your Irish contributions as yet. And therefore, if the money out of England allotted to this army be not continued to us, the army will no ways be able to subsist, nor to prosecute your business. In the next place, of [if] this interest grow purely popish, which the Roman clergy are highly labouring, and are in a probable way to accomplish, then it cannot but be expected that supplies will come to them from foreign parts, which do too fast already. And therefore it is humbly presented that such shipping as will be necessary for this coast may be continued to us. The ports by which the enemy expects their supplies of powder and all other ammunition (which indeed, being kept from them, will disable them to their defence, they having no manufacture within themselves) are Waterford, which we have not as yet been able closely to shut up, and where less than two ships cannot be applied for the ends aforesaid, as also for the straightening of it, and the fort of Duncannon, where now no ships are, partly because those determined for the winter fleet are not yet come, which we desire may be speeded.

Next, the bay of Dingle, in the river of Shannon, whither (as we are informed) divers ships with ammunition are coming, Gallway, in which two places less than three or four ships (whereof one or two of countenance) cannot be, and Sligo; as also two ships to lie between Scotland and the North, and some to follow the motions of the army, for their assistance with necessities.

This is the sum of what I thought fit to present unto you at this time, and if we may be allotted any share of judgment (being upon the place) we hope we have represented nothing unworthy of due consideration.]

And although this bespeaks⁵³ a continuance of charge, yet the same good hand of Providence, which hath blessed your affairs hitherto, is worthy to be followed to the uttermost. And who knows, or rather who hath not cause to hope, that He may, in His goodness, put a short period to your whole charge. Than which no worldly thing is more desired and endeavoured by

Your most humble servant,

Cork, 19th December, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.⁵⁴

As his report to Parliament indicates, Cromwell was still in a difficult position. Reinforcements which reached him in November had raised the numbers of his army in the field to some seven thousand men, but most of them had fallen ill, many had died, and, though it was the most serious, Jones' death was not the only loss among his officers, as his report reveals.⁵⁵ Thus among the letters he wrote at

⁵³ This was printed "Though the present state of affairs bespeaks," in order to make sense with what had gone before; *i.e.*, the "deliverance" in Munster, as the preceding three paragraphs were omitted in *Several Proceedings*.

⁵⁴ Lomas Carlyle, Letter CXVII. Copy amongst the *House of Lords Mss.*; Printed in *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 4-11. Missing passages also in Gilbert, ii, 468.

⁵⁵ See also Cliffe's Narrative, *loc. cit.*; and Ormonde's report to Charles, Nov. 30: "All that is sayd of the decay and weaknes of Cromwells army and garisons, is most

this time, he took occasion to send a note of condolence, which has survived:

For my much Esteemed Cousin Mrs. Anne Cromwell

Announcing the death of her brother Major Oliver Cromwell, of a fever at the siege of Waterford.

Cork, Dec. 19, 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁶

With a slender force of not more than three or four thousand men fit for service he was confronted by O'Neills' Ulster army of like number, while Ormonde's other troops were reckoned at twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse.⁵⁷ But Ormonde labored under almost insuperable difficulties, apart from his own lack of military qualities, of which no one was more keenly aware than he was himself. He had no such supplies of money as made Cromwell's successes possible, and his forces were as greatly divided against themselves as those under Cromwell were united. His real potential strength lay in the Catholic Irish, but if Ormonde distrusted them in view of their previous conduct, they not only distrusted Ormonde but they were furiously jealous of the Protestant English officers whom Ormonde favored. Of this situation Cromwell took advantage on every occasion. As Clarendon relates:

"Cromwell made notable use of this animosity between the Irish amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all appeared to have of the marquis of Ormonde and of those who adhered to him; and used all the endeavours he could, by some prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in the towns which were betrayed to him, and were well known to have affection for the marquis to procure a conference with him. He used to ask in such company, what the marquis of Ormonde had to do with Charles Steward, and what obligations he had ever received from him; and then would mention the hard measure his grandfather had received from King James, and the many years imprisonment he had sustained by him for not submitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his, which yet he was at last compelled to do. He said he was confident if the marquis and he could meet together, upon the conference they should part very good friends. And many of those with whom he held these discourses, by his permission and license, informed the marquis of all he said; who endeavoured nothing but to put himself into such a posture as to be able to meet him as he desired to do."⁵⁸

true, but wee are in such a miserable condition of want that wee can not make use of it, nor keepe a weeke together to engage him upon any reasonable termes to fight." Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 330.

⁵⁶ Original was in the Duke of Marlborough's library until it was sold to W. Manning, in 1920. *Autograph Prices Current*, V. This Oliver, son of Sir Philip, was probably cupbearer to Charles in Carisbrooke in 1648 (*Notes & Queries*, 8, xii, 408).

⁵⁷ Ormonde's statement to Charles II, Nov. 30, Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 329-330.

⁵⁸ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, xii, 147.

WINTER QUARTERS, DECEMBER 1649

As the winter of 1649-50 came on and field operations in Ireland became increasingly difficult, if not impossible, Cromwell and Ormonde, each strong where the other was weak and weak where the other was strong, took up their winter-quarters in accordance with their characters and their positions. Cromwell established his headquarters at Youghal, whence he made frequent visits to Cork and the near-by garrisons. Colonel Ewer was stationed at Bandon Bridge; Colonel Stubber at Kinsale; Colonel Phayre at Cork; Colonel Cook at Wexford; Lieutenant-Colonel Axtell at Ross; and Colonel Reynolds at Carrick; while Coote and Venables still commanded in the north and Hewson at Dublin.

Ormonde's problem was more difficult. Establishing his headquarters at Kilkenny, he tried to quarter part of his troops in Waterford and Limerick, but those towns refused to admit them. Many of his men deserted. Some were stationed in various places between Waterford and Clonmel; some were left to shift for themselves, and of these many never bore arms for Ormonde again but returned to private life or, as Clarendon says, took service overseas. Taaffe and the Connaught troops returned home; Lord Dillon and his command went to West Meath; and Major-General Hugh O'Neill was sent to Clonmel with sixteen hundred Ulstermen in response to a request from the mayor of that place.⁵⁹ Meanwhile Daniel O'Neill and Colonel Trevor were ordered north to Down and Antrim to help Montgomery and Monro, but they arrived too late to save Carrickfergus from surrendering to Coote on December 13;⁶⁰ so that the Parliament now held the coast line from Londonderry to Cape Clear,⁶¹ with the exception of Waterford, and extending in some places a considerable distance inland.

While the tide of conflict thus ebbed for the moment in Ireland, the chief interest of the revolutionary movement shifted to England. Since Lilburne's acquittal things had not gone well with the revolutionary leaders, as Royalist, Leveller and Presbyterian joined hands against them. Though Lilburne himself retired from politics for a time to devote himself to his business as a soap-boiler, the activities of his party went on; and he was still regarded as so dangerous that in December, while Cromwell was going into winter-quarters, Parliament intervened to prevent him from taking the seat in the London Common Council to which he had been elected.

The influence of the *Eikon Basilike* contributed powerfully to the

⁵⁹ Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 238-239.

⁶⁰ Coote to Lenthall, Dec. 13. *Several Proceedings*.

⁶¹ Cape Clear declared for Parliament on Dec. 18. Broghill's letter read in Parliament, Jan. 8. *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 8.

hatred of the new government as its readers were stirred by its portrait of a martyred monarch, whom some did not hesitate to compare with Christ in his solitudes and sufferings. The dull and labored rhetoric of Milton's *Eikonoklastes* was no match for the emotional appeal for Charles, to which, and to the antagonism of the Levellers, was added that of the Royalists now venturing into the field of journalism. The success of their news-sheets, *The Man in the Moon* and *Mercurius Pragmaticus* evidenced the popular sympathy which their attacks on the government evoked, as its inability to discover and punish the authors of these scurrilous publications revealed its weakness in the face of the general disapproval of its course.

The Man in the Moon taunted the authorities with their impotence, especially Bradshaw, whom the editor declared he saw two or three times a week and defied him to identify his assailant. Every week that lively sheet began its issue with a rhymed attack on Cromwell, and *Mercurius Pragmaticus* went, if possible, still further in its denunciation of the General. As early as Cromwell's departure for Ireland, it had printed a notable prophecy, when it observed:

"Nor is Oliver satisfied by being made Generall and Lord Governour of Ireland, unless they make him *Lord Protector* of England (for as yet hee dares not assume the title, though he already exercises the Power and Prerogative of King) . . ."

To these the Levellers added their subterranean aid; and at the moment that Cromwell went into winter-quarters, on December 18, there was seized at Coventry a packet of their pamphlets, including "The Character of King Cromwell,"⁶² which, echoing *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, revealed the current feeling that his elevation to the supreme place in the state was already all but assured. It revealed still more, for it showed how clearly men realized that the success of the revolutionary cause rested not on the subtlety of Vane, the shrewdness of Marten, the fanaticism of Harrison, the convictions of Ludlow, or the military talents of Fairfax, but ultimately on the combination of qualities which, among them all, only Cromwell possessed.

More dangerous to the new government than even the attacks of Royalists and Levellers was the problem of religious liberty, for it was not the first time nor the last that a reforming party has been confronted with the embarrassment of putting its principles into practice at the risk of providing an opportunity for its enemies to overthrow it. The Independents took refuge in the usual methods of meeting such a dilemma—sophistry and force. Though, according to their pamphleteers, Jews and even Mohammedans might be tolerated, it was inconceivable to them that Roman Catholics and Angli-

⁶² Whitlocke, p. 434.

cans, having had an opportunity to embrace the true faith and having rejected it, should be allowed the same privilege.⁶³ The Presbyterians, as much opposed to Catholics and Anglicans as the Independents, were, none the less, a still more difficult problem for the Independent government. Thus while Cromwell was busy suppressing Irish Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian by force of arms, his colleagues in Council and Commons wrestled with the question of preserving order and their own ascendancy with religious liberty in England and Scotland. That Gordian knot they could not, like him, cut with the sword and all Vane's subtlety was needed to cope with it.

Meanwhile they did the best they could to strengthen their political position without coming into actual conflict with the resolute Presbyterians. They considered how these might be admitted into the preaching ministry. They assured them that the government had no intention of "countenancing a universal toleration"; they negotiated with their leaders seeking some form of accommodation. But meanwhile they did not neglect the arm of the flesh. They passed new and stringent regulations, which had earlier been considered by Cromwell in committee, to keep both Anglicans and Presbyterians from election to the House, for they knew that any election would spell the end of their domination there. They strengthened the censorship. They revised the list of sheriffs to secure safe men in those key positions. They reorganized the forces of the City and Westminster to the same end. They broke up congregations of Anglicans which ventured to meet in defiance of the law. They arrested and deported well-known Catholics. They summoned Fairfax to use his troops as police, not only against highwaymen, who had notably increased, but against offending congregations whether Anglican or Nonconformist; for even before Cromwell left they had resolved that all ministers who preached or prayed against the government or who mentioned the royal family were to be regarded as delinquents and punished accordingly.

These measures, while they repressed the more open manifestations against the Commonwealth, roused even deeper antagonism. This in turn increased the uneasiness of the government, which, among its other measures to counteract or overawe discontent, had hastened to order Cromwell's despatches printed and read in the churches, and so again contributed to his prestige. To these difficulties was added that of foreign affairs, especially relations with Scotland. Thence, at the moment that Cromwell was before Drogheda, George Winram as an emissary from Argyll had sailed to negotiate with Charles II in Holland. There he met not only the young king but a group of exiled English Presbyterians, among them that Colonel Silas Titus who

⁶³ Jews and Mohammedans were of course, no danger to the revolutionary government.

played much part in Cromwell's life, as well as agents of Queen Henrietta Maria, and those of Ormonde. Could the differences between the Scotch parties be smoothed out and Charles induced to accept conditions laid down by them, the London Presbyterians, of whom it was said some eighty leading men had committed themselves to the cause of monarchy, might be induced to finance a new rising. France was engaged in suppressing the Fronde; she was at war with Spain; but it was not beyond the bounds of possibility, in the minds of the more optimistic of Charles' adherents, that something might be hoped for even there.

Again the success of these designs hung in large measure on the success or failure of Cromwell in Ireland and his future plans. Already his shadow loomed over the Continent. Writing to Mazarin late in October, after the news of Drogheda, the French agent, Croullé, reported that Cromwell had declared that, were he ten years younger, every king in Europe would tremble before him.⁶⁴ He had a better cause than the late King of Sweden, and he thought himself able to do more for the good of the peoples than Gustavus had done for his own ambition. Whether or not he had such sentiments so early—and Croullé himself did not believe the rumor—there is no doubt but that on the one hand the example of Gustavus was before Cromwell and Europe, and on the other that this but anticipated Cromwell's own policy when he rose to supreme power a few years later. No one can read his Irish despatches without feeling not only that his conception of himself and his mission had increased in stature, but that he felt himself in a sense a Protestant champion like Gustavus, that "Star of the North," whose praises, according to a somewhat improbable tradition, Cromwell had sung years earlier. However apocryphal that tale, the parallel was too close to be missed, and if it had not occurred to the General, it had impressed others, not least those powers most likely to feel the weight of his displeasure. Thus it is scarcely too much to say that the fate of the Commonwealth not only hung upon the fortunes of the war in Ireland, but, in the last resort, on Cromwell himself.

While these negotiations went on; while the Council sent Charles Vane to Lisbon and Ascham to Madrid to counteract the efforts of Charles' agents, Cottington and Hyde, at the Spanish court, and keep Prince Rupert from the refuge he had found in Portugal; while Scottish parties sought accommodation with the exiled prince; Cromwell remained in Youghal for nearly two months. He stayed first at Lady Cork's house in the College of Youghal, then either in that of "Mis-

⁶⁴ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, i, 229, from Croullé to Mazarin, Nov. 1/11, 1649, in Archives des Affaires Étrangères.

treass Simmes," for which it was reported he was negotiating,⁶⁵ or in the old castle, now demolished but known during the Protectorate as "the Magazine."⁶⁶ He was apparently at first the guest of Lord Broghill, and it is certain that on December 17 he went with that nobleman, Sir William Fenton and other gentlemen, to Cork where he was accorded "a very hearty and noble entertainment,"⁶⁷ which was described in a news-sheet published in Cork:

"My Lord Lieutenant having ordered these savages [O'Neill's men] to be brought to Cork, went thither himselfe the fifteenth and whereas other Corporations make their mouthes tell their joy, this made their lookes do it, in which I believe he saw their hearts, I cannot for the credit of the place but let the world know, there was too a speech made to his Excellency, by an old inhabitant of the City. I must confesse I cannot doe him the right to relate his words, but I must do him right, that I believe they pleased my Lord well, for they made him laugh."⁶⁸

It was a notable gathering of the Parliamentary commanders, for Deane and Blake were both with their squadrons in Cork harbor, while Ireton was expected on the 19th. According to tradition, Cromwell spent that Christmas in the house of a Mr. Coppinger in South Main Street.⁶⁹ From Cork he went to Kinsale, where he took the mace from the Catholic mayor and delivered it to the new governor, Colonel Stubber.⁷⁰ Thence he went to Bandon Bridge on his round of garrisons, and probably farther west to Dunmanway and Skibbereen, perhaps as far as the Glengarriff River, which is spanned by a bridge bearing Cromwell's name and is said to have been destroyed by the inhabitants at his approach and as promptly rebuilt when he threatened to hang them.⁷¹ By this time the garrison towns of Myrroughes and Blarney, deserted by the Royalists, were in Parliamentary hands and in addition to Cork, Youghal, Bandon Bridge and Dungarvan, five other strongholds—Baltimore and Castlehaven on the southern coast, Mallone Morollop, Cappoquin, and Droinanosh—⁷² had declared for Parliament.

⁶⁵ *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 2.

⁶⁶ A description of the castle with its massive construction and its gardens is in Rev. Samuel Hayman's "Antiquities of Youghal," in *Kilkenny Archaeological Society Journal*, N. S., i, 15, where Cromwell's council chamber is described.

⁶⁷ Thomas Herbert to Lenthall, Dec. 18. *Brief Relation*, Jan. 1-8; in *Cromwelliana*.

⁶⁸ *Irish Mercury*, repr. in *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 29.

⁶⁹ This was related by a descendant, together with an anecdote about Mr. Coppinger having been security for a debt of Cromwell's in Holland during James I's reign and having lost the amount because the bills offered by Cromwell in payment were dishonored. Wright, *History of Ireland*, ii, 86n. In *History of the Coppingers*, pp. 175-176, Stephen Coppinger is said to be the one referred to and the story is told differently. Stephen's birth in 1610 makes it impossible and casts doubt on the whole tale.

⁷⁰ Whitelocke, p. 439.

⁷¹ Murphy, p. 242, from Windele, *Historical Notices of Cork*, p. 280.

⁷² *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 31.

Some time during December Cromwell seems to have written a letter to St. John, which has since disappeared, though St. John's reply, dated January 7 and purely personal, still remains.⁷³ Besides these glimpses of his activities, there is, however, one other clue to his thoughts and plans; for on the last day of 1649 he was again in Cork, busy with designs not only to hold the territory he had won but with provisions for its future civil government. These provisions he communicated to John Sadler, then town clerk of London and Master in Chancery who was to become master of Magdalene College, Cambridge a few months later:⁷⁴

*For my very worthy Friend John Sadler, Esq., one of the Masters
of the Chancery in England: These*

SIR,

To put a business of weight suddenly to your consideration may perhaps beget so much prejudice as may cause you either not to think of it at all, or to incline to the worser part when you resolve. The thing I have to offer hath been thought upon by us, as you will perceive by the reasons wherewith we enforce it; and we do willingly tender it to you; desiring God, not you, may give us the answer.

That a Divine Presence hath gone along with us in the late great transactions in this nation, I believe most good men are sensible of, and thankful to God for; and are persuaded that He hath a further end; and that as by this dispensation He hath manifested His severity and justice, so there will be a time wherein He will manifest grace and mercy, in which He so much delights. To us who are employed as instruments in this work the contentment that appears is, that we are doing our Master's work; that we have His presence and blessing with us; and that we live in hope to see Him cause wars to cease, and bringing in that Kingdom of glory and peace which He hath promised. This being so, as the hope thereof occasions our comfort, so the seeing some way made already cannot but hope that goodness and mercy intends to visit this poor Island. Therefore in what we may (as poor instruments), cannot but be endeavouring to answer the mind of God as any opportunity offers itself.

First let me tell you, in divers places where we are come, we find the people very greedy after the Word, and flocking to Christian meetings; much of that prejudice that lies upon poor people in England being a stranger to their minds. And truly we have hoped much of it is done in simplicity; and I mind you the rather of this because it is a sweet symptom, if not an earnest, of the good we expect.

In the next place, our condition was such at our first arrival here, by reason of the War, and prevalency of the Enemy,—that there was a disso-

⁷³ Nickolls, *Original Letters*, p. 48. St. John mentions having written earlier and sent his letter by Cromwell's son Henry just before receiving this letter.

⁷⁴ He was later instrumental in procuring permission for the Jews to build a synagogue in London, and was continued as Master in Chancery after the number of that body was reduced during the Protectorate. Noble says that he was related to Cromwell.

lution of the whole frame of Government; there being no visible authority residing in persons entrusted to act according to the forms of law, except in two corporations [*Dublin and Derry*] under the Parliament's power, in this whole Land. And although it hath pleased God to give us much territory, yet how to fall suddenly into that way again, I see not; nor is it for the present practicable. Wherefore I am constrained, of my own authority, to issue out Commissions to persons to hear and determine the present controversies that do arise, as they may.

Sir, it seems to me we have a great opportunity to set up, until the Parliament shall otherwise determine, a way of doing justice amongst these poor people, which, for the uprightness and cheapness of it, may exceedingly gain upon them, who have been accustomed to as much injustice, tyranny and oppression from their landlords, the great men, and those that should have done them right, as, I believe, any people in that which we call Christendom. And indeed are accounted the bribingst people that are; they having been inured thereto. Sir, if justice were freely and impartially administered here, the foregoing darkness and corruption would make it look so much the more glorious and beautiful; and draw more hearts after it. I am loath to write what the consequences might be, or what may be said upon this subject; and therefore I shall let you know my desire in a word.

There uses to be a Chief-Justice in the Province of Munster, who having some others with him in assistance, uses to hear and determine causes depending there: you are desired by me to accept of that employment. I do believe that nothing will suit your mind better than having a standing salary for the same; that so you may not be troubled with common allowances, which have been to others, I doubt, but a colour to their covetous practices. I dare assure you £1,000 a-year, half-yearly, to be paid by even parts, as your allowance; and although this be more than hath usually been allowed, yet shall we have wherewith readily to make performance, if you accept.

I know not how far this desire of mine will be interpreted by you as a call, but sure I am I have not done anything with a clearer breast, nor wherein I do more approve my heart to the Lord and His people in sincerity and uprightness; the Lord direct you what to do. I desire a few things of you; let my letter be as little seen as you may; you know what constructions are usually put upon some men's actings; and, were it fit to be committed to paper, would if I should say that this business, by the blessing of God, might be so managed as might abate much superfluity. I desire you not to discourse of the allowance but to some choice friends. Next I could desire, if you have any acquaintance with Mr. Graves the lawyer, you would move him to the acceptance of a place here, which should be honourable, and not to his outward disadvantage; and any other godly and able man you know of. Let me have your mind so soon as conveniently you may; and whether you have tried any as is desired, and whom, and what return they make.

Desiring your prayers, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Cork,
Dec. 31st, 1649.

OLIVER CROMWELL.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ *General Dictionary*, ed. Birch, Bernard, etc. London, 1739, ix, 19-20, from material furnished by Thos. Sadler, a descendant. Carlyle, App. 17.

Sadler, however, preferred his post and prospects in England, and the chief-justiceship of Munster was conferred on the late King's prosecutor, John Cook, for his services on the High Court of Justice, which had already been rewarded by the post of master of Christ's Hospital. Cook eagerly accepted and two years later was commended by Cromwell to Ludlow for his conduct of affairs, which, "by proceeding in a summary and expeditious way, determined more causes in a week than Westminster Hall in a year," and so bore out the good opinion he had gained at the King's trial.⁷⁶

Meanwhile the preparations for the new campaign had gone on both in England and Ireland. On Christmas Day the Irish committee in Parliament had taken steps to comply with Cromwell's request for "furniture" for three hundred hospital beds.⁷⁷ Five thousand recruits had been sent to Ireland and the committee recommended that Cromwell furnish Sir William Cole, governor of Enniskillen in Ulster, with seven hundred and fifty foot and forty horse from the new contingent.⁷⁸ On his part, tradition—so flourishing in Ireland, and not least in the case of Cromwell—records that in his need for artillery, he had the bells of the Cork churches melted down, and replied to the remonstrance of one of his men, that "since gunpowder was invented by a priest, he thought the best use of the bells would be to promote them into canons."⁷⁹ This, if true, is the only recorded case where a pun is attributed to Cromwell. But the story of the seizure of the bells is not improbable, and gains credence from the fact that on November 9, 1649, the Council of State had ordered commissioners for the demolition of Lancaster Castle to furnish Preston with lead to replace that taken the previous year by Cromwell from the roof of the chancel to make bullets.⁸⁰

Thus, with the troops recovering from their illness, December drew to a close. The Parliamentarians in the meantime had experienced two attempts of the Royalists to regain the strongholds they had lost. On December 9 Colonel Wogan had endeavored to retake Passage Fort by a sally from Duncannon, but had been captured by Colonel Sankey's men and was now a prisoner in Youghal, whence he was presently transferred to Cork. Thence he was later to escape by bribing his gaolers and so defeating any intention there may have been to execute him as "a renegade and traitor."⁸¹ The other enter-

⁷⁶ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i, 246.

⁷⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 454.

⁷⁸ Dec. 17. *Ibid.*, 439. As governor of Enniskillen Cole was the first to give notice of the rebellion.

⁷⁹ Wright, *History of Ireland*, p. 86.

⁸⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 385.

⁸¹ Cromwell's letter to O'Neill, Jan. 4, 1649-50.

prise was more fortunate. Enniscorthy Castle, some fifteen miles north of Wexford, taken by Cromwell on September 30, on his way south, had been put in charge of Captain Thomas Todd. About the middle of December one Daniel Ferrall, living near by, invited some of Todd's soldiers to his house, provided them with food and drink, especially drink, and sent some women into the castle with more whiskey for the garrison; induced the drunken soldiers to admit him and his accomplices; and murdered the whole garrison including its commander.⁸² On such a note ended the eventful year which had begun with the trial and execution of the King.

With this exception Cromwell lost nothing of the ground he had gained and he had meanwhile taken scattered posts from the Royalists.⁸³ By the first of January he was in Cork again, writing to Lord Wharton. Though that nobleman had dropped out of affairs after Pride's Purge and the execution of the King, of which he strongly disapproved, he had remained on friendly terms with Cromwell, who had written him the news of Preston a year earlier, and had tried to persuade him to rejoin his old colleagues—as he did now:

For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These

MY DEAR FRIEND, MY LORD,

If I know my heart, I love you in truth; and therefore if, from the jealousy of unfeigned love, I play the fool a little, and say a word or two at guess, I know you will pardon it.

It were a vain thing, by letter, to dispute over your doubts, or to undertake answer your objections. I have heard them all; and I have rest from the trouble of them, and what has risen in my own heart; for which I desire to be humbly thankful. I do not condemn your reasonings; I doubt them. It's easy to object to the glorious actings of God, if we look too much upon instruments. I have heard computations made of the members in Parliament: Good kept out, most bad remaining; it has been so this nine years, yet what has God wrought. The greatest works last; and still is at work. Therefore take heed of this scandal.

Be not offended at the manner; perhaps no other way was left. What if God accepted the zeal, as He did that of Phineas,⁸⁴ whose reason might

⁸² Hore, *op. cit.* (Enniscorthy), pp. 491-3, from depositions.

⁸³ *History or Brief Chronicle* (1650), repr. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, iii, 161.

⁸⁴ 'And behold, one of the Children of Israel came, and brought unto his brethren 'a Midianitish woman; in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the Congregation of the Children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation,'—by reason of those very sins. 'And when Phinehas the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the Priest, saw it, he rose up from among the Congregation, and took a javelin in his hand; and he went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel and the woman, through the belly. So the plague was stayed from the Children of Israel.' (*Numbers*, xxv. 6-8.) [Carlyle's note.]

have called for a jury?⁸⁵ What if the Lord have witnessed his approbation and acceptance to this also, not only by signal outward acts, but to the heart also? What if I fear my friend should withdraw his shoulder from the Lord's work (Oh, it's grievous to do so) through scandals, through false⁸⁶ mistaken reasonings.

There's difficulty, there's trouble; in the other way, there's safety, ease, wisdom; in the one no clearness (this is an objection indeed), in the other satisfaction. It's well if we thought of that first, and severed from the other considerations, which do often bias, if not bribe the mind, whereby mists are often raised in the way we should walk in, and we call it darkness or dissatisfaction. Oh, our deceitful hearts! Oh, this pleasing world! How great is it to be the Lord's servant in any drudgery (I thought not to have written near the other side;⁸⁷ love will not let me alone; I have been often provoked) in all hazards His worst is far above the world's best. He makes us able, in truth, to say so; we cannot of ourselves. How hard a thing is it to reason ourselves up to the Lord's service, though it be so honourable; how easy to put ourselves out of it, where the flesh has so many advantages.

You was desired to go along with us: I wish it still. Yet we are not triumphing; we may (for aught flesh knows) suffer after all this. The Lord prepare us for His good pleasure! You were with us in the Form of things; why not in the Power?⁸⁸ I am persuaded your heart hankers after the hearts of your poor friends; and will, until you can find others to close with, which, I trust (though we in ourselves be contemptible), God will not let you do.

My service to the dear little Lady: I wish you make her not a greater temptation than she is. Take heed of all relations. Mercies should not be temptations; yet we too oft make them so. The Lord direct your thoughts into the obedience of His will, and give you rest and peace in the truth. Pray for

Your most true and affectionate

Servant in the Lord,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Cork,

Jan. 1, 1649[-50]

[P.S.] I received a Letter from Robert Hammond, whom truly I love in the Lord with most entire affection: it much grieved me, not because I judge, but feared the whole spirit of it was from temptation; indeed I thought I perceived a proceeding in that which the Lord will (I trust) cause him to unlearn. I would fain have written to him, but am straitened in time. Would he would be with us a little! Perhaps it would be no hurt to him.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Carlyle altered to "whom reason might have called before a jury," but Cromwell wrote as above, and his meaning evidently is that Phineas inflicted summary justice, instead of waiting for the culprits to be punished by ordinary forms of law. [Mrs. Lomas' note.]

⁸⁶ This word erased.

⁸⁷ Of the sheet of paper.

⁸⁸ Carlyle printed "You were with us in the Power: why not in the Form."

⁸⁹ Original, in autograph, endorsed by Wharton "rec. January 30th, 1649, from my Lord Leefetennant of Ireland, from Ireland" discovered "among the Court-rolls of the Manor of Wymondham Cromwell, Norfolk," deposited a century ago in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Printed in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1814), lxxxiv, 418. Lomas-Carlyle, Letter CXVIII.

In such fashion Cromwell spent the month of January, 1650, in Cork, forming a civil administration for Munster—to whose presidency Parliament appointed Ireton on December 4⁹⁰—reorganizing, recruiting and equipping his forces and writing letters and reports of his activities to the Council and the Speaker. Of these letters there seems to be no trace save in various notices of them, from which some idea of their contents may be gleaned. On January 29 two of his letters to something of the following effect were read in the House:

Two letters to William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of Parliament

He has sent to besiege Eniscorffie Castle belonging to Mr. Wallop, a Member of the House, which the enemy had lately surprised. He visited all the English garrisons in Munster, and gave orders to them. Inchiquin is in Kerry. Sixteen of the enemy's horse came from Duncannon to him. Provisions for horse are needed. Proposition concerning supplies of victuals, stores, tackle and other necessities for ships that are there to be made in those harbours.

Cork, January 1 & 5, 1649–50.⁹¹

Besides these, two other letters, probably addressed to the Council and probably of like character, were read in the House on January 31 and note taken of their contents.⁹² Further information was given by Colonel Ryves who brought the letters and who reported that the army's health had so greatly improved that regiments which but lately had "marched" only four hundred men had increased to eight or nine hundred fit for service.

From these various sources it appears that Cromwell's forces were regaining much of their former strength, though they were not yet in condition to resume the offensive. By January 4 Sir Hardress Waller, who had been governor of Cork in 1644, and had been ordered to Ireland in November, 1649, with five companies of his regiment, had reached Cork and sat on a council of war with Cromwell and Ireton to consider the exchange of prisoners.⁹³ Each side had its share of important officers, but those whose fate was most discussed were the Royalist Colonel Wogan and the Parliamentarian Captain Caulfield, in whose case there seems to reside some mystery.⁹⁴ Nor is that

⁹⁰ C. J., vi, 328.

⁹¹ *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 25–31; C. J., vi, 352; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649–50), p. 496; Whitelocke, p. 439. The Council of State had the letters on Jan. 30 and decided to write to Cromwell as to the disposal of shipping. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 497.

⁹² Several garrisons in Munster were brought in without bloodshed or striking a stroke. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 498; *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 31; C. J., vi, 353; *Parl. Hist.*, xix, 247.

⁹³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 105. Instructions dated November 23.

⁹⁴ His identity, time of capture, and offence are uncertain. There was a William, Baron Caulfield, whose elder brother, Toby, had been imprisoned by Sir Phelim

mystery—which doubtless was not then mysterious—cleared up by the fact that on November 3, Inchiquin had written to Ormonde's secretary for permission to hang Caulfield immediately, before the enemy had opportunity to threaten retaliation.⁹⁵ It was chiefly in regard to these two men and Ormonde's brother, Major-General Butler, with only general reference to other prisoners, that the council of war came to conclusions which Cromwell transmitted, with his own letter, to Lieutenant-General Richard Ferrall in Waterford:

[To Lieutenant-General Ferrall]⁹⁶

At the council of War held at the City of Cork, the fourth day of January, Anno Domini 1649, whereat the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord President of Munster, Sir Hardress Waller, and divers other chief officers of the army were present, it was resolved as following, *viz.*

That a letter be sent, by Lieutenant-General Ferrall's trumpet, to let him know, that for every private foot-soldier of our party, prisoner with him, whom he shall release, he shall have so many of his private soldiers, prisoners with us, released for them; and for every trooper of ours which he shall release, he shall have two private foot-soldiers released for him.

That the Lord Lieutenant is ready to release officers of like quality for such officers of ours as are in their power; and that he will deliver a major of foot for a captain of horse, and two captains of foot for a captain of horse; and so proportionably.

Or that he will deliver Major-General Butler, the Earl of Ormonde's brother, for those officers of ours now in their custody.

But having lately received an advertisement that some of the principal officers of the Irish army did send menacing orders to the Governor of Clonmel⁹⁷ to be communicated to the Lord Broghill, that if we did put to death Colonel Wogan, that they were ready to put Captain Caulfield to death, I thought fit to offer unto you the equal exchanges before mentioned, leaving it unto you to make your election, which when you perform there shall be just and honest performances on my part. And withal to let you know, that if any shall think to put such conditions on me that I may not execute a person so obnoxious as Wogan, who did not only betray his trust in England, but counterfeited the General's hand, thereby to carry his men

O'Neill in 1641 and later murdered, and who in his turn, in 1652, seized O'Neill who was in hiding and had him executed. This William was created Viscount Charlemont in 1665. See Jan. 16, 1650 for further correspondence on this Caulfield, and Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 501.

⁹⁵ Inchiquin to George Lane, *Clar. State Papers*, ii, 495. Another letter, same to same, was delivered by Lieut. Harris, "who discovered Caulfield's treachery." *Ibid.*, p. 496.

⁹⁶ Carlyle headed this "For Lieutenant-General Farrell, Governor of Clonmel," but Major General Hugh O'Neill was at this moment Governor of Clonmel and actively on duty. See Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 500-501. Ferrall was still in Waterford on Jan. 24. *Ibid.*, 505.

⁹⁷ Maj. Gen. Hugh O'Neill.

(whom he had seduced) into a foreign nation, to invade England, under whom he had taken pay and from whose service he was not discharged; and with the said nation did invade England; and hath since, contrary to the said trust, taken up arms here; that as I am willing to the exchanges aforesaid, so if that equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, that I am resolved to deal by Colonel Wogan as I shall see cause, and be satisfied in my conscience and judgment to do. And if anything thereupon be done to Captain Caufield I think fit to let you know that I shall, as God shall enable me, put all those that are with me at mercy for life, into the same condition.

Your servant,
O. CROMWELL.⁹⁸

On the day of the Council of War in Cork, the English Council of State, according to Cromwell's request, ordered ships at Bristol sent to him for the defence of the Irish coast.⁹⁹ Three days later they ordered a letter written to him enclosing a petition of one Hubert Collard concerning a ship taken at Waterford and asking Cromwell to report whether the ship should be discharged or proceeded against.¹⁰⁰ On the next day Cromwell's letter of December 19 with letters from Ireton and Broghill were read in Parliament; and with this there came another turning-point in his career. For the House ordered his letter reported to the Council of State, which was instructed to thank him for his services and notify him that he was to prepare to return to England as soon as possible.¹⁰¹ At the same time an act was read "for settling certain manors, lands and tenements"¹⁰² upon him, presumably to make up the £2,500 a year which had been voted him but never fully satisfied. To this, having listened to a letter from Broghill, the House added an order for a letter to Cromwell instructing him to give Broghill the estate of Lord Muskerrie until his own should be recovered from the enemy.¹⁰³

It is apparent from this move to recall Cromwell from Ireland that the revolutionary leaders in England felt themselves to be in a precarious position. That fear had a substantial basis in the political situation in the British Isles and on the continent which had developed while Cromwell was busy in Ireland. The negotiations between the Scots, the exiled prince Charles II, and the foreign powers, seemed destined at this moment to take form in a powerful combination to restore monarchy, while the threat of rebellion in England itself had grown from day to day. Montrose had been commissioned

⁹⁸ Cliffe's Narrative in Borlase, *op. cit.*, App. 11-12. Carlyle, App. 16, from *Ayscough Mss.*, no. 4769.

⁹⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), p. 469.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

¹⁰¹ *C. J.*, vi, 343-4; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 473.

¹⁰² *C. J.*, vi, 344.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*; *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 8.

lieutenant-governor of Scotland by Charles, and during Cromwell's campaign in Ireland had been busy seeking men and money from Denmark, Brandenburg and Sweden for a descent on Scotland.

It seemed, then, that while the discontent with the revolutionary government reached new heights among the Royalists, the Presbyterians and the Levellers in England, there might be launched a new combination against the party in power there and in Scotland. Lilburne's acquittal and the popular rejoicings which greeted it, deepened the fears of the Council of State. Though it had disallowed his election to the London Common Council, it strove to conciliate him by every means possible; and the indefatigable Hugh Peter had been sent to reason with him, but to no effect. The news sent the Council on Christmas day, 1649, by Strickland, its representative in Holland, concerning Winram's conferences with the Presbyterian exiles there, was reinforced by the rumored support of leading Presbyterians in London for an attempted restoration of monarchy; so that, all in all, the revolutionary leaders had good cause for alarm.¹⁰⁴

They had one other excellent reason for their resolve to recall Cromwell at this moment. It was their increasing and well-founded suspicion of Fairfax's loyalty to the Independent government. Though he had devoted his talents to the overthrow of Charles I's armies; had performed every military duty with fidelity and vigor; had not even protested actively against the execution of the King—or had been deceived into the not uncommon belief that it would not take place—he was at heart a real Parliamentarian. He was, moreover, inclined toward, if he had not actually embraced, Presbyterianism, to which his wife was devoted. He was opposed to military rule. He was commander-in-chief of the army, a member of the House and of the Council of State, the presiding officer of the Council of the Army. But he had declined to sit on the High Court of Justice, and his refusal to take the Engagement revealed his reservations to his oath to be faithful to the Commonwealth no less than his opposition to the execution of the King. It seems, then, at this critical juncture, confronted by a world of enemies at home and abroad, faced with domestic insurrection and foreign intervention, the revolutionary leaders felt it essential to their very existence and that of their party, to have at the head of the army one on whom they could rely to the uttermost, and Fairfax was not that man.¹⁰⁵

On his part, Cromwell had no intention of leaving his command in Ireland so long as he could avoid it; and there were other reasons for his reluctance to return to England, which were unknown to the English authorities and which confirmed him in his resolution. Those reasons centered in the altered and altering situation of Irish affairs.

¹⁰⁴ Cp. Gardiner, *op. cit.*; and Pease, *Leveller Movement*, p. 324.

¹⁰⁵ See Whitelocke, p. 438.

Inspired with the hope of effecting something in Ireland, Charles II had finally decided to accept the invitation sent him in the preceding March by Ormonde, and on September 17 landed in Jersey on his way to take part in the war. But much had happened since Ormonde sent his appeal and he had apparently been unable or unwilling to communicate to Charles the story of the disasters which had overtaken the royal cause. Now, in reply to Charles' demand for an account of the situation, which Seymour carried to Ormonde with the Order of the Garter as a token of Charles' appreciation, Ormonde wrote on November 30 a report of the Irish situation as he saw it.¹⁰⁶

That report, with another of December 15, which came to Charles' hands apparently in January, 1650, while Cromwell was in Cork organizing the civil government of Munster, was as distressing as Ormonde's account of affairs in the spring had been encouraging. Reciting the defeat of Rathmines, the fall of Drogheda and Wexford and the death of O'Neill, Ormonde reported that Cromwell was at Cork, Coote held the greater part of the north; and though Ormonde had, he said, some twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse which might be counted on in the island, he had neither money nor supplies, and free quarter had turned the country against his troops as if they had been enemies. There was certain to be trouble about a successor to O'Neill. It was impossible to combine the Irish with the English and Scotch Royalists; the burden of defence must henceforth be borne by the native Irish; and, in consequence, the leadership would fall to the priesthood. Knowing, as he did, that neither money nor men were to be hoped for from the fugitive king, he obviously despaired of success.

Such, in effect, was Ormonde's message. It blasted any hopes which Charles may have entertained of aid from Ireland; put an end to his plans to head the forces there; threw him into the arms of the Scots; and, with the arrival of a Parliamentary fleet at Portsmouth, decided him to return to the Netherlands. Ormonde's prophecy as to the leadership of the Irish had come true before he sent his second letter. On December 4 the Irish prelates had met at Clonmacnoise and issued a declaration warning their people that Cromwell intended to extirpate Catholicism from Ireland, which would necessarily involve the extermination or banishment of the Irish people, the confiscation of the property of those who were spared, the colonizing of the island from England, and a policy of transportation such as had already taken place to "the Tobacco Islands." On December 13 they had issued another declaration, designed to end the rivalry between the followers of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics and

¹⁰⁶ In Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 329-330. See also Ormonde's letters to Charles Nov. 30 and Dec. 15, Carte, *Original Letters*, ii, 416, 417.

those of the Papal party once headed by Rinuccini, and so to unite all Irish Catholics in support of church and crown.¹⁰⁷

These declarations came into Cromwell's hands at about the same time that Ormonde's letters to Charles were persuading that prince that he had no expectations of success in Ireland. While, then, Charles made his preparations to leave for the Continent and accept the terms of the Scots, Cromwell, engaged in arrangements for his next campaign, took occasion to reply to the Irish prelates in what was perhaps the first—as it was the longest—state paper he had yet composed.

It was more than that. Like many of his utterances, spoken and written, it combined statecraft, theology, religious emotion, arguments, persuasion and threats, in an amazing denunciation of the ecclesiastics who had ventured to speak for their people and their church. In it blazed out all the hatred he had for episcopacy, intensified by his still deeper hatred of Catholicism, and the embittered recollections of the massacre of 1640. It was even more than that. It was a declaration of war to the death on the Roman Catholic clergy and their adherents, and none of them who read it could well doubt that it justified the prelates' assertion that Cromwell, if he could, would extirpate not only Catholicism from Ireland, but even Catholics who attended mass.

A Declaration of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, For the Undeceiving of deluded and seduced People: which may be satisfactory to all that doe not wilfully shut their eyes against the light. In answer to certaine late Declarations and Acts, framed by the Irish Popish Prelates and Clergy, in a Conventicle at Clonmacnoise.

HAVING lately perused a Book printed at Kilkenny in the year 1649, containing divers Declarations and Acts of the Popish Prelates and Clergy, framed in a late Conventicle at Clonmacnoise, the 4 day of December in the year aforesaid, I thought fit to give a brief answer unto the same.

And first to the first, which is a Declaration wherein (having premised the reconciliation of some differences amongst themselves) they come to state their War, upon the interest of their Church, his Majesty, and the Nation; and their resolution to prosecute the same with unity: all which will deserve a particular survey.

The Meeting of the Archbishops, Bishops and other Prelates at Clonmacnoise is by them said to be *proprio motu*. By which term they would have the world believe that the secular power hath nothing to do to appoint or superintend their spiritual conventions (as they call them) although in the said meetings they take upon them to intermeddle in all secular affairs; as by the sequel appears.

¹⁰⁷ In *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, ii, 38, 39; Borlase, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-297; Murphy, *op. cit.*, App. VIII.

And first for their Union they so much boast of. If any wise man shall seriously consider what they pretend the grounds of the differences to have been, and the way and course they have taken to reconcile the same; and their expressions thereabout, and the ends for which, and their resolutions how to carry on their great design declared for; he must needs think slightly of it. And also for this, that they resolve all other men's consents into their own, without consulting them at all.

The subject of this reconciliation was (as they say) the Clergy and Laity. The discontent and division itself was grounded on the late difference of opinion happening amongst the Prelates and Laity. I wonder not at differences in opinion, at discontents and divisions, where so Antichristian and dividing a term as Clergy and Laity is given and received: a term unknown to any save to the Antichristian Church, and such as derive themselves from her, *ab initio non fuit sic*. The most pure and primitive times, as they best knew what true Union was, so in all addresses to the several Churches they wrote unto, not one word of this. The members of the Churches are styled Brethren, and Saints of the same household of Faith, although they had orders and distinctions amongst them for administration of ordinances (of a far different use and character with yours), yet it nowhere occasioned them to say, *contemptim*, and by way of lessening *in contra* distinguishing Laity to Clergy. It was your pride that begat this expression, and it is for filthy lucre's sake that you keep it up, that by making the people believe that they are not so holy as yourselves, they might for their penny purchase some sanctity from you; and that you might bridle, saddle and ride them at your pleasure; and do (which is most true of you) as the Scribes and Pharisees of old did (by their laity), keep the knowledge of the Law from them, and then be able in their pride to say, "this people that know not the Law, are cursed."

And no wonder (to speak more nearly to your differences and union) if it lie in the Prelates' power to make the Clergy and the Laity go together by the ears when they please, but that they may as easily make a simple and senseless reconciliation which will last until the next Nuncio comes from Rome with supermandatory advices; and then this Gordian knot must be cut, and the poor Laity forced to dance to a new tune. I say not this as being troubled at it; much good may do you with it, By the grace of God, we fear not, we care not for your union. Your covenant is with death and hell; your union is like that of Simeon and Levi. Associate yourselves, and you shall be broken in pieces; take counsel together, and it shall come to naught. For though it becomes us to be humble in respect of ourselves, yet we can say to you, God is not with you. You say your union is against a common enemy; and to this, if you will be talking of union, I will give you some wormwood to bite on, by which it will appear God is not with you.

Who is it that created this common enemy? I suppose you mean Englishmen. The English! Remember, ye hypocrites, Ireland was once united to England. Englishmen had good inheritances which many of them purchased with their money; they or their ancestors, from many of you and your ancestors. They had good leases from Irishmen for long time to come; great stocks thereupon; houses and plantations erected at their cost and charge. They lived peaceably and honestly amongst you. You had generally equal

benefit of the protection of England with them, and equal justice from the laws, saving what was necessary for the State (out of reasons of State) to put upon some few people apt to rebel upon the instigation of such as you. You broke this union! You, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard-of and most barbarous massacre (without respect of sex or age) that ever the sun beheld. And at a time when Ireland was in perfect peace, and when, through the example of the English industry, through commerce and traffic, that which was in the natives' hands was better to them than if all Ireland had been in their possession, and not an Englishman in it. And yet then, I say, was this unheard-of villany perpetrated by your instigation, who boast of peace-making and union against this common enemy. What think you by this time, is not my assertion true? Is God, will God be, with you? I am confident He will not!¹⁰⁸

And though you would comprehend old English, new English, Scotch, or who else you will, in the bosom of your Catholic charity, yet shall not this save you from breaking. I tell you and them, you will fare the worse for their sakes, because I cannot but believe some of them go against, some stifle, their consciences. And it is not the figleaf of pretence that they fight for their King, will serve their turn, when really they fight in protection of men of so much prodigious blood; and with men who have declared the ground of their union and fighting (as you have stated it in your Declaration) to be *Bellum Prelaticum et Religiosum*, in the first and primary intention of it; especially when they shall consider your principles: That, except what fear makes you comply with,—viz. that alone without their concurrence you are not able to carry on your work—you are ready, whenever you shall get the power into your hands, to kick them off too, as some late experiences have sufficiently manifested. And thus we come to the design, you being thus wholesomely united intended to be prosecuted by you.

Your words are these: "That all and every of us the above Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates, are now, by the blessing of God, as one body united. And that we will, as becometh charity and our pastoral charge, stand all of us as one entire body, for the interest and immunities of the Church, and of every the Prelates and Bishops thereof; and for the honour, dignity, estate, right and possessions of all and every of the said Archbishops, Bishops and other Prelates. And we will, as one entire and united body, forward by our counsels, actions and devices, the advancement of his Majesty's rights, and the good of this nation in general, and in particular occasions to our power. And that none of us, in any occasion whatsoever concerning the Catholic religion, or the good of this Kingdom of Ireland, will in any respect single himself, or be or seem opposite to the rest of us; but will hold firm and entire in one sense, as aforesaid, &c."

And if there were no other quarrel against you but this, which you make to be the principal and first ground of your quarrel:—to wit, as so standing for the rights of your Church (falsely so called) and for the rights of your Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates, as to engage people and nations into

¹⁰⁸ "As a contribution to Irish history, nothing could be more ludicrously beside the mark than these burning words. . . . Nevertheless, as an explanation of Cromwell's own conduct in Ireland, this Declaration is of supreme importance. . . ." Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, i, 164.

blood therefor. This alone would be your confusion. I ask you, is it for the lay-fee (as you call it), or revenue belonging to your Church, that you will after this manner contend? Or is it your jurisdiction, or the exercise of your ecclesiastical authority? Or is it the Faith of your Church? Let me tell you, not for all nor any of these is it lawful for the ministers of Christ, as you would be thought to be, thus to contend. And therefore we will consider them apart.

For the first, if it were St. Peter's Patrimony, as you term it, that is somewhat that you lawfully came by, although I must tell you, your predecessors cheated poor seduced men in their weakness on their deathbeds; or otherwise unlawfully came by most of this you pretend to. Yet Peter, though he was somewhat too forward to draw the sword in a better cause, if that weapon, not being proper to the business in hand, was to be put up in that case, he must not, nor would he, have drawn it in this. And that blessed Apostle Paul, who said the labourer was worthy of his hire, chose rather to make tents than be burdensome to the Churches. I would you had either of those good men's spirits, on the condition your revenues were doubled to what the best times ever made them to your predecessors.

The same answer may be given to that of your power and jurisdiction, and to that preeminency of prelacy you so dearly love. Only consider what the Master of the same Apostles said to them: "So it shall not be amongst you. Whoever will be chief shall be servant of all!" For He himself came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. And by this he that runs may read of what tribe you are. And surely if these, that are outward things, may not thus be contended for; how much less may the Doctrines of Faith (which are the works of Grace and the Spirit) be endeavoured by so unsuitable means! He that bids us contend for the Faith once delivered to the Saints, tells us that we should do it by avoiding the spirit of Cain, Corah, and Balaam; and by building up ourselves on the most holy Faith, not pinning it upon other men's sleeves, praying in the Holy Ghost, not mumbling over Matins; keeping ourselves in the love of God, not destroying men because they will not be of our Faith; waiting for the mercy of Jesus Christ; not cruel, but merciful!—But, alas, why is this said? Why are these pearls cast before you? You are resolved not to be charmed from using the instrument of a foolish shepherd! You are a part of Antichrist, whose Kingdom the Scripture so expressly speaks should be laid in blood; yea in the blood of the Saints. You have shed great store of it already, and ere it be long, you must all of you have blood to drink; even the dregs of the cup of the fury and the wrath of God, which will be poured out unto you!

In the next place, you state the interest of his Majesty, as you say. And this you hope will draw some English and Scots to your party. But what Majesty is it you mean? Is it France, or Spain, or Scotland? Speak plainly! You have some of you lately been harping (or else we are misinformed) upon his Majesty of Spain to be your Protector. Was it because his Majesty of Scotland is too little a Majesty for your purpose? We know you love great Majesties. Or is it because he is not fully come over to you in point of religion? If he be short in that, you will quickly find out, upon that score, another Majesty. His Father, who complied with you too much, you rejected; and now would make the world believe you would make the Son's

interest a great part of the state of your quarrel. How can we but think there is some reserve in this, and that the Son is agreed to do somewhat more for you than ever his Father did. Or else tell us whence this new zeal is? That the Father did too much for you, in all Protestants, judgments instead of many instances let be considered what one of your own doctors, Dr. Enos of Dublin, who (writing against the agreement made between the Lord of Ormond and the Irish Catholics) finds fault with it, and says it was nothing so good as that the Earl of Glamorgan had warrant from the King to make; but exceeding far short of what the Lord George Digby had warrant to agree with the Pope himself at Rome, in favour of the Irish Catholics.

I intend not this to you; but to such Protestants as may incline to you, and join with you upon this single account, which is the only appearing inducement to them, seeing there is so much probability of ill in this abstracted; and so much certainty of ill in fighting for the Romish religion against the Protestant; and fighting with men under the guilt of so horrid a massacre. From participating in which guilt, whilst they take part with them, they will never be able to assoil themselves, either before God or good men.

In the last place, you are pleased, having, after your usual manner, remembered yourselves first, and his Majesty (as you call him), next; like a man of your tribe, with his *Ego et Rex meus*, you are pleased to take the people into consideration, lest they should seem to be forgotten; or rather you might make me believe they are much in your thoughts. Indeed I think they are! Alas, poor laity! That you and your King might ride them, and jade them, as your Church hath done, and as your King hath done by your means, almost all ages! But it would not be hard to prophesy, that the beasts being stung and kicking, this world will not last always. Arbitrary power men begin to be weary of, in Kings and Churchmen; their juggle between them mutually to uphold civil and ecclesiastical tyranny begins to be transparent. Some have cast off both, and hope by the grace of God to keep so. Others are at it! Many thoughts are laid up about it, which will have their issue and vent. This principle, that people are for Kings and Churches, and Saints for the Pope or Churchmen (as you call them), begins to be exploded; and therefore I wonder not to see the fraternity to be so much enraged. I wish the People wiser than to be troubled at you, or solicitous for what you say or do.

But it seems, notwithstanding all this, you would fain have them believe it is their good you seek. And to cozen them, in deed and in truth, is the scope of your whole Declaration, and of your acts and decrees in your aforesaid printed book. Therefore to discover and unveil those falsities, and to let them know what they are to trust to from me, is the principal end of this my Declaration. That if I be not able to do good upon them, which I most desire (and yet in that I shall not seek to gain them by flattery; but tell them the worst, in plainness, and that which I am sure will not be acceptable to you; and if I cannot gain them), I shall have comfort in this, that I have freed my own soul from the guilt of the evil that shall ensue. And upon this subject I hope to leave nothing unanswered in all your said Declarations and Decrees at Clonmacnoise.

And because you carry on your matter somewhat confusedly, I shall there-

fore bring all that you have said into some order; that so we may the better discern what everything signifies, and give answer thereunto.

You forewarn the people of their danger; which you make to consist: First, in the extirpation of the Catholic Religion; Secondly, in the destruction of their lives; Thirdly, in the ruin of their fortunes. To avoid all which evils you forewarn them: First, That they be not deceived by the Commander-in-Chief of the Parliament Forces; and in the next place (having stated [the ground of] your war, as aforesaid), you give them your positive advice and counsel to engage in blood; and lastly bestow upon them a small collation in four ecclesiastical Decrees or Orders, which will signify as little, being performed by your spirit, as if you had said nothing. And the obligation to all this you make to be your pastoral relation to them, over your flocks.

To which last a word or two. I wonder how this relation was brought about! If they be flocks, and you ambitious of the relative term, you are pastors: but it is by an antiphrasis,—*a minime pascendo!* You either teach them not at all, or else you do it, as some of you came to this conventicle who were sent by others, *tanquam Procuratores*, or as your manner is, by sending a company of silly ignorant priests, who can but say the mass, and scarcely that intelligibly; or with such stuff as these your senseless declarations and edicts!—But how dare you assume to call these men your flocks, whom you have plunged into so horrid a rebellion, by which you have made both them and the country almost a ruinous heap, and whom you have fleeced and polled and peeled hitherto, and make it your business to do so still. You cannot feed them! You poison them with your false, abominable and antichristian doctrine and practices. You keep the Word of God from them; and instead thereof give them your senseless orders and traditions. You teach them implicit belief: he that goes amongst them may find many that do not understand anything in the matters of your religion. I have had few better answers from any since I came into Ireland that are of your flocks than this, that indeed they did not trouble themselves about matters of religion but left that to the Church. Thus are your flocks fed; and such credit have you of them. But they must take heed of losing their religion. Alas, poor creatures, what have they to lose?

Concerning this, is your grand caveat; and to back this, you tell them of Resolutions and Covenants to extirpate the Catholic Religion out of all his Majesty's dominions. And you instance in Cromwell's Letter of the 19 of October 1649, to the then Governor of Ross, repeating his words, which are as followeth, viz. "For that which you mention concerning liberty of religion, "I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience, "you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, "and to let you know, Where the Parliament of England have power, that "will not be allowed of." And this you call a tyrannical resolution; which you say hath been put in execution in Wexford, Ross and Drogheda.

Now let us consider. First, you say that the design is to extirpate the Catholic Religion. Let us see your honesty herein. Your word extirpate is as ill collected from these grounds, and as senseless as the word Catholic, ordinarily used by you when you mention Catholic Roman Church. The word extirpate supposes a thing to be already rooted and established; which

word made good by the proof of Covenants, your Letter which expressed the non-toleration of the Mass wherein, it seems, you place all the Catholic Religion (and therein you show some ingenuity),¹⁰⁹ and [by] your instance of what was practised in the three towns aforementioned. Do these prove, either considered apart or all together, the extirpation of the Catholic religion?

By what law was the Mass exercised in these places, or in any the Dominions of England or Ireland, or Kingdom of Scotland? You were intruders, you were herein open violaters of the known laws! And yet you will call the Covenant, that in the Letter, and these practices, extirpations of the Catholic Religion, thus again set on foot by you, by the advantage of your rebellion, and shaking-off the just authority of the State of England over you! Whereas, I dare be confident to say, you durst not own the saying of one mass, above these eighty years in Ireland. And through the troubles you made, and the miseries you brought on this nation and the poor people thereof (your numbers, which is very ominous, increasing with the wolves, through the desolations you made in the Country); you recovered again the public exercises of your Mass! And for the maintenance of this, thus gained, you would make the poor people believe that it is ghostly counsel, and given in love to them as your flocks, that they should run into war, and venture lives, and all upon such a ground as this! But if God be pleased to unveil you of your sheeps-clothing, that they may see how they have been deluded, and by whom, I shall exceedingly rejoice; and indeed for their sakes only have I given you these competent characters (if God shall so bless it) for their good.

And now for them, I do particularly declare what they may expect at my hands in this point; wherein you will easily perceive that, as I neither have nor shall flatter you, so shall I neither go about to delude them with specious pretences, as you have ever done.

First, therefore, I shall not, where I have power, and the Lord is pleased to bless me, suffer the exercise of the Mass, where I can take notice of it,¹¹⁰ nor suffer you that are Papists, where I can find you seducing the People, or by an overt act violating the Laws established; but if you come in my hands, I shall cause to be inflicted the punishments appointed by the laws (to use your own terms), *secundum gravitatem delicti*,¹¹¹ upon you; and to reduce things to their former state on this behalf. As for the people, what thoughts they have in matters of religion in their own breasts I cannot reach; but think it my duty, if they walk honestly and peaceably, not to cause them in the least to suffer for the same, but shall endeavour to walk patiently and in love towards them, to see if at any time it shall please God to give them another or a better mind. And all men under the power of England, within this dominion, are hereby required and enjoined strictly and religiously to do the same.

¹⁰⁹ Means 'ingenuousness,' as usual.

¹¹⁰ "For Cromwell to pretend that he was not 'meddling with any man's conscience' when he prohibited the central rite of the Catholics, and all the ministrations by the clergy on those occasions of life where conscience, under awful penalties, demanded them, was as idle as if the Catholics had pretended that they did not meddle with conscience if they forbade the possession or use of the Bible, or 'hunted Puritan preachers out of all the pulpits.'" Morley's *Cromwell*, p. 308.

¹¹¹ A phrase in their Pamphlet.

To the second, which is the destruction of the lives of the Inhabitants of this Nation:—to make it good that this is designed, they¹¹² give not one reason. Which is either because they have none to give; or else for that they believe the People will receive everything for truth they say, which they have too well taught them, and God knows the People are too apt, to do. But I will a little help them. They speak indeed of rooting out the Commons; and also, by way of consequent, that the extirpating the Catholic Religion is not to be effected without the massacring, destroying or banishing the Catholic Inhabitants. Which how an illogical argument this is, I shall easily make appear by and by.

Alas, the generality of the Inhabitants are poor Laity (as you call them) and ignorant of the grounds of the Catholic Religion. Are these then so interwoven with your Church Interest as that the absence of them makes your Catholic Religion fall to the ground? We know you think not so. You reckon yourselves (and yourselves only) the pillars and supporters thereof; and these as far as they have the exercise of club-law, and, like the ass you ride on, obey your commands. But concerning these [in?] relation of your Religion, enough has been spoken in another place; only you love to mix things for your advantage.

But to your logic, here is your argument. The design is to extirpate the Catholic religion. But this is not to be done but by the massacring, banishing or otherwise destroying the Catholic inhabitants; *ergo* it is designed to massacre, banish and destroy the Catholic Inhabitants. To prove this non-concluding argument, (but yet well enough agreeing with your learning), I give you this dilemma, by which it will appear That, whether your religion be true or false, this will not follow:

If your religion be the true religion, yet if a nation may degenerate from the true religion, and apostatise (as too many have done) through the seducements of your Roman Church, then it will not follow that men must be massacred, banished or otherwise destroyed, necessarily, no, not as to the change of the true religion in a nation or country! Only, this argument doth wonderfully well agree with your principles and practice; you having chiefly made use of fire and sword, in all the changes in religion that you have made in the world. If it be change of your Catholic religion so-called, it will not follow: because there may be found out another means than massacring, destruction and banishment; to wit, the Word of God, which is able to convert (a means that you as little know as practise, which indeed you deprive the people of) together with humanity, good life, equal and honest dealing with men of a different opinion, which we desire to exercise towards this poor people, (if you, by your wicked counsel, make them not incapable to receive it, by putting them into blood).

And therefore, by this also your false and twisted dealing may be a little discovered. But well; your words are, "massacre, destroy and banish." Good now: give us an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed or banished; concerning the two first of which justice hath not been done, or endeavoured to be done. But for the other of banishment, I must now speak unto the People, whom you would delude,

¹¹² Is now addressing the People; has unconsciously turned away from the Priests, and put them into the third person. [Carlyle's note.]

and whom this most concerns, that they may know in this also what to expect at my hands.

The question is of the destruction of life; or of that which is but little inferior to it, to wit, banishment. I shall not willingly take or suffer to be taken away the life of any man not in arms, but by the trial to which the people of this nation are subject by law, for offences against the same. And for the banishment, it hath not hitherto been inflicted on any but such who, being in arms, upon the terms they were taken might justly have been put to death—as those instanced in their Declaration to be sent to the Tobacco Islands. And therefore I do declare, that if the people be ready to run to arms by the instigation of their clergy or otherwise, such as God by His providence shall give into my hands may expect that or worse measure from me, but not otherwise.

Thirdly, to that of the ruin of their fortune. You instance in the Act of Subscription,¹¹³ whereby the estates of the inhabitants of this nation are sold, so as there remaineth now no more but to put the purchasers in possession; and that for this cause are the forces drawn out of England. And that you might carry the interest far, to engage the common sort of people with you, you further say to them, that the moderate usage exercised to them is to no other end but to our private advantage, and for the better support of our army, intending at the close of our conquest (as you term it) to root out the commons also, and to plant the land with colonies to be brought hither out of England. This, consisting of divers parts, will ask distinct answers.

And first, to the Act of Subscription. It's true there is such an Act, and it was a just one. For when, by your execrable massacre and rebellion, you had not only raised a bloody war to justify the same; and thereby occasioned the exhausting of the treasure of England in the prosecution of so just a war against you,—was it not a wise and just act in the State to raise money by escheating the lands of those who had a hand in the rebellion? Was it not fit to make their estates to defray the charge, who had caused the trouble? The best therefore that lies in this argument is this (and that only reaching to them who have been in arms, for further it goes not): you have forfeited your estate, and it is likely they will be escheated to make satisfaction; and therefore you had better fight it out than repent, or give-off now, or see what mercy you may find from the State of England. And seeing Holy Church is engaged in it, we will, by one means or other, hook-in the commons, and make them sensible that they are as much concerned as you, though they were never in arms, or came quickly off. And for this cause doubtless are these two coupled together, by which your honest dealing is manifest enough.

But what? Was the English army brought over for this purpose, as you allege? Do you think that the State of England will be at five or six millions charge merely to procure purchasers to be invested in that for which they did disburse little above a quarter of a million? Although there be a justice in that also, which ought, and I trust will be seasonably performed to them.—No, I can give you a better reason for the army's coming over than this. England hath had experience of the blessing of God in prosecuting just and righteous causes, whatever the cost and hazard be. And if ever men were

¹¹³ In 1642.

engaged in a righteous cause in the world, this will be scarce a second, to it. We are come to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed; and to endeavour to bring them to an account (by the blessing and presence of the Almighty, in whom alone is our hope and strength), who, by appearing in arms, seek to justify the same. We come to break the power of a company of lawless rebels, who having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to human society; whose principles (the world hath experience of) are, to destroy and subjugate all men not complying with them. We come (by the assistance of God) to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty in a nation where we have an undoubted right to do it;—wherein the people of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits, to use liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms.

And therefore, having said this to you, I have a word to them, that in this point, which concerns them in their estates and fortunes, they may know what to trust to. Such as have been formerly and are not now in arms, may (submitting themselves) have their cases presented to the State of England, where no doubt the State will be ready to take into consideration the nature and quality of their actings, and deal mercifully with them. For those that are now in arms, and shall come in, and submit, and give engagements for their future quiet and honest carriage, and submission to the State of England, I doubt not but they will find like merciful consideration;—excepting only the leading persons and principal contrivers of this rebellion, whom I am confident they will reserve to make examples of justice, whatsoever hazards they incur thereby.—And for such Private soldiers as lay down their arms, and shall live peaceably and honestly at their several homes, they shall be permitted so to do.—And for the first two sorts, I shall humbly and effectually represent their cases to the Parliament, as far as becomes the duty and place I bear. But as for those who, notwithstanding all this, persist and continue in arms, they must expect what the Providence of God (in that which is falsely called the chance of war) will cast upon them.

For such of the nobility, gentry and commons of Ireland as have not been actors in this rebellion, they shall and may expect the protection in their goods, liberties and lives which the law gives them; and in their husbandry, merchandising, manufactures and other trading whatsoever, the same. They behaving themselves as becomes honest and peaceable men, testifying their good affections, upon all occasions, to the service of the State of England, equal justice shall be done them with the English. They shall bear proportionably with them in taxes. And if the soldiery be insolent upon them, upon complaint and proof, it shall be punished with utmost severity, and they protected equally with Englishmen.

And having said this, and purposing honestly to perform it, if this people shall headily run on after the counsels of their Prelates and Clergy and other leaders, I hope to be free from the misery and desolation, blood and ruin, that shall befall them, and shall rejoice to exercise utmost severity against them.

[OLIVER CROMWELL.]¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ *Declaration, &c. as above given. Licensed by the Secretary of the Army. Printed at Cork: and now reprinted at London, by E. G[riffin], and are to be sold in the Old Bailey;*

Besides writing his Declaration against the Clonmacnoise Acts, Cromwell took occasion to send a copy of those Acts to Parliament, evidently before he had finished his reply, as no copy of it was enclosed:

To William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament

SIR,

The affairs of the enemy are much endeavoured to be brought under the inspection and government of the Roman clergy. To which end they have had some meeting at Kilkenny and elsewhere to new model their armies, and indeed to unite themselves upon principles wherein they will give the precedence to their religion avowedly, and yet make use of the King of Scots' name that so they may be able to say with others, they reject not, but are for the King's interest; and by declaring their interest as is before expressed, they expect cheerful assistance from an hearty conjunction amongst themselves; as also foreign Catholic aids against the spring.

This enclosed book was the result of one of their late conventions. The war thus stated will have good harmony with Montrose and all his participants. I hope all honest men's eyes will be opened.

I hear they have had dispute about their General. It is said Antrim was named and he refused. They offer, as I hear, to pay 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse at the church's charge, etc.

Your humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁵

Youghal,

Jan. 16, 1649[-50].

On this same January 16, he wrote a letter to Major-General Hugh O'Neill in regard to the decisions of the Council of War on the exchange of prisoners:

For the Governor of Clonmell or the Chief Officer Commanding there

SIR,

I shall discharge Lieut.-Col. White for Capt. Caulfield, and Major Phelim O'Neal for Capt. Caulfield's lieutenant, his Quarter-Master and the troopers taken with them.

I shall discharge Capt. Baggott, late Governor of Iniscorbie for the Lieutenant of Dragoons and the three soldiers of the same troop belonging to Carrick. For the soldiers belonging to Dungarvan, I shall return to you so many of the same condition. If you shall accept hereof, I do hereby engage my honour to perform with you accordingly. In case you insist upon Col.

March 21, 1650. Ten pages in *Ayscough MSS.*, no. 4769. Cliffe's Narrative, pr. in Borlase, App. pp. 12-14; Lomas-Carlyle, ii, 5-19.

¹¹⁵ *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 25-31. Printed there also are the "Acts and Declarations made by the Ecclesiasticall Congregations of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Prelates met at Clonmacnoise the 4 of December Anno 1649." Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl.

Wogan, I expect Capt. Caulfield and his officers and soldiers for him. And then the other exchanges to stand as is above expressed.

I rest your servant,

Youghal,

Jan. the 16th, 1649[-50].

O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁶

For the time being this letter had no results and he was compelled to write again a month later—by which time, as it happened, Wogan had managed to escape and so save his friends embarrassment and himself from death. But meanwhile the whole picture of Irish affairs had changed, and, as Ormonde had foreseen, the real conduct of resistance to Cromwell was passing or had passed to the Irish clergy and people. It seemed for the moment that the command of the Parliamentary army might at the same time fall to other hands, for by January 18 the news of Cromwell's recall was reported unofficially in Cork, and a correspondent of *Several Proceedings* even ventured the opinion that the General had gone to Youghal to make the necessary arrangements for the army before his departure.¹¹⁷

The correspondent was no more accurate in his surmises than many of his kind then and thereafter, yet, like them, he was not so far wrong as to the main question. No official notification of his recall had reached Cromwell, and though he knew of the Parliament's vote, he gave no outward evidence of such knowledge. On the contrary, stimulated perhaps by the probability of having to give up his command, he made preparations for a new campaign. In that he hoped to take advantage of the respite afforded him by the non-arrival of his orders, the good weather,¹¹⁸ the division in the ranks of his opponents, which he had helped foment, and the scattered and dispirited state of Ormonde's forces. Moreover, it was poor strategy to leave an unbeaten enemy in his rear; his military operations had of late not been too successful; and had it not been for his diplomacy, things might have gone badly for him. It seemed necessary to end on a note of victory, and to this, after a month of recruiting and reorganizing his forces, he now prepared to address himself.

¹¹⁶ *Carte Mss.*, xxvi, 510, Bodleian Library. Facsimile in *Facsimiles of National Mss. of Ireland*, iv, no. lxvii. Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 54.

¹¹⁷ *Several Proceedings*, Feb. 8.

¹¹⁸ Hugh Peter from Milford, Feb. 7. *Sev. Proc.*, Feb. 14-21.

CHAPTER V

THE BREAKDOWN OF ANGLO-IRISH RESISTANCE

FETHARD, CASHEL AND CALLAN, JANUARY 29—FEBRUARY 17, 1650

On January 29, 1650, Cromwell set his army in motion to sweep southern Ireland clear of his enemies. For that purpose he was now well prepared. His men had rested and recovered from their illnesses and the hardships of the previous campaign. They had been strengthened with fresh recruits and new regiments sent from England. They had adequate supplies of money and munitions, good bases of operations, and open communications with England; and they had the prestige and the confidence of victory.¹ Such repulses as they had suffered had not been disastrous and had cost them little in losses. It seemed, therefore, that, in view of the situation of their enemies, the new campaign bore every prospect of success.

Cromwell's advance on the wide front between Youghal and Cork lay at first to the north. Colonel Reynolds was sent into Kilkenny; Ireton followed him with a reserve; while Cromwell, leaving Broghill around Mallow to guard his rear, marched directly northward. The third day he captured the small castle of Kilbenny in Limerick,² and later Clogheen and Redhill Castle.³ Before crossing the Suir, he sent a detachment to Newcastle, a seat of the Prendergasts, which surrendered but was restored on condition that its defences be demolished. There occurred one of those little incidents which tradition, ignoring more important things, has saved for us. As his men marched off, the noise of the Prendergast buckhounds brought them back in haste, fearing that their comrades, left to see that the order for destruction was carried out, were being murdered. To be on the safe side, they carried dogs and owner to Cromwell, who released them both; and, as it so happened, four years later he wrote a letter in behalf of this same Prendergast who meanwhile had carried out his agreement faithfully.⁴

Turning to the northeast, Cromwell crossed the river Suir south of

¹ On Feb. 16 it was reported to the Council of State that since March 1, 1648-9, a total of £715,166 had been disbursed for the use of Cromwell's army in Ireland. *S. P. Interr.*, i, 118. See Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, i, 176, for correction of Mrs. Green's *Calendar*.

² In the southeastern corner, near the river Funshion.

³ See Cromwell's letter of Feb. 15 for details.

⁴ John P. Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland* (1922), pref. xxvi.

Cahir and marched on Fethard in Tipperary, where he arrived in the midst of a storm on February 2 and there housed his men with some difficulty. This done, he sent a summons to the governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Pierce Butler, who replied first with a shot, then, angrily, that he would negotiate.⁵ Nearly the whole night was spent in drawing up the terms of surrender, which were finally completed and signed the next morning; and it is notable that, despite his recent fierce denunciation of priests, Cromwell agreed to give the same terms to "clergymen" and "chaplains" as to soldiers and civilians:

Articles of agreement made and concluded on the 3rd day of February, 1649, between the most Hon. Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland, and Lieut.-Colonel Pierce Butler, Governor of the town of Fethard, concerning the surrender of the said town as followeth, viz:

1. That all officers and soldiers shall march freely with their horses and arms and all other goods, bag and baggage, colours flying, matches lighted, ball in bouche, into any place within His Majesty's quarters or garrisons except such as are now besieged, safely convoyed thither, free from violence from any of the Parliament's party.

2. That all the country families and inhabitants, as also any of the officers, may freely live and enjoy their goods either in town or abroad; if they or any of them be disposed to betake themselves to their former habitations in the country, they may have respite of time for that, and admittance to enjoy their holdings, paying contribution, as others in the country do, and carry with them safely such goods as they have within this garrison.

3. That all clergymen and chaplains both of the soldiers, town and country, now in this garrison, may freely march, bag and baggage, without any annoyance or prejudice in body or goods.

4. That all and every the inhabitants of the said town, and their wives, children and servants, with all their goods and chattels, both within the town and abroad in the country, shall be protected from time to time, and at all times, and shall quietly and peaceably enjoy their estates, real and personal, in as free and as good condition as any English or Irish shall hold his or their estates in this kingdom, they and every of them paying such contribution as the rest of the inhabitants of the county of Tipperary pay proportionably to their estates, and no more.

In consideration whereof the said Governor doth hereby engage himself that he will deliver up the said town with all things therein, except such things as are before agreed upon, to be taken away with them by eight of the clock this morning.

PIERCE BUTLER
OLIVER CROMWELL.⁶

⁵ Butler's letter is printed in Borlase, *op. cit.*, App. p. 15, and with the omission of one sentence in Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 256, from a manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy. Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 55.

⁶ There are two copies of these articles, almost alike except that one, in the Royal Irish Academy, bears Cromwell's signature (repr. in Murphy, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-257;

The Fethard treaty is no less notable for sparing the clergy than for the curious circumstance that the people of the town enjoyed the privileges thus conferred on them throughout the whole of the Interregnum, escaping by their loyalty to the English authorities the transplantation to Connaught which overtook so many of their neighbors. With its occupation the army marched to Cashel which surrendered without resistance, and then moved on toward Callan. Here again tradition has preserved three notices of Cromwell's presence. The first is the story of one Fanning who sought Cromwell out and invited him to his house. On the way a great blaze in the distance was declared by Fanning to be his house fired by the peasants who hated him for his Parliamentary sympathies. With this proof of his loyalty he was assured he would be left in possession of his property, but when it turned out later to be a heap of furze, set on fire as a trick, he was executed by Cromwell's orders.⁷ The second is the story told by Clarendon that,

"A good and great Part (as I remember, the whole Province of Tipperary) Cromwell had reserved to himself, as a Demesne (as he called it) for the State, and in which no Adventurer or Soldier should demand his Lot to be assigned, and no Doubt intended both the State and it for the making great his own Family."⁸

The third tale is perhaps no more important than the other two. It is to the effect that as Cromwell was passing by Castle Eve, near Kells on the way to Callan, he was shot at from the window by a "simpleton," whom he ignored, but, returning to plunder the castle, compelled his assailant, a man of great strength, to carry a curiously wrought gate into the road and so spared his life.⁹

From Cashel his army advanced to Callan, a few miles from Ormonde's old headquarters of Kilkenny, which was Cromwell's next objective. At Callan, a place defended by a strong wall and three castles, Cromwell was met by Colonel Reynolds coming from the county of Kilkenny. They lost no time in attacking the stronghold, planting cannon on a hill some two hundred yards south of one of the city gates—where a traitor of Enniscorthy was later hanged—taking two of the castles and putting their defenders to the sword, and ac-

Gilbert, *op. cit.*, iii, 215); and the other bears Butler's signature (pr. in Cliffe's Narrative, Borlase, *op. cit.*, App. p. 15). A document of the same date and bearing Cromwell's signature and seal is said by Henfrey, *Numismata Cromwelliana*, p. 183, to have been in the possession of Miss ffarington, of Worden.

⁷ Murphy, p. 261.

⁸ Clarendon, *Life* (1769), ii, 117. Cp. *supra*, vol. i, p. 165n. Cromwell was given lands in King's County, West Leinster, directly north of Tipperary (*Cal. S. P. Ireland*, Adventurers, 1642-59, p. 319) in return for his contribution of £600 to the Irish war in 1642. This may have been in Clarendon's mind.

⁹ Murphy, p. 261-2.

cepting the surrender of the third on conditions.¹⁰ With the capture of Callan, Cromwell's advance for the moment came to a halt. Kilkenny was full of the plague; the capture of so many places necessitated the detachment of many men for garrison duty; and Cromwell drew back to Cashel and Fethard to await reinforcements, for which he wrote on February 9, from the latter place, to Colonel Phayre at Cork:

For Colonel Phayr, Governor of Cork: These. Haste, haste

SIR,

It hath pleased God to be very gracious to us hitherto, in the possessing of Cashel, Fethard and Roghill Castle, without any blood. Callan cost us at least four or five men; but we are possessed of it also, and of divers other places of good importance. We are in the very bowels of Tipperary; and hope, will lie advantageously (by the blessing of God) for further attempts.

Many places take up our men: wherefore I must needs be earnest with you to spare us what you can. If you can send two companies more of your Regiment to Mayallo,¹¹ do it. If not, one at the least; that so my Lord Broghil may spare us two or three of Colonel Ewers's, to meet him with the rest of his¹² Regiment at Fermoy.

Give Colonel Ewers what assistance you can in the business I have sent to him about. Salute all my friends with you. My service to Sir William Fenton. Pray for us. I rest,

Your very loving friend,

Fethard, 9th of February 1649[–50].

O. CROMWELL.

[P.S.] Sir, if you think that we draw you too low in men; whilst we are in action, I presume you are in no danger; however, I desire you would make this use of it, To rid the Town of Cork of suspicious and ill-affected persons as fast as you can. And herein deal with effect.¹³

Still, apparently, in Fethard, the next day he again addressed himself to the matter of prisoners and to a demand for the "disgarrisoning" of a house between Fethard and Carrick which belonged to Major General Richard Butler, Ormonde's brother and one of Cromwell's prisoners. His letter was probably addressed to Ormonde, judging by the latter's action six days later:

¹⁰ Cromwell's letter, Feb. 15.

¹¹ Moyallo appears to have been the usual form of the name Mallow at that time. The Castle belonged to the Jephsons and had been held as a garrison against the Irish by them, under charge of Capt. Bettesworth. It was taken by the rebels in 1645, but afterwards recovered. See letters among the *Egmont Mss.*, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 7, App. p. 236.

¹² i.e., Colonel Ewer's.

¹³ *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1843, p. 266. Endorsed, by Phayre, "The Lo. Leu^t Letter to mee the ninth of Feb 1649; About sending men." By another hand there is also written on the outside, "Mallo pasest,"—meaning, probably for Phayre's information, *Mallow possessed*. In Fellowes, *Hist. Sketches*, p. 249; Carlyle App. 18.

[*To the Duke of Ormonde?*]

All the prisoners in Clonmell to be delivered to Carrick garrison, and I engage myself to enlarge Major-Gen. Butler and Lieut. Wall, taken at Callan. Because I had a promise that Kilcash should not be garrisoned, I forbore to garrison it when it was in my power to have done it. I expect therefore that it be immediately quitted.

Feb. 10th, 1649[-50].

O. CROMWELL.¹⁴

Ormonde wrote to Major General Hugh O'Neill, governor of Clonmel, to draw the garrison out of Kilcash and send Captain Caulfield and all prisoners taken before the 10th of February to Carrick, in return for the release of Butler and Wall;¹⁵ but on the 19th, he countermanded his orders to O'Neill, giving no reason for his change of heart.¹⁶

Meanwhile, from Cashel Cromwell sent out detachments to reduce the neighboring garrisons and ordered the collections of monthly contributions from the counties of Limerick and Tipperary which, save for six or seven Royalist garrisons, were in the hands of the Parliament when Cromwell wrote his report on operations since leaving Youghal:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

MR. SPEAKER,

Having refreshed our men for some short time in our winter-quarters, and health being pretty well recovered, we thought fit to take the field, and to attempt such things as God by His providence should lead us to upon the enemy.

Our resolution was to fall into the enemy's quarters two ways. The one party, being about fifteen or sixteen troops of horse and dragoons and about two-thousand foot, were ordered to go up by the way of Carrick into the county of Kilkenny under the command of Colonel Reynolds, whom Major-General Ireton was to follow with a reserve. I myself was to go by the way of Mallow,¹⁷ over the Blackwater, towards the county of Limerick and the county of Tipperary, with about twelve troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, and between two and three hundred foot.

I began my march upon Tuesday the 29th January, from Youghal; and upon Thursday the 31st, I possessed a castle called Kilbenny, upon the edge of the county of Limerick; where I left thirty foot. From thence I marched

¹⁴ Pr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 355, from *Carte Mss.*, xxvi, 425. Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement, 54.

¹⁵ Wall is perhaps the Major Nicholas Wall who was in Kilkenny at the time of the surrender and was specifically mentioned in Butler's first propositions, pr. in Murphy, p. 300. Raised from lieutenant of foot to be colonel of Ormonde's life guard, Nicholas Wall was later accused of treachery.

¹⁶ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 361-362.

¹⁷ "Mayallo" in Ms.

to a strong house belonging to Sir Richard Everard (called Clogheen), who is one of the Supreme Council, where I left a troop of horse and some dragoons. From thence I marched to Raghill Castle,¹⁸ which was possessed by some Ulster foot, and a party of the enemy's horse; which upon summons (I having taken the captain of horse prisoner before) was rendered to me. These places being thus possessed gave us much command (together with some other holds we have) of the White-Knight's¹⁹ and Roche's Country, and of all the land from Mallow to the Suir-side;²⁰—especially by another Castle, taken by my Lord of Broghil, called Old Castle-town,²¹ since my march, which I sent to his Lordship to endeavour; as also a castle of Sir Edward Fitzharris, over the mountains in the county of Limerick;²² I having left his Lordship at Mallow, with about six or seven hundred horse, and four or five hundred foot, to protect those parts, and your interest in Munster; lest whilst we were abroad, Inchiquin, whose forces lay about Limerick and the county of Kerry, should fall in behind us. His Lordship drew two cannon to the aforesaid castle; which being summoned, they refused. His Lordship, having bestowed about ten shot upon it, which made their stomachs come down, he gave all the soldiers quarter for life; and shot all the officers (being six in number) to death. Since the taking of these garrisons, the Irish have sent their commissioners to compound for their contribution as far as the walls of Limerick.

I marched from Raghill Castle over the Suir, with very much difficulty; and from thence to Fethard, almost in the heart of the county of Tipperary, where was a garrison of the enemy. The town is most pleasantly seated, having a very good wall with round and square bulwarks, after the old manner of fortification. We came thither in the night, and indeed were very much distressed by sore and tempestuous wind and rain. After a long march, we knew not well how to dispose of ourselves; but finding an old Abbey in the suburbs, and some cabins and poor houses, we got into them, and had opportunity to send them a summons. They shot at my trumpet, and would not listen to him, for an hour's space: but having some officers in our party which they knew, I sent them, to let them know that I was there with a good part of the army. We shot not a shot at them, but they were very angry, and fired very earnestly upon us; telling us, it was not a time of night to send a summons. But yet in the end, the governor was willing to send out two commissioners, I think rather to see whether there was a force sufficient to force him, than to any other end. After almost a whole night spent in treaty, the town was delivered to me the next morning, upon terms which we usually call honourable; which I was the willing to give, because I had little above two-hundred foot, and neither ladders nor guns, nor any thing else to force them that night, there being about seventeen companies of the

¹⁸ Now Rehill, nine miles southwest of Cahir. For the identification of this and the other places here named, see Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 252, 253.

¹⁹ "The White-Knight was the title given to certain chiefs of the Clan Gibbon, a branch of the Munster Fitzgeralds. The last who bore the title was Maurice Fitzgerald, who died *temp.*, Charles I. Roche's country lay about Fermoy, which gave Lord Roche his title, Baron of Fermoy."

²⁰ Shewer in *orig.*

²¹ Near Kildorrery, co. Cork.

²² Cloughnosty. See Murphy, p. 253.

Ulster foot in Cashel, about five miles from thence. They quit it in some disorder; and the sovereign and the Aldermen since sent to me a petition, desiring that I would protect them. Which I have also made a quarter.

From thence I marched towards Callan, hearing that Colonel Reynolds was there, with the party before mentioned. When I came thither, I found he had fallen upon the enemy's horse, and routed them (being about a hundred), with his forlorn; took my Lord of Ossory's Captain-Lieutenant, and another Lieutenant of horse prisoners,²³ and one of those who betrayed our Garrison of Enniscorthy; whom we hanged. The enemy had possessed three castles in the town; one of them belonging to one Butler, very considerable; the other two had about a hundred or hundred-and-twenty men in them,—which he attempted; and they, refusing conditions seasonably offered, were put all to the sword. Indeed some of your soldiers did attempt very notably in this service. I do not hear there were six men of ours lost. Butler's castle was delivered upon conditions for all to march away, leaving their arms behind them; wherein I have placed a company of foot, and a troop of horse, under the command of my Lord Colvill; the place being six miles from Kilkenny. From hence Colonel Reynolds was sent with his regiment to remove a garrison of the enemy's from Knocktofer (being the way of our communication to Ross); which accordingly he did.

We marched back with the rest of the body to Fethard and Cashel, where we are now quartered, having good plenty both of horse meat and man's meat for a time; and being indeed, we may say, even almost in the heart and bowels of the enemy, ready to attempt what God shall next direct. And blessed be His name only for this good success, and for this that we do not find that our men are at all considerably sick upon this expedition, though indeed it hath been very blustering weather.

I had almost forgot one business: The Major-General was very desirous to gain a pass over the Suir, where indeed we had none but by boat, or when the weather served. Wherefore, on Saturday in the evening, he marched with a party of horse and foot to Arfinom [Ardfinnan]; where was a bridge, and at the foot of it a strong castle; which he, about four o'clock the next morning, attempted, killed about thirteen of the enemy's outguard, lost but two men, and eight or ten wounded: the enemy yielded the place to him, and we were possessed of it, being a very considerable pass, and the nearest to our pass at Cappoquin over the Blackwater, whither we can bring guns, ammunition, or other things from Youghal by water, and over this pass to the army. The county of Tipperary have submitted to 1,500*l.* a-month contribution, although they have six or seven of the enemy's garrisons yet upon them.

Sir, I desire the charge of England as to this war may be abated as much as may be, and as we know you do desire, out of your care to the Commonwealth. But if you expect your work to be done, (if the marching army be not constantly paid, and the course taken that hath been humbly represented), indeed it will not be for the thrift of England, as far as England is concerned in the speedy reduction of Ireland. The money we raise upon the counties maintains the garrison forces, and hardly that. If the active force be not maintained, and all contingencies defrayed, how can you expect but to have a lingering business of it? Surely we desire not to spend a shilling

²³ Lieut. Wall was one of these lieutenants.

of your treasury, wherein our consciences do not prompt us. We serve you; we are willing to be out of our trade of war, and shall hasten (by God's assistance and grace) to the end of our work, as the labourer doth to be at his rest. This makes us bold to be earnest with you for necessary supplies: that of money is one. And there be some other things, which indeed I do not think for your service to speak of publicly, which I shall humbly represent to the Council of State, wherewith I desire we may be accommodated.

Sir, the Lord, who doth all these things, gives hopes of a speedy issue to this business; and, I am persuaded, will graciously appear in it. And truly there is no fear of the strength and combination of enemies round about, nor of slanderous tongues at home. God hath hitherto fenced you against all those, to wonder and amazement; they are tokens of your prosperity and success: only it will be good for you, and us that serve you, to fear the Lord; to fear unbelief, self-seeking, confidence in an arm of flesh, and opinion of any instruments that they are other than as dry bones. That God be merciful in these things, and bless you, is the humble prayer of, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Castle Town [Cashel]
Feb. 15th, 1649[-50].

O. CROMWELL.²⁴

CAHIR AND KILKENNY, FEBRUARY 17-MARCH 27, 1650

With the progress of Cromwell's arms in the preceding fortnight, the situation of Ormonde had altered rapidly for the worse. Waterford, Clonmel and Kilkenny, together with the west toward Limerick, still held out, but from their base at Youghal the Parliamentarians had driven a wedge deep into Royalist territory and threatened to crush Ormonde's armies between their forces on the eastern coast and their advancing lines in Tipperary. For the moment, however, in order to consolidate the position they had won and to plan their next move, the Parliamentarians were at a stand. On February 17 a Council of War was called²⁵ which apparently decided that the best plan was to subdue the lesser Royalist posts and so isolate Clonmel and Kilkenny. With many of the Royalist forces in the north and the rest scattered and disorganized, with Ormonde at Limerick impotent to send assistance beyond a few men and supplies under Castlehaven,²⁶ it was felt that the capture of the last Royalist strongholds was but a matter of time, since Fethard and Callan on which Ormonde had relied to protect Kilkenny had fallen so easily into Parliamentary hands.

Cahir remained to be taken, however, before Clonmel and Kilkenny could be assailed, and it presented peculiar difficulties. The castle

²⁴ *Several Proc. in Parl.* Feb. 25; *Cromwelliana*, p. 75-77; see also *Commons Journals*, 25th February 1649-50. Lomas-Carlyle, CXIX, from *Tanner MSS.*, lvi. 168. Also in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 210. The signature only is in Cromwell's hand.

²⁵ News letter, Feb. 17, in *Several Proceedings*, Mar. 6; in *Cromwelliana*.

²⁶ Ormonde to O'Neill, Feb. 24, in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 364.

was strongly situated on an island in the River Suir, accessible only by a drawbridge, defended by strong walls, and well stocked with provisions. None the less it was essential to take the place, which was commanded by Ormonde's young half-brother, Captain George Mathews,²⁷ who had recently married Lady Cahir. Advancing, therefore, from Fethard, by February 24 Cromwell appeared before Cahir and promptly sent a summons to Mathews in his usual form:

For the Governor of Cahir Castle: These

SIR,

Having brought the army and my cannon near this place, according to my usual manner in summoning places, I thought fit to offer you terms honourable for soldiers: that you may march away, with your baggage, arms and colours, free from injury or violence. But if I be necessitated to bend my cannon upon you, you must expect what is usual in such cases.

To avoid blood, this is offered to you by,

Your servant,

24th of February, 1649[-50].

O. CROMWELL.²⁸

This demand for surrender Mathews ignored and the attack began with an attempt to scale the outer walls. This was repulsed by the Ulstermen whom Mathews had stationed in the court-yard and who fought well for half an hour until they saw the attackers' cannons being brought up. Upon that, one of their captains went into the castle to ask Mathews to keep his promise to take them inside its walls if necessary to save their lives. This Mathews refused to do, and when the captain returned to his men he found a trumpeter from Cromwell demanding admittance.²⁹ A parley was granted. Mathews, recognizing the impossibility of holding out against the forces at Cromwell's command, agreed to surrender on terms; Cromwell consented; and on conditions almost precisely those granted to Fethard some three weeks earlier, not excepting the concessions to "clergy-men," the garrison marched out to Clonmel.

Articles for Cahir Castle

Articles made and agreed on the 24th day of Feb. 1649[-50], between his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the one part, and Captain George Mathews, Governor of Cahir Castle of the other part, concerning the surrender of the same castle, *viz*:

²⁷ Ormonde's mother, Lady Thurles, was married after her husband's death in 1619, to George Mathews. The governor of Cahir was the second son of this marriage.

²⁸ Borlase, *op. cit.*, App. p. 17, from Cliffe's "Narrative" in *Add. Mss.*, 4769. Pr. also in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 363; Carlyle, CXX.

²⁹ "Aphorismical Discovery," in Gilbert, ii, 75-76.

Imprimis, that the governor and all officers, soldiers and clergymen and servants may march out with their horses and arms and bag and baggage. The English soldiers willing to serve his Excellency may be entertained. Those that will not, either English or Irish, to have liberty to live quietly in the country, laying down their arms, or passes to go elsewhere.

That the Governor may enjoy his estate which he hath as his wife's jointure, or wardship of the heiress of Cahir.

That he may have his goods and chattells and liberty for a week to carry them away; and have the possession of the castle of Reghill for his habitation, and his corn yet remaining there, his Excellency keeping two files of musketeers there.

That the goods he hath in the castle belonging to others may be delivered to the several proprietors.

That in consideration hereof the Governor is to deliver up the said castle to his Excellency upon signing these articles.

GEORGE MATHEWS
O. CROMWELL.³⁰

Pursuing his plan of isolating the Royalist stronghold, from the capture of Cahir Cromwell pushed on to Kiltenan, six miles north of Clonmel, which, apparently after some resistance—for the breaches said to have been made by Cromwell's cannon are still pointed out—surrendered on February 27.³¹ Its capture was soon followed by that of Golden Bridge, five miles west of Cashel. The two troops which garrisoned Dundrum, six miles north of Golden Bridge, made some resistance, but, driven from the town into the castle, surrendered on terms. Sweeping around to the north, Cromwell sent a party which took Ballynakill, directly north of Kilkenny and on the southern border of Queen's County, and thus opened the way to a junction with Hewson's forces from Dublin. That commander, meanwhile, ordered to join Cromwell, had marched through Kildare as far as the fort of Ballysonan, which was delivered to him on the first day of March.³² Four days later Cromwell sent from Cashel, whence he had directed these operations, a report of his successes, of which only a part has been preserved:

To the Council of State

* * * It pleaseth God still to enlarge your interest here. The Castle of Cahir, very considerable, built upon a rock, and seated in an island in the

³⁰ A copy of these articles with Cromwell's signature is in the Royal Irish Academy and pr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 363; repr. in Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 271. In Cliffe's "Narrative," pr. in Borlase, App. p. 17, is a copy of the one signed by Mathews. Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement, 56.

³¹ Articles signed by Reynolds and Col. Thomas Shelborne for Parliament, and Capt. Victor White and Lieut. John Butler for the Royalists, are in the Tighe Mss., calendared in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, Various Collections, vi, 436.

³² Hewson's letters in Gilbert, ii, 369 ff.

midst of Suir, was lately rendered to me. It cost the Earl of Essex, as I am informed, about eight weeks siege with his army and artillery.³³ It is now yours without the loss of one man. So also is the castle of Kiltinan; a very large and strong castle of the Lord of Dunboyne's; this latter I took in with my cannon, without the loss of a man.

We have taken the castle of Golden Bridge, another pass upon the Suir; as also the castle of Dundrum, at which we lost about six men, Colonel Zanchy, who commanded the party, being shot through the hand. We have placed another strong garrison at Ballenskally³⁴ upon the edge of the King's and Queen's Counties. We have divers garrisons in the county of Limerick; and by these we take away the enemy's subsistence, and diminish their contributions. By which in time, I hope they will sink.

* * *

Cashel, 5 of March, 1649[-50].

O. CROMWELL.³⁵

In some measure the operations which took place in Ireland in this month of February, 1650, were not unlike those by which five years earlier Cromwell and his colleagues had cleared the west of England of the Royalists and had proceeded to the capture of Basing House and Exeter, and the final overthrow of Charles' armies and power. But to this he added the familiar strategy of catching his enemy in the jaws of the pincers. These now began to close with the advance of Hewson from the east and the increasing pressure from the west of Cromwell's forces on Clonmel and Kilkenny, now isolated from all hope of reinforcements or a relieving operation from Ormonde's scattered and ill-equipped armies. Of those forces the only body from which help could be expected was the detachment of some four thousand men at the disposal of Castlehaven. That nobleman, whose task was to reinforce or relieve any town attacked by the Parliamentarians, had played a considerable part in the events of the preceding months. He had signed the order to defend Drogheda; he had sent reinforcements to Wexford; he had forced Ireton to raise the siege of Duncannon; and though refused admission to Waterford, he had followed Ormonde to Limerick, and there helped to raise troops. In his army lay the only hope of stemming the Parliamentary advance.

That hope was slight. While Cromwell's forces were busy taking the strongholds which ringed Kilkenny, Hewson worked his way

³³ Cromwell's information was not correct. On the fourth day after placing his cannon Essex entered the castle and killed those of the garrison who did not escape across the river. Elizabeth wrote scornfully to Essex of this. See *Cal. S. P. Ireland* (1599-1600) pp. 42, 57, 98, 134.

³⁴ Golden Bridge is still standing, as are portions of Ballynakill.

³⁵ Ordered by the Council to be abstracted and "so much . . . as relates any of his action" to be reported to the House. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 34. The abstract is printed in *Several Proceedings*, Mar. 7-14; *Cromwelliana*, p. 77. It is probably this abstract which is in *Tanner Mss.*, lvi, 190. Lomas-Carlyle, CXXI.

south from Dublin to Ballysonan and Castledermot, and, after a return to Dublin for supplies, hastened back to Castledermot and so to Leighlinbridge, scarcely more than fifteen miles from Kilkenny. Against him the best Castlehaven could do was to recover Athy whose fortifications the Royalists had blown up some weeks earlier on Hewson's arrival, and to watch Hewson's advance. Ireton had ordered Reynolds to join Hewson at Leighlinbridge,³⁶ but Hewson was not at the rendezvous and Reynolds, sighting Castlehaven's forces, returned to take Thomastown, whose defenders, after some slight resistance, fled over the bridge to Grenan Castle a half mile away, a few miles south of Kilkenny.

It was apparent that the net was closing. At that moment Cromwell and Ireton joined Reynolds and summoned Grennan Castle to surrender at mercy. This the governor, Robert Burnell, refused to do, and on March 16 wrote to Cromwell demanding better terms.³⁷ These were finally granted after two days of negotiation, and the garrison marched out leaving arms and ammunition behind them and engaging not to bear arms against Parliament in the future. With the capture of Thomastown and Grennan Castle, and presently that of Leighlinbridge by Hewson, Kilkenny was all but cut off from outside aid. By the former the way was cleared across the Nore to the south, and by the latter communications across the Barrow between Munster and Leinster were secured. Meanwhile Henry Cromwell had arrived at Youghal on March 5 with reinforcements³⁸ and the cause of the Royalists seemed desperate.

Ormonde had long been conscious of the hopelessness of the struggle, especially in view of the deep divisions between the English and the Irish supporters of Charles II. At the end of January he had consented to a conference in Kilkenny of deputies of the Commissioners of Trust from all parts of Ireland in an attempt to allay the mutual suspicion. Partly no doubt on account of the plague, they had adjourned to Ennis in Clare, but their differences had not been composed, and Ormonde, in despair, had gone on to Limerick. Thence on February 27 he had sent out appeals to the Catholic clergy and persons of quality to meet in Limerick on March 8, and while Kilkenny was being cut off they argued over terms of joint action between Catholics and Protestants. The Catholic leaders demanded the admission of native Irish to Ormonde's privy council; the restoration of Catholics to important posts; the concurrence of the Commissioners of Trusts in military and financial matters;³⁹ and, in effect, a veto on all of Ormonde's appointments; together with the abolition

³⁶ Hewson to Lenthall, Apr. 4, *Perfect Diurnall*.

³⁷ Calendared in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept. Various Collections*, vi, 436 (Tighe Mss.).

³⁸ *Several Proceedings*, Mar. 13.

³⁹ Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, Charles II, p. 13.

of free quarter and the naming of judges. To these demands Ormonde was forced to agree, with some reservations, but the distrust of the Catholics was not allayed, especially as regarded Inchiquin, whose hatred of the Irish was well known.

Ormonde was in no position to resist the demands of the Irish clergy, who were now dominant. His men were deserting him, and he had at his command only a few troops in Limerick, the four thousand under Castlehaven, and some five hundred horse under Inchiquin, then somewhere in the west and requesting instructions. Moreover at the same moment that the defenders of Grennan Castle had marched out, on March 18, the nobility and gentry of Ulster met to elect the bishop of Clogher, Emer MacMahon, as a successor to Owen Roe O'Neill. Thoroughly discouraged by the leadership falling into such hands and the general situation of affairs, Monro admitted a Parliamentary garrison into Enniskillen; Montgomery joined Ormonde; and the north was virtually lost to the Royalists. Of all Ireland there was left to them little more than Connaught and part of Munster, with the strongholds of Limerick, Clonmel, Kilkenny and Waterford.

In the meantime, however, the situation of the English government itself had altered. In the face of the threat from Royalists, Presbyterians and Levellers at home and Scottish negotiations abroad, the leaders of the revolutionary government had made efforts to reorganize their administration to meet the complaints that poured in on them from every side. They had considered conditions for the election of a new Parliament, but in view of the dangers which confronted them, they did not dare to risk even such limited increase of their numbers as they planned. Nor did they much change the constitution of the new Council of State, elected on February 12 and now increased to forty-two members, of whom all but five had belonged to the old body.⁴⁰ To conciliate the more rigid Puritans they sought legislation against Sabbath-breaking, swearing and drunkenness and in favor of the propagation of the Gospel. They endeavored to enforce the Engagement. They ordered all Papists, delinquents and soldiers of fortune to leave London. They set up a new High Court of Justice with powers of life and death equal or even superior to those of the old Star Chamber. They were greatly disturbed at the refusal of Fairfax to take the Engagement; and they were so much upset over the attitude of the City in case the army was drawn north that one of them expressed the pious hope that he "wished it burnt

⁴⁰ C. J., vi, 361. Act constituting it dated Feb. 16, *ibid.*, 364; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1649-50), pp. 512-13. Of the four on the old Council and not on the new Pembroke was dead and Mulgrave and Grey of Warke never sat. Danvers had wished the Council to be independent of the House and so was ousted.

to ashes to be secured of that fear." Vane was much cast down. "They were," he was reported to have said, "in a far worse estate than ever yet they had been; that all the world was and would be their enemies; that their own army and general were not to be trusted, that the whole kingdom would rise and cut their throats upon the first good occasion; and that they knew not any place to go unto to be safe."⁴¹

It was no wonder that they longed for the return of Cromwell, and that they were alarmed at having no news from their orders for his recall. Those orders had, in fact, not reached him in any official form,⁴² though he must have known from Henry Cromwell, if from no other source, that they were on their way. He was little inclined to anticipate their arrival. But meanwhile all was prepared for his reception in England. His son Richard, now living on his father-in-law's estate in Hampshire, was added to all committees for that county.⁴³ The Cockpit, Spring Garden, St. James's Palace and the command of St. James's Park were set aside for Cromwell when he returned.⁴⁴ On February 26 official thanks were sent to him for his successes and on the same day his recommendation for a guard of ships for the Irish coast was ordered carried out.⁴⁵ The Admiralty Committee requested him to send over the *James* with Captain Penn, so that she might be fitted out with guns, enclosing a list of the vessels for the Irish service; and asked his advice as to a petition of the owners of the *Culpepper*, who had proved title to their ship.⁴⁶

The House, uneasy over the lack of a reply to their vote and news of his plans, wrote him again on March 19; and the Council of State suggested to him that he had perhaps not yet received Lenthall's letter, sent by Carteret; enclosed a copy; and asked when his attendance in Parliament might be expected.⁴⁷ At the same time he was advised by a letter of the same date that three of Colonel Hacker's troops which Henry Cromwell was to have had, were being held back for the defence of England.

But Cromwell was in no mood to abandon his campaign or entrust its completion to his subordinates. The Parliamentarians were now converging on Kilkenny. On March 18, the day of the surrender of Grennan, Hewson, ordered to join his chief, was at Leighlinbridge, writing Cromwell that unless otherwise ordered, he would meet the

⁴¹ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, i, from Col. Keane's Report, May 10/20.

⁴² See Cromwell's letter, Apr. 2.

⁴³ *C. J.*, vi, 367.

⁴⁴ Vote of Feb. 25. *C. J.*, vi, 371.

⁴⁵ *Cal. S. P. Ireland*, Add. p. 793; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), ii, 13.

⁴⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 17, 27. Penn was off Ireland on Apr. 4, cruising along the coast for provisions and to blockade enemy ports, especially off the mouth of the River Shannon. Penn to Cromwell, Apr. 4, in Nickolls, *Original Letters*, p. 5.

⁴⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 49.

main army at Gowran,⁴⁸ half way between Leighlinbridge and Thomastown and some eight or ten miles southeast of Kilkenny. With the capture of another castle by Colonel Abbot's dragoons,⁴⁹ Cromwell had retired from Thomastown, in fear of the plague with which the place was infected, to Knocktopher, a few miles to the south,⁵⁰ while Ireton returned to Fethard to take some artillery there to the neighborhood of Waterford, now under command of Preston. It seemed from this that Cromwell proposed to carry on two operations at once, but instead he decided to concentrate on Kilkenny, as his letter to Ireton indicates:

To the President of Munster

SIR,

The guns could not come from Rosse, but near a mile short of Enisteaigue. I believe the castle of Tho[mas]towne is delivered by this time, the officers and soldiers to leave arms and ammunition behind them, and to go home to their dwellings, and engage never to bear arms against the Parliament.

Abbott took the other castle; I believe two or more of his men are killed and since dead. He could not get the men out without giving them their lives, except a sergeant and a corporal, which were all the officers they had, who were at mercy and are since hanged.

For certain, Castlehaven is lately returned back with his army; Reynolds sent me almost an alarm about it.

I believe it were good to draw all your foot to these parts, and to put Kilkenny to a speedy issue before Grannowe⁵¹ or other things be attempted, whereby Castlehaven, and indeed all their forces, will be put to such a distance from Waterford and Clonmel as will best discourage them, and give you opportunity to act as you please upon them. If so, to bring your guns to Tho[mas]town first would not be improper, but I leave it to your judgment. However let all the foot come up, and speed you up to us.

I rest, yours,

Knocktopher,
March 18, 1649[-50].

O. C.⁵²

In pursuance of his determination to concentrate his forces on Kilkenny, Cromwell joined Hewson at Gowran on the next day and began the siege of the castle just outside the town wall, which was held by Ormonde's own regiment. The summons to surrender was denied two days later by the governor, Colonel Hammond,⁵³ the

⁴⁸ See Hewson's letter, in *Several Proceedings*, Apr. 12.

⁴⁹ It is not certain which castle this was.

⁵⁰ *Several Proceedings*, Apr. 10.

⁵¹ Granny is a fort near Waterford.

⁵² Holograph original in *Carte Mss.*, xxvii, in the Bodleian. Cal. in *32nd Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. I, p. 39. Lomas-Carlyle, Sup. 57.

⁵³ Refusal cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept. Various Collections*, vi, 436. Cp. "Diary of Dr. Jones, Scoutmaster General" in *Journal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1893),

artillery was put into position; Hammond's request for a treaty was refused and the castle surrendered "at mercy." That mercy was hard. All but one of the officers were shot and a priest hanged, and Cromwell hastened from plague-infected Gowran⁵⁴ on the 22nd toward the equally infected town of Kilkenny.

That place seemed in no position to resist his attack. The plague which had appeared in Galway some months earlier had reached Kilkenny, which it was to hold in its grip for the next three years. From it Ormonde and the Supreme Council had fled; hundreds of the garrison had died; and reinforcements ordered up had deserted rather than obey. Even the garrison of nearby Cantwell Castle refused to heed the orders of the governor, Sir Walter Butler, to come to his aid, and gave up the place to Cromwell, who, in accordance with his policy of weakening the enemy, granted permission for twelve of its officers to embark for service in Spain.⁵⁵

Yet despite all this, to take Kilkenny was not so easy as Cromwell had hoped. The proposal of one of its officers, a Captain Tickle or Tickell, to betray the place for £4,000 and a command in Cromwell's army had been discovered and the traitor executed;⁵⁶ and it was apparent that the capture of the place would be difficult. Standing as it does on the banks of the Nore, it was divided into two parts, Kilkenny proper and Irishtown. The latter, lying outside of the main wall which defended the city proper, by the seizure of the adjoining strongholds was now virtually at Cromwell's mercy. On his way from Dublin, Hewson had taken most of the defensible places in Kildare. Cook, advancing from Wexford at the same time, had retaken Enniscorthy, and Broghill had led another detachment into the county of Limerick from Cork. Ormonde and Castlehaven had no force able to relieve the place, and the ferocity of the punishment visited on those who had ventured to resist the Parliamentarians had spread the terror of Cromwell's name everywhere. Even on the way to Kilkenny, the detachment which Cromwell sent to take Castle Howel, the seat of the Walshes, which lay between Ballyhale and Castle-morris, had slaughtered the inhabitants who had not surrendered on summons. Thus, when Cromwell, crossing the river at Bennet's Bridge and approaching Kilkenny by the old Boker-na-thoundish Road, halted near what was called the Black Quarry about a mile from the town and sent a summons to the governor and civil authori-

iii, 44-45. Jones, who was Hewson's scoutmaster, was a brother of Lieut. Gen. Michael Jones and of Sir Theophilus Jones, all sons of Dr. Lewis Jones, bishop of Kildare, 1633-46.

⁵⁴ *Several Proceedings*, Apr. 12.

⁵⁵ Letter, in *ibid.*, Apr. 23.

⁵⁶ Tickle's intercepted letter to Cromwell in *Carte Mss.*, xxvi, quoted in Murphy, pp. 293-294; Bellings, *Vindiciae*, p. 227; Castlehaven, *Memoirs*, p. 120.

ties, he had every reason to believe that the place would be surrendered without resistance:

*To the Governor, and Mayor and Aldermen, of the City of Kilkenny:
These*

GENTLEMEN,

My coming hither is to endeavour, if God so please to bless me, the reduction of the city of Kilkenny to their obedience to the State of England, from which, by an unheard of massacre of the innocent English, you have endeavoured to rend yourselves. And as God hath begun to judge you, with His sore plague, so will He follow you until He hath destroyed you, if you repent not. Your cause hath been judged already in England upon them who did abet your evils;⁵⁷ what may the principals then expect?

By this free dealing, you see I entice you not to a compliance. You may have terms; may save you in your lives, liberties and estates, according to what will be fitting for me to grant and you to receive. If you choose for the worst, blame yourselves. In confidence of the gracious blessing and presence of God with His own cause, which this is, by many testimonies, I shall hope for a good issue upon my endeavours.

Expecting a return from you, I rest,

Your servant,

Before Kilkenny,
March [22,] 1649[-50].

O. C.⁵⁸

But despite the terror of Cromwell's name, the punishment he had inflicted on those who resisted him, the hopelessness of relief, the presence of the plague, and the desire of the civilian authorities to avoid the fate of Drogheda and Wexford, the governor of Kilkenny, Sir Walter Butler, refused to surrender on summons and the attack began.⁵⁹ The besiegers were repulsed in their attempt to take Irish-town; but they seized St. Patrick's church which stood near the western gate of the city, placed three pieces of ordnance there and sent another summons, setting forth more specific terms than before.⁶⁰ These Butler refused, declaring that rather than surrender on such dishonorable terms he would die with his garrison.⁶¹ To this Cromwell replied briefly and somewhat indefinitely:

⁵⁷ Connor, Lord Maguire, and others were tried in England and executed, in 1645.

⁵⁸ The letter is dated Mar. 23rd but Cromwell said he sent it on Friday evening which was the 22nd; Cliffe's Narrative in *Ayscough Mss.* 4769, pr. in Borlase, *op. cit.*, App. p. 18-19. In *A letter from the Lord Lieutenant . . . relating the several successes . . . Together with the several transactions about the surrender of Kilkenny*; repr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 375. Carlyle, Letter CXXII.

⁵⁹ "Diary of Dr. Jones," *loc. cit.*; Letter in *A letter from the Lord Lieut.*; repr. Lomas-Carlyle, ii, 34.

⁶⁰ Letter lost but alluded to in Butler's reply.

⁶¹ Letter in *ibid.*

For the Governor of Kilkenny

SIR,

If you had been as clear [as] I was in my last, I might perhaps have understood you so as to give you some farther answer; but you expressing nothing particularly what you except against in mine, I have nothing more to return save this, that for some reasons I cannot let your trumpeter suddenly come back, but have sent you this by a drummer of my own. I rest.

Your servant,

O. C.⁶²

March 25th, 1650.

During this interchange of defiances, Cromwell's battery had opened fire between five and six in the morning of the 25th and by noon had made a breach in the town wall between the castle gate and the rampart, beneath Ormonde's stables. A storming-party under Lieutenant Colonel Axtell, seconded by Hewson, attempted the breach but was driven back,⁶³ and a second attempt met with no better success, a Captain "Slinby" and a score or two of men being killed and Hewson being wounded in the shoulder.⁶⁴ After each effort the breach was repaired and a third order to attack was not obeyed, for which, when Cromwell saw the defences, he was thankful. But meanwhile Colonel Ewer with a thousand foot had taken Irishtown almost without a blow, entering by Dean's Gate and occupying the town and the cathedral.

In the face of this disaster, despite the gallant resistance of his men, Butler felt that he had done all that honor demanded and reopened negotiations with Cromwell. The terms he asked were, in effect, those which Cromwell had granted to the other towns—that the civilian population of Kilkenny be permitted to remain unmolested, with no mention of religion, that clergymen be allowed to depart with their goods, and the officers and soldiers of city and castle, with no exceptions,⁶⁵ be permitted to march out with arms, ammunition and artillery, drums beating and colors flying. With these propositions from Butler, Cromwell received a letter from the mayor, James Archdekin, who complained that "having a governor of the city and another of the castle, who commands us also, if befitting honourable conditions be not given unto the military part, the city and citizens do stand in danger of ruin as well from our own party as from that of your Honour's."⁶⁶ To this Cromwell replied:⁶⁷

⁶² With the rest of the Kilkenny correspondence, *loc. cit.* Carlyle, CXXIII.

⁶³ Murphy quotes Bruodin, *Propugnaculum*, p. 684, as saying six hundred fell.

⁶⁴ "Diary of Dr. Jones," *loc. cit.*, p. 45-46. Whitelocke, p. 450, says Axtell was wounded in the back and Capt. Higley was killed.

⁶⁵ Major Nicholas Wall was mentioned specifically. He must have fought on the Parliament's side at one time and a few months later, as colonel, was to be accused of treachery in stopping the Royalist relief of Trecroghan. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 94.

⁶⁶ In Murphy, p. 301; Lomas-Carlyle, ii, 36n.

⁶⁷ In Murphy and Carlyle this letter is placed so as to be a reply to the Mayor's

For the Mayor of Kilkenny

SIR,

Those whom God hath brought to a sense of His hand upon them, and to amend, submitting thereto and to the Power to which He hath subjected them, I cannot but pity and tender; and so far as that effect appears in you and your fellow-citizens, I shall be ready, without capitulation, to do more and better for you and them upon that ground, than upon the high demands of your governor, or his capitulations for you.

I suppose he hath acquainted you with what I briefly offered yesterday, in relation to yourself and the inhabitants; otherwise he hath done you the more wrong, and hath the more to answer for to God and man. And notwithstanding the advantages (as to the commanding and entering the town) which God hath given us since that offer, more than we were possessed of before, yet I am still willing, upon surrender, to make good the same to the city, and that with advantage.

Now in regard of that temper which appears amongst you by your letter, though I shall not engage for more upon the governor's demands for you, whose power I conceive is now greater to prejudice and endanger the city than to protect it; to save it from plunder and pillage, I promised the soldiery that, if we should take it by storm, the inhabitants shall give them a reasonable gratuity in money, in lieu of the pillages; and so made it death for any man to plunder. Which I shall still keep them to, by God's help (although we should be put to make an entry by force), unless I shall find the inhabitants engaging still with the Governor and soldiery to make resistance. You may see also the way I chose for reducing the place was such as tended most to save the inhabitants from pillage, and from perishing promiscuously (the innocent with the guilty), viz:—by attempting places which being possessed might bring it to a surrender, rather than to enter the city itself by force.

If what is here expressed may beget resolution in you which would occasion your safety and be consistent with the end of my coming hither, I shall be glad; and rest,

Your friend,
[OLIVER CROMWELL].⁶⁸

March 26, 1650.

In reply to Butler's propositions Cromwell was still more emphatic in his refusal of such "high demands":

For the Governor of Kilkenny

SIR,

Except the conditions were much bettered, and we in a worse posture and capacity to reduce you than before the last letters I sent you, I cannot imagine whence these high demands of yours arise. I hope in God, before it be long you may have occasion to think other thoughts; to which I leave you.

I shall not so much as treat with you upon these propositions. You desire second letter rather than his first. The order here used seems to give more continuity of thought.

⁶⁸ See note 58; Carlyle, Letter CXXVI.

some articles for honour's sake, which out of honesty, I do deny: viz. that of marching in the equipage you mention. I tell you my business is to reduce you from arms, and the country to quietness and their due subjection; to put an end to War, and not to lengthen it; wishing (if it may stand with the will of God) this people may live as happily as they did before the bloody massacre and their troubles, and better too. If you and the company with you be of those who resolve to continue to hinder this, we know who is able to reach you, and, I believe, will.

For the inhabitants of the Town, of whom you seem to have a care, you know your retreat⁶⁹ to be better than theirs; and therefore it's not impolitically done to speak for them, and to engage them to keep us as long from you as they can. If they be willing to expose themselves to ruin for you, you are much beholding unto them.

As for your clergymen (as you call them), in case you agree for a surrender, they shall march away safely, with their goods and what belongs to them; but if they fall otherwise into my hands, I believe they know what to expect from me. If upon what I proposed formerly, with this addition concerning them, you expect things to be cleared, I am content to have commissioners for that purpose. I rest, Sir,

Your servant,
O[LIVER] C[ROMWELL].⁷⁰

March 26, 1650.

In answer to this stern and evidently irritated letter, Butler agreed to appoint commissioners, provided that hostages were exchanged and a cessation of arms granted; while in another appeal to Cromwell the Mayor seconded the governor, insisting that Butler's terms were no more than fair and that he would uphold the demands made in it.⁷¹ That evening Cromwell sent replies to both Butler and Archdekin by a trumpeter, who, for some reason, was at first refused admission to the town.

To the Mayor of Kilkenny

SIR,

Though I could have wished you and the citizens had been indeed more sensible of your own interests and concerns, yet since you are minded to involve it so much with that of soldiers, I am glad to understand you, which will be some direction to me what to think and what to do. I rest,

Your friend,
O. CROMWELL.⁷²

March 26th, 1650.

For the Governor of Kilkenny

SIR,

That no extremity may happen for want of a right understanding, I am content that Commissioners on each side do meet, in the

⁶⁹ The castle.

⁷⁰ See note 58; Carlyle, Letter CXXIV.

⁷¹ Pr. in Murphy and Lomas-Carlyle.

⁷² See note 58; Carlyle Letter CXXV.

leaguer at the south side of the city; authorised to treat and conclude. For which purpose, if you shall speedily send me the names and qualities of the Commissioners you will send out, I shall appoint the like number on my part, authorised as aforesaid, to meet with them; and shall send in a safe conduct for the coming out and return of yours. As for hostages, I conceive it needless and dilatory. I expect that the treaty begin by 8 of the clock this evening, and end by 12; during which time only will I grant a cessation. Expecting your speedy answer, [I rest,]

[Your servant,]

March 26th, 1650.

[O. CROMWELL.]⁷³

Butler replied at once that since Cromwell's message had not reached him until nine, the time fixed by Cromwell was too short. He suggested six the next morning for the meeting but declared that his four commissioners⁷⁴ would not go unless hostages were sent. Cromwell did not answer until the next day, fastening the blame for the delay on Butler's men:

To the Governor of Kilkenny

SIR,

The reason of the so late coming of my answer was because my trumpeter was refused to be received at the north end of the town; and where he was admitted, was kept long upon the guard.

I have sent you a safe-conduct for the four Commissioners named by you; and if they be such as are unwilling to take my word, I shall not, to humour them, agree to hostages. I am willing to a treaty for four hours, provided it begin by 12 of the clock this morning; but for a cessation, the time last appointed being past, I shall not agree unto it, to hinder my own proceedings.

Your servant,

March 27th, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁷⁵

The commissioners were duly sent⁷⁶ but meanwhile the fighting continued. A breach had been made in the wall at the joining of the Nore and Bregagh but Butler had prevented the entrance of the enemy. Colonel Gifford, with eight companies, had managed to effect an entrance into the part of the walled town which was across the river but was beaten off with loss in an attempt to cross St. John Bridge, and Captain Frewen was killed while the treaty was in progress.⁷⁷ A second battery was in preparation when the Articles were agreed upon, granting, on the whole, easy terms to both garrison and inhabitants:

⁷³ See note 58; Carlyle, Letter CXXVII.

⁷⁴ Major Comerford, Capt. Turnbull, Recorder Cowley and a merchant, Rothe.

⁷⁵ See note 58; Carlyle, Letter CXXVIII.

⁷⁶ Warrant signed by Butler and James Welsh, governors of the city and castle, in Gilbert, ii, 382.

⁷⁷ Whitelocke, p. 450; *Brief Relation*.

Articles of agreement between the Commissioners appointed by his Excellency, Lord Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, for and on behalf of his Excellency, of the one part, and those appointed Commissioners by the respective Governors of the City and Castle of Kilkenny, of the other party. March 27th, 1650.

1. That the respective Governors of the city and castle of Kilkenny shall deliver to his Excellency the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, for the use of the State of England, the said city and castle, with all arms, ammunition, and provisions of public stores therein, without embezzlement, except what is hereafter excepted, at or before nine of the clock tomorrow morning.

2. That all the inhabitants of the said city of Kilkenny and all others therein shall be defended in their persons, goods and estates, from the violence of the soldiery, and that such as shall desire to remove thence elsewhere, none excepted, shall have liberty so to do, with their goods, within three months after the date of these articles.

3. That the said Governors, with all the officers and soldiers under their respective commands in the said city and castle, and all others who shall be so pleased, shall march away at or before nine of the clock tomorrow morning, with their bag and baggage; the officers with their attendants, their arms, and with their horses not exceeding the number of one hundred and fifty horses; and their foot soldiers to march out of the town, two miles distant, with their arms, and with drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, and ball in bouche; and then and there to deliver up the said arms to such as shall be appointed for receiving them, excepting one hundred muskets and a hundred pikes allowed them for their defence against the Tories.⁷⁸

4. That the said officers and soldiers shall have from his Excellency a safe-conduct six miles from the city of Kilkenny; and from thenceforward a pass for their security out of his Excellency's quarters; the said pass to be in force for six days from the date of these presents, they marching at least ten miles each day, and doing no prejudice to quarters.

5. That the city of Kilkenny shall pay £2,000 as a gratuity to his Excellency's army; whereof £1,000 to be paid on the 30th of this month, and the other on the first day of May next following, to such as shall be by his Excellency thereunto appointed.

6. That Major John Comerford and Mr. Edward Rothe shall remain hostages under the power of his Excellency, for the performance of the said Articles, on the part of said city and garrison of Kilkenny.

7. Lastly, for the performance of all and singular the premises, the parties have hereunto interchangeably put their hands, the day and year first above written.

JAMES COWLEY, JOHN COMERFORD, O. CROMWELL.⁷⁹
EDWARD ROTHE, DAVID TURNBALL,

⁷⁸ Gangs of freebooters who in 1641 were neutral but later, like the Clubmen of England, driven by fury at their loss of property, resolved to harass troops of all parties without distinction.

⁷⁹ Cliffe's Narrative, in Borlase, App. p. 19; Gilbert, ii, 382, from *Letter from the Lord Lieutenant*. Also in *Several Proceedings*, Apr. 12. Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*

CARRICK AND FETHARD, APRIL 1-27, 1650

The capture of Kilkenny accomplished, leaving a small garrison there with Lieutenant-Colonel Axtell of Hewson's regiment as governor, Cromwell turned southward toward Carrick,⁸⁰ on his way to Clonmel, his next objective, sending detachments in all directions to push the enemy farther north and to take the few strongholds remaining.⁸¹ In pursuance of this plan, Adjutant-General Sadler seized Pulkerry, five miles east of Clonmel, and a little farther east, Ballydoyne, together with Granny and Donhill, near Waterford, while Colonel Abbot occupied Ennisnag, on the way from Kilkenny to Carrick.

On his part, Cromwell took the road to Carrick past Ennisnag⁸² and while there wrote a letter:

For my Worthy Friends the Commissioners of Revenue at Dublin: These

GENTLEMEN:

I have given leave to Sir Francis Willoughby to return unto England, to endeavour the obtaining of his arrears. I shall desire you to continue unto him the present allowance, which now he has, for his maintenance, and to let him still enjoy it, until the settlement of the times will give liberty to provide some better way for him.

I rest, Gentlemen,

Your servant,

Enisnegge,
March 30, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁸³

By April 1 the Lord Lieutenant had probably reached Carrick and there wrote another letter to the same Commissioners:

To the Commissioners at Dublin

GENTLEMEN,

Being desired by the Countess of Cork that nothing may be done by way of disposal of such part of Cork House as is holden of the Various Coll. vi, 437 (Tighe Mss.). The copy which must have borne Cromwell's signature has not been found nor the originals of any of these papers concerning Kilkenny.

⁸⁰ Cromwell had quartered at Dunmore, two miles from Kilkenny because of the plague in the city. "Diary of Dr. Jones," *loc. cit.*, p. 46.

⁸¹ Col. Reynolds and Col. Culme went north to Queen's county; Sir Theophilus Jones went to co. Carlow with eleven troops of horse, two of dragoons and a regiment of foot; Hewson returned to Dublin. *Ibid.*

⁸² He quartered there on the 30th. *Ibid.*

⁸³ From an old clipping with the heading "For the St. James's Chronicle," and dated at Chelsea, April 10, 1772. Said to be from an original letter, it was communicated by "H. W. L." Sir Francis Willoughby was in England during most of 1648 on leave from his foot company and in August 1649 received money from the Treasurers-at-War to enable him to go to Ireland.

Dean in Dublin (in case my Lord of Cork's interest be determined therein); and that my Lord of Cork may have the refusal thereof before any other, in regard his father has been at great charge in building thereof, and some part of the same House being my Lord's inheritance, and in that respect the other part would not be so convenient for any other, which motion I conceive to be very reasonable. And therefore I desire you not to dispose of any part of the said House to any person whatsoever, until you hear further from me; my Lady having undertaken, in a short time, as soon as she can come at the sight of her writings, to be satisfied what interest my Lord of Cork hath yet to come therein, my Lord will renew his term in the said House, or give full resolution therein. I rest,

Your loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.⁸⁴

April 1st, 1650.

This request was complied with, according to a later letter to Cromwell from the Countess, whose husband was again, in 1651, in trouble over the transportation of rent money.⁸⁵ The next day, still in Carrick, Cromwell took the opportunity in this pause in his campaign to write a detailed account of his operations to the House, two personal letters, and apparently others to the Council of State and to Scot in regard to reinforcements, though these last have disappeared.⁸⁶

It is evident that Cromwell's actions since the end of January had been dictated in part at least by the fact that he had known of the vote of Parliament recalling him from Ireland, and that he had hastened to complete his work, if possible, before official news of that resolution reached him. It had come as he prepared to take Kilkenny, but he was not disposed to obey the summons unless and until it became imperative, or until the remaining fortresses were reduced:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

MR. SPEAKER,

I think the last letter I troubled you with, was about the taking of Cahir, since which time there was taken, by beating-up their quarters, two Colonels, a Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and divers Captains, all of horse. Colonel Johnson,⁸⁷ Lieutenant-Colonel Laughorn, and Major Simes, were shot to death, as having served under the Parliament but now taken up arms with the enemy.

Hearing that Castlehaven and Lieutenant-General Farrald were about Kilkenny, with their army lying there quartered, and about Carlow and

⁸⁴ Carlyle, Letter CXXIX, from an old copy then in the possession of Sir W. Betham, Ulster King of Arms.

⁸⁵ In Nickolls, *Original Letters*, p. 84.

⁸⁶ Referred to Irish Committee on April 15, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 105.

⁸⁷ The other Colonel, Randall Clayton, was tried and condemned with the others; but pardoned. See Letter May 10, 1651; and Whitelocke, p. 432.

Leighlin Bridge; and hearing also that Colonel Hewson, with a good party from Dublin, was come as far as Ballisannon, and had taken it, we thought fit to send an express to him, to march up towards us for a conjunction. And because we doubted the sufficiency of his party to march with that security that were to be wished, Colonel Shilbourn was ordered to go with some troops of horse out of the county of Wexford (which was his station) to meet him. And because the enemy was possessed of the fittest places upon the Barrow for our conjunction, we sent a party of seven or eight hundred horse and dragoons, and about five-hundred foot, to attempt upon Castlehaven in the rear, if he should have endeavoured to have defended the places against Colonel Hewson.

Our party, being a light nimble party, was at the Barrow-side before Colonel Hewson could be heard of; and possessed a house by the Graigue. They marched towards Leighlin, and faced Castlehaven at a pretty distance; but he showed no forwardness to engage. Our party not being able to hear of Colonel Hewson, came back as far as Thomastown, a small walled Town, and a pass upon the Nore, between Kilkenny and Ross, which our men attempting to take, the enemy made no great resistance, but, by the advantage of the bridge, quitted the town, and fled to a castle about half a mile distant off⁸⁸ which they had formerly possessed. That night the President of Munster and myself came up to the party. We summoned the said castle, and, after two days, it was surrendered to us, the enemy leaving their arms, drums, colours and ammunition behind them, and engaging never to bear arms more against the Parliament of England.

We lay still after this about two or three days. The President went back to Fethard, to bring up some great guns, with a purpose to attempt upon the Granny,⁸⁹ and some castles thereabouts, for the better blocking-up of Waterford; and to cause to advance up to us some more of our foot. In the end we had advertisement that Colonel Hewson was come to Leighlin, where was a very strong castle and pass over the Barrow. I sent him word that he should attempt it, which he did, and, after some dispute, reduced it; by which means we have a good pass over the Barrow, and intercourse between Munster and Leinster. I sent Colonel Hewson word that he should march up to me, and we, advancing likewise with our party, met near by Gowran, a populous town, where the enemy had a very strong castle, under the command of Colonel Hammond, a Kentishman, who was a principal actor in the Kentish Insurrection,⁹⁰ and did manage the Lord Capel's business at his trial. I sent him a civil invitation to deliver up the castle unto me, to which he returned me a very resolute answer, and full of height. We planted our artillery, and before we had made a breach considerable, the enemy beat a parley for a treaty; which I (having offered so fairly before to him) refused, but sent him in positive conditions, that the soldiers should have their lives, and the commission officers to be disposed of as should be thought fit, which in the end was submitted to. The next day, the Colonel, the Major, and the rest of the commission officers were shot to death,⁹¹ all but one, who, being a very ear-

⁸⁸ Murphy thinks this was probably Grenan Castle, which is still standing.

⁸⁹ Now a ruin near Waterford; he spells it 'Granno.'

⁹⁰ In 1648.

⁹¹ Castlehaven complained of Cromwell's conduct in shooting these officers, because when he had taken the garrison of Athy, a little time before, he had sent the men as a present to Cromwell, asking him to do the like on occasion. *Memoirs*, p. 123.

nest instrument to have the castle delivered, was pardoned. In the same castle also we took a Popish Priest, who was chaplain to the Catholics in this regiment; who was caused to be hanged. I trouble you with this the rather, because this regiment was the Lord of Ormond's own regiment. In this castle was good store of provisions for the Army.

After the taking of this Castle, it was agreed amongst us to march to the city of Kilkenny, which we did upon Friday the 22d of March; and coming with our body within a mile of the town, we advanced with some horse very near unto it; and that evening I sent Sir Walter Butler and the Corporation a letter a copy whereof is here enclosed. From whom next day I received this answer. We took the best view we could where to plant our batteries; and upon Monday the 25th, our batteries, consisting of three guns, began to play. After near a hundred shot, we made a breach, as we hoped stormable. Our men were drawn out ready for the attempt; and Colonel Ewer ordered, with about one-thousand foot, to endeavor to possess the Irish town, much about the time of our storming, which he accordingly did, with the loss of not above three or four men. Our men upon the signal fell on upon the breach, which indeed was not performed with usual courage nor success, but were beaten off, with the loss of one captain, and about twenty or thirty men killed and wounded. The enemy had made two retrenchments or counterworks, which they had strongly palisadoed, and both of them did so command our breach, that indeed it was a mercy to us we did not farther contend for an entrance there, it being probable that, if we had, it would have cost us very dear.

Having possessed the Irish town, and there being another walled town on the other side of the river, eight companies of foot were sent over the river to possess that, which accordingly was effected, and not above the like number lost that were in possessing the Irish town. The officer that commanded this party in chief attempting to pass over the bridge into the city, and to fire the gate, which indeed was done with good resolution; but, lying too open to the enemy's shot, he had forty or fifty men killed and wounded, which was a sore blow to us. We made our preparations for a second battery, which was well near perfected: the enemy, seeing himself thus begirt, sent for a treaty, and had it; and, in some hours, agreed to deliver up the Castle upon the Articles enclosed, which we received upon Thursday the 28th of March. We find the Castle exceedingly well fortified by the industry of the enemy, being also very capacious; so that if we had taken the town, we must have had a new work for the Castle, which might have cost much blood and time. So that, we hope, the Lord hath provided better for us; and we look at it as a gracious mercy that we have the place for you upon these terms.

Whilst these affairs were transacting, a Lieutenant-Colonel, three Majors, eight Captains, being English, Welsh and Scotch, with others, possessed of Cantwell Castle,⁹² a very strong Castle, situated in a bog, well furnished with provisions of corn, were ordered by Sir Walter Butler to come to strengthen the garrison of Kilkenny. But they sent two officers to me, to offer me the place, and their service, that they might have passes to go beyond sea to serve foreign states, with some money to bear their charges: the last whereof I consented to, they promising to do nothing to the prejudice of the Parlia-

⁹² Cantwell, still known among the peasantry by that name, is now called Sandford's Court. [Carlyle's note.]

ment of England. Colonel Abbot also attempted Ennisnag: where were gotten a company of rogues which revolted from Colonel Jones. The soldiers capitulated for life, and their two officers were hanged for revolting. Adjutant-General Sadler was commanded with two guns to attempt some castles in the county of Tipperary and Kilkenny; which being reduced exceedingly tend to the blocking-up of two considerable Towns. He summoned Polkerry, a garrison under Clonmel: battered it; they refusing to come out, stormed it; put thirty or forty of them to the sword, and the rest remaining obstinate were fired in the castle. He took Ballo Doin, the Enemy marching away, leaving their arms behind them. He took also the Granny and Donkill,⁹³ two very considerable places to Waterford, upon the same terms. We have advanced our quarters towards the enemy, a considerable way above Kilkenny, where we hope, by the gaining of ground, to get subsistence; and still to grow upon the enemy, as the Lord shall bless us.

Sir, I may not be wanting to tell you, and renew it again, that our hardships are not a few; that I think in my conscience, if moneys be not supplied, we shall not be able to carry on your work. I would not say this to you, if I did not reckon it my duty so to do. But if it be supplied, and that speedily, I hope, through the good hand of the Lord, it will not be long before England will be at an end of this charge; for the saving of which, I beseech you help us as soon as you can. Sir, our horse have not had one month's pay of five. We strain what we can that the foot may be paid, or else they would starve. Those towns that are to be reduced, especially one or two of them, if we should proceed by the rules of other states, would cost you more money than this army hath had since we came over. I hope, through the blessing of God, they will come cheaper to you; but how we should be able to proceed in our attempts without reasonable supply, is humbly submitted and represented to you. I think I need not say, that a speedy period put to this work will break the expectation of all your enemies. And seeing the Lord is not wanting to you, I most humbly beg it, that you would not be wanting to yourselves.

In the last place, it cannot be thought but the taking of these places, and keeping but what is necessary of them, it must needs swallow up our Foot; and I may humbly repeat it again, that I do not know of much above two-thousand of your five-thousand recruits come to us. Having given you this account concerning your affairs, I am now obliged to give you an account concerning myself, which I shall do with all clearness and honesty.

I have received divers private intimations of your pleasure to have me come in person to wait upon you in England, as also copies of the votes of the Parliament to that purpose. But considering the way they came to me were but private intimations, and the votes did refer to a letter to be signed by the Speaker, I thought it would have been too much forwardness in me to have left my charge here, until the said letter came; it being not fit for me to prophesy whether the letter would be an absolute command, or having limitations with a liberty left by the Parliament to me, to consider in what way to yield my obedience. Your letter came to my hands upon Friday the 22d of March. The same day that I came before the city of Kilkenny, and when I was near the same, and understood by Dr. Cartwright, who delivered it to me, that by reason of cross winds, and the want of shipping in the West of

⁹³ Donhill, four miles north of Waterford on the Thomastown road.

England where he was, hindered him from coming with it sooner; it bearing date the 8th of January, and not coming to my hands until the 22d of March.⁹⁴

The letter supposed your army in winter-quarters, and the time of the year not suitable for present action, making this as the reason of your command. And your forces having been in action ever since the 29th of January; and your letter, which was to be the rule of my obedience, coming to my hands after our having been so long in action,—with respect had to the reasons you were pleased to use therein, and having received a letter signed by yourself, of the 26th February, which mentions not one word of the continuance of your pleasure concerning my coming over;—I did humbly conceive it much consisting with my duty, humbly to beg a positive signification what your will is; professing (as before the Lord) that I am most ready to obey your commands herein with all alacrity; rejoicing only to be about that work which I am called to by those God hath set over me, which I acknowledge you to be; and fearing only in obeying you, to disobey you.

I most humbly and earnestly beseech you to judge for me, whether your letter doth not naturally allow me the liberty of begging a more clear expression of your command and pleasure, which, when vouchsafed unto me, will find most ready and cheerful observance from,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.⁹⁵

Carrick, Apr. 2, 1650.

For my very loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley in Hampshire: These

DEAR BROTHER,

For me to write unto you the state of our affairs here were more than indeed I have leisure well to do, and therefore I hope you do not expect it from me; seeing when I write to the Parliament I usually am (as becomes me) very particular with them, and usually from thence the knowledge thereof is spread.

Only this let me say (which is the best intelligence to friends that are truly Christian): The Lord is pleased still to vouchsafe us His presence, and to prosper His own work in our hands; which to us is the more eminent because truly we are a company of poor, weak and worthless creatures. Truly our work is neither from our brains nor from our courage and strength, but we follow the Lord who goeth before, and gather what He scattereth, that so all may appear to be from Him.

The taking of the city of Kilkenny hath been one of our last works; which indeed I believe hath been a great discomposing of the enemy, it's so much in their bowels. We have taken many considerable places lately, without much loss. What can we say to these things. If God be for us, who can be against

⁹⁴ Dr. Cartwright's (or Carteret's) pass was dated January 14. See *S. P. Interregnum*, I, 63, p. 517.

⁹⁵ Read in the Commons Apr. 13 (C. J., vi, 397) and printed with the other letters on Kilkenny, by order of Parliament, *Letter from the Lord Lieutenant*; also in *Several Proceedings*, Apr. 13; Carlyle, Letter CXXX.

us? Who can fight against the Lord and prosper? Who can resist His will? The Lord keep us in His love.

I desire your prayers; your family is often in mine. I rejoice to hear how it hath pleased the Lord to deal with my daughter.⁹⁶ The Lord bless her, and sanctify all His dispensations to them and us. I have committed my son to you; I pray counsel him. Some letters I have lately had from him have a good savour: the Lord treasure up grace there, that out of that treasury He may bring forth good things.

Sir, I desire my very entire affection may be presented to my dear sister, my Cousin Ann and the rest of my cousins, and to idle Dick Norton when you see him. Sir, I rest,

Apr. 2d, 1650
Carrick.

Your most loving brother,
O. CROMWELL.⁹⁷

For my beloved Son Richard Cromwell, Esquire, at Hursley in Hampshire: These

DICK CROMWELL,

I take your letters kindly: I like expressions when they come plainly from the heart, and are not strained nor affected.

I am persuaded it's the Lord's mercy to place you where you are: I wish you may own it and be thankful, fulfilling all relations to the glory of God. Seek the Lord and His face continually: let this be the business of your life and strength, and let all things be subservient and in order to this. You cannot find nor behold the face of God but in Christ; therefore labour to know God in Christ, which the Scripture makes to be the sum of all, even life eternal. Because the true knowledge is not literal or speculative, but inward, transforming the mind to it. It's uniting to, and participating of, the Divine Nature (2 Peter, i. 4): It's such a knowledge as Paul speaks of (*Philippians* the 3d, 8, 9, 10).⁹⁸ How little of this knowledge of Christ is there among us. My weak prayers shall be for you.

Take heed of an unactive vain Spirit. Recreate yourself with Sir Walter Raughley's History: it's a body of history, and will add much more to your understanding than fragments of story. Intend to understand the estate I have settled; it's your concernment to know it all, and how it stands. I have heretofore suffered much by too much trusting others. I know my Brother Maior will be helpful to you in all this.

⁹⁶ Richard's first child, a daughter, was born March 26, 1650. Noble, *op. cit.*, i, 189.

⁹⁷ One of the holograph letters in the Pusey collection, later in the Morrison collection. Listed in Maggs catalogue, no. 421 (1922), with facsimile of the bottom half of the page, for sale at £195. Underneath in Mayor's hand is the note "15 May, I wrote in behalf of Mr. Berry of Dorset." Now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Pr. in Harris, p. 529; Carlyle, Letter CXXXI.

⁹⁸ "That by these ye might be partakers of the divine Nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust." (2 Peter i. 4). "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord. For whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung that I may win Christ and be found in Him,—not having my own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the Faith of Christ," etc. (*Philippians* iii, 8. 10).

You will think (perhaps) I need not advise you to love your wife. The Lord teach you how to do it, or else it will be done ill-favouredly. Though marriage be no instituted Sacrament, yet where the undefiled bed is, and love, this union aptly resembles Christ and His Church. If you can truly love your wife, what doth Christ bear to His Church and every poor soul therein, who gave Himself for it and to it. Commend me to your wife; tell her I entirely love her, and rejoice in the goodness of the Lord to her. I wish her everyway fruitful. I thank her for her loving letter.

I have presented my love to my sister and Cousin Ann, &c. in my letter to my Brother Maior. I would not have him alter his affairs because of my debt. My purse is as his: my present thoughts are but to lodge such a sum for my two little Girls; it's in his hand as well as anywhere. I shall not be wanting to accommodate him to his mind; I would not have him solicitous. Dick, the Lord bless you every way. I rest,

Your loving Father,
OLIVER CROMWELL.⁹⁹

Carrick, April 2d, 1650.

It is apparent from Cromwell's letters—scarcely less from his excuses and apologies to Parliament than from the omission of any mention of his possible return to England in his letters to his family—that he had no intention of leaving Ireland at this moment unless compelled by renewed instructions from the House or the Council of State. His suggestion that those bodies might have changed their minds since first writing him had no basis in fact. They were, indeed, more insistent than ever that he should return. On the very day that the Kilkenny articles were signed, the Council wrote him that “affairs here are very urgent and we desire your presence and assistance.”¹⁰⁰ At the same time they had done everything they could to assist him both in his private and his public capacity. They had not only sent him troops, clothing, food and money, a dozen shiploads at a time under his orders,¹⁰¹ but had considered and approved com-

⁹⁹ *Memoirs of the Protector Oliver Cromwell*, by Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, a Descendant of the Family (London, 1822), i. 369. This letter, holograph, as those to his own family are, almost without exception, seems to have gone through several hands. Sold by Puttick in 1853 to John Young of Bucklersbury for 26 guineas (Carlyle, App. 23), it was at one time in the possession of a member of the Incorporated Law Society (see *Catalogue of Autograph Letters*, &c. B. M. 11903, bbb. 22.) It was in the Morrison Collection until 1917. Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 9 App. II, 441 (Morrison Mss.); Carlyle CXXXII.

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. S. P. Com.* (1650), p. 62. The letter, Mar. 27, was sent by Jenkin Lloyd, Cromwell's chaplain. *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁰¹ See Murphy, App. pp. 371-5. In addition to the list there printed, the *State Papers Domestic* have notes of other shipments: Mar. 12, Two ship loads of cheese to be sent “to such persons as Cromwell shall appoint”; Mar. 22, Quartermaster General Hugh Courtney contracted with Erasmus Smith to ship from Lynn 100,000 lbs. of oatmeal to Youghal for Cromwell; Apr. 2, Arms and ammunition to be sent to Cromwell in Munster from which Ulster and Dublin were to be supplied. Apr. 4, £800 to be furnished Colonel Solomon Richards and Thomas Moore to transport two regiments very much wanted by Cromwell; Apr. 17, Two hundred barrels of powder, ten tons of musket bullet and ten tons of match for Cromwell. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 36, 77, 530, 536.

missions he was issuing to officers to raise troops,¹⁰² and even ordered him to appoint places in Dublin for six ministers to preach at £200 each per annum.¹⁰³ They had, moreover, looked to him to attend to affairs more personal than would seem fitting for the commander-in-chief of such an expedition as his. In January he had been ordered to withhold £23 of a Captain Norwood's pay to settle a debt in Liverpool;¹⁰⁴ in March the petition of a man who lost both eyes in Ireland and to whom £40 was due was sent to him;¹⁰⁵ and in April he was requested to give Colonel Hill satisfaction out of sequestered estates for £5,566 owed him by the Earl of Antrim, whose estate was used for maintaining Argyle's regiment.¹⁰⁶

As Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as well as commander of the army, in the midst of his military operations his life was full of petty details like this reference to the matter of ships taken in harbor:

To the Council of State

Replying to a letter from the Council of State (January 17) about a ship owned by Jno. Richards taken by Inchiquin, then by Rupert, and held by the Parliamentary army in Kinsale. He says "that though he was of opinion that the ships taken by the land Army in the harbour (differing much from those taken by ships at sea) become lawful prize to the soldiers, yet he would willingly condescend that any of the ships so taken should be disposed in Charity to the owners, upon further notice from the Admiralty Committee." April 6, 1650.¹⁰⁷

For some weeks after the surrender of Kilkenny, Cromwell took little active part in military operations. First from Carrick,¹⁰⁸ then from Fethard, he directed the activities of his subordinates, while he waited for the results of Ormonde's conference with the Catholics and the proposals which he thought must inevitably come from the Royalists. He felt, rightly enough, that Ormonde was at the end of

¹⁰² The commissions of Captains Digby and Pennifather were brought to the Council of State and by them referred on Mar. 21 & 29 to the Irish Committee. *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 65, 76. An officer's commission, dated May 1, 1650, with Cromwell's signature, is listed in Sotheby's catalogue of the Hendrik's Collection, Feb. 1910. Goodspeed's catalogue, no. 140 (Oct. 1920) lists a commission to Ensign John Baker, signed by Cromwell, dated 1650.

¹⁰³ *C. J.*, vi, 379; *Several Proceedings*, Mar. 8.

¹⁰⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 101.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 60, 82, 109. The man, Richard Hooke, was duly provided for by the Army Committee.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 235. Mentioned in a letter from the Admiralty Committee to Ireton, July 5, 1650. This letter and one to Mr. Scott of approximately the same date concerned also the sending over of some regiments to Ireland. Cp. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁰⁸ He was in Carrick on Apr. 13, when Hewson's scoutmaster, Jones, carried a letter to him. "Diary of Dr. Jones," *loc. cit.*, p. 49.

his resources. Every port on the east coast save Waterford was in Cromwell's hands; and on the west coast the Irish had only Galway, which was desolated by the plague,¹⁰⁹ while Limerick had but lately refused to admit any forces not dominated by the Catholic clergy.¹¹⁰ Ormonde had removed his headquarters from that city to Loughrea in Galway, whence he wrote to Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, "Trust me they will not, and trust them I cannot."¹¹¹ Already that prelate was commissioned to treat with foreign princes for the transportation of five or six thousand men out of Ireland and it was apparent that the end was approaching.¹¹²

Meanwhile the successes of the Parliamentary commanders continued. Toward the end of February Inchiquin had hesitated between going into Cork or following Cromwell,¹¹³ and a month later, invading Limerick with three regiments of cavalry, he was routed by Broghill and Henry Cromwell, with the loss of a hundred and sixty killed and a hundred made prisoner, among them two former Parliamentary officers who were shot for treachery. The survivors fled with the terrified country people, carrying what goods and cattle they could across the Shannon into Clare, leaving only the ruins of their houses and castles behind them.

With Inchiquin routed, Broghill was preparing to join Cromwell for the siege of Clonmel when he was advised that county Cork was about to be invaded by a considerable force from Kerry under David Roche. Hastening to Clonmel, near which the main army was now encamped, Broghill obtained reinforcements and set out for Cork. On April 10 he reached Castle Carrigadrohid and Macroom, where he surprised Roche's force which fled, leaving five or six hundred dead on the field.¹¹⁴ Returning to the castle, Bishop Egan, who was a prisoner, refused to obey Broghill's order to command the garrison to surrender. For his contumacy, according to tradition, he had his arms cut off, was dragged to a tree, and hanged with the reins of his own horse, while from his body there was taken what purported to be Inchiquin's contract with Cromwell made on the 16th of the previous October.¹¹⁵ With this Broghill rejoined Cromwell before Clonmel.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from T. Herbert, Cork, Apr. 5, in *Several Proceedings*, Apr. 23.

¹¹⁰ Even the Pope's attitude toward Parliament had changed owing, it was said, to reports from his Irish agents that the Catholic religion would be better preserved by submission to Cromwell. Cottington to Meynell, May (?) 1650, Macray, *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii, 56.

¹¹¹ Apr. 18, in Carte, *Original Letters*, ii, 426.

¹¹² Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, Charles II, p. 19.

¹¹³ Letter received by Ormonde on Feb. 28, Macray, *Clarendon Papers*, ii, 45.

¹¹⁴ Broghill's letter, Apr. 16, in *Several Proceedings*, May 24.

¹¹⁵ Murphy, p. 324; Letter Ja. Barn[well?], 1650, *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii, 68. See p. 151.

THE SUBMISSION OF THE ROYALISTS, APRIL 8—MAY 13, 1650

The conquest of Ireland, which had begun with Jones' victory of Rathmines in the preceding August, had continued with Cromwell's capture of the fortified towns till by the end of March there was but little left to do save to take Clonmel, Waterford and Limerick and reduce the scattered forces of the Royalist commanders. The English and Scotch Royalists were ready to submit. Only the Irish remained to be dealt with, and only that part of them under the immediate control of the clerical war-party was ready to go on with a struggle which now appeared hopeless. The Irish were, indeed, as anxious to be rid of their English allies as those allies were eager to be rid of them; and, well aware of the Irish animosity, Inchiquin's officers now sent Michael Boyle, Dean of Cloyne, to Cromwell to negotiate terms of surrender on the basis of disbandment of the army with permission for the soldiers to go home or take service abroad. Cromwell was only too glad to receive the proposal and give Boyle a pass for representative officers to come to him:

*To his worthy assured good friend Deane Boyle at Clare: These
by the Lord Lt. of Ireland*

I do hereby give leave and license unto two officers of the Lord Inchiquin's Army, vizt: * * * to come unto the City of Cashell and at pleasure to return back, Requiring all officers or soldiers under my command to permit them quietly to come and return with their goods, horses and arms without any let or molestation; and I do hereby also require the officers in charge in any garrison under my command upon request to them made to give them a safe convoy through my quarter. Given under my hand the 8th day of April, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁶

Thus assured, Dean Boyle, with Sir Robert Stirling and Colonel John Daniell, arrived to lay before Cromwell proposals for the protection of the nobility, gentlemen, clergy, officers and soldiers of Ormonde's Protestant adherents on condition of their submission. That submission was only a part of the general disintegration of Royalist resistance; and even while he was considering these articles, Cromwell was busy issuing protections for various individuals under the provisions agreed on for the county of Tipperary, of which one has been preserved:

Protection for Lady Mary Hamilton

These are to signify and declare that the Lady Mary Hamilton of Roscrea and her son James Hamilton of the same, Esq., having submitted themselves

¹¹⁶ Original, enclosed in a letter from Sir Robert Stirling to Lord Inchiquin, in the *Carte Mss.*, xxvii, f. 259, in the Bodleian Library. Stirling tells Inchiquin that he has "liberty to carry 1000 men for Spayne."

in the agreement made with me, for, and on the behalf of the nobility, gentry, and inhabitants, of the county of Tipperary, are therefore to be looked upon as persons under protection, the benefit whereof to be afforded unto them, their tenants and servants, in their persons, goods and chattels, they, and every one of them, acting nothing prejudicial to the state of England, provided that from time to time, and at all times hereafter, the said Lady Mary Hamilton, do suffer and permit, any party of the army under my command, to quarter within the bound and Castle of Roscrea aforesaid, when as often as it shall be thought necessary, and useful to receive them thereinto, and that in the mean time the said Lady do secure the Castle from the enemy, and Tories, and it is here further declared that the said Lady be permitted to carry her cattle from Connaught to Roscrea aforesaid without any let or hindrance, and the benefit of this protection is to extend to Lieut. Hamilton, his wife, children and goods and servants, he demeaning himself as becometh, and the benefit thereof extended, to Mr. James Finny [?] for the enjoyment of his goods within the said castle, of all which particulars I require all officers under my command whom it may concern to take notice and the same to observe as they shall answer the contrary at their uttermost peril. Given under my hand and seal at Fethard the 23 of April, 1650.

O. CROMWELL¹¹⁷

Though it seemed that the resistance of the Anglo-Irish Royalists was nearly at an end, the terms on which they were ready to lay down their arms were not easy to arrange. For two days Cromwell tried in vain to convince Boyle and his colleagues that it would be to their advantage to yield without signing any articles, as that would enable him to regard those they represented as trusted adherents of Parliament, whereas the signing of articles would place them in the position of defeated enemies. The commissioners' answer was simple—they were bound by their instructions. To Ireton's objection that the articles would include Inchiquin, Boyle replied that both Ormonde and Inchiquin specifically desired to be excluded from conditions, and Cromwell declared that if that was the case, he "would not a jot the more decline the business." None the less, it was not until the debate had gone on for many hours more that the articles were finally perfected and signed.¹¹⁸

Articles for the Protestant Party in Ireland

Upon the addresses and overtures to me made by Sir Robert Sterling, Knt., Mr. Michael Boyle, Dean of Cloyne, and Colonel John Daniell, in the name and behalf of the Protestant party in Ireland, now under the command or obedience of the Lord Marquess of Ormonde, I do hereby declare and promise as followeth.

1. That all such officers and soldiers, and gentlemen or clergymen (being English or Scottish and Protestants), as desire to come off from the Irish

¹¹⁷ *Copia vera*, in *Carte Mss.*, xxvii, f. 343 in the Bodleian Library.

¹¹⁸ Gilbert, *op. cit.*

Popish party, and shall come with, or under the conduct of, Colonel John Daniell, shall, and may freely, without any violence, injury, or molestation from any under my command, pass and repair to Doneraile in the county of Cork, where (upon a true list sent unto me of their names and qualities, with the places they desire to go unto), they engaging themselves not to do anything to the prejudice of the Parliament or Commonwealth of England, their armies or garrisons, during their continuance in our quarters or under our protection, shall have liberty and passes from me, or from the chief commanders under me in the respective provinces, to go to the several places they desire, within our quarter in the dominion of Ireland; or to transport beyond sea themselves and their goods (except arms or horses). And such of them as desire to live under protection and submission to the authority of the Parliament of England, shall have protections for their quiet and safe living and abiding accordingly, during the space of six months from the date hereof, without other oath or engagement than as aforesaid, or any question, trouble, or damage during the said six months, for any past act, or thing done in the time of war, and in prosecution thereof. Provided, that I shall not hereby be obliged to grant passes to go into England or Scotland, but to such as I shall particularly think fit, or into any of our garrisons of Ireland, in greater number than I shall think fit, or to abide in such garrison any longer than myself, or the respective commanders under me within the several provinces, shall find convenient.

2. That during the space aforesaid, they shall, or may (without violence or molestation from any under my command) carry with them, and freely enjoy and dispose of to their best advantage, all such money and other goods of their own (horses, arms, and ammunition only excepted) as they shall bring with them, or procure to be brought after them out of the enemies quarters, or which they have any where within our quarters not sequestered, or actually seized of, and disposed of to the public use, nor being duly in the possession of our party as prize of war.

3. That the commissioned officers and gentlemen of quality and clergymen shall also keep and enjoy so many of their horses, with their swords and such other armes as shall be fitting and suitable to their qualities, and that both they and the soldiers shall have liberty to make benefit of all their horses and arms by selling them (the soldiers) within six weeks after the date hereof, and (the rest) within three months to any officers or soldiers under my command, or to the English Protestants within our quarters.

4. That I shall refer them to the consideration of the Commissioners for Revenue under my authority, within the respective provinces of this dominion (where any of them have or lately had any estates or land) . . . and determine whether and upon what terms they shall be admitted to the present possession of such their estates, until either the pleasure of the Parliament be known concerning them respectively, or until there be Commissioners or rules settled by authority from the Parliament by the fines or compositions of persons in their quality of delinquency, wherein they shall be reckoned, and dealt with equally or proportionably with other English Protestants, of like conditions and estates respectively, that have come in, and submitted since the first of December last.

5. That if any of them within the space of six months, shall not think fit to

give such engagement or assurance to the Parliament and Commonwealth of England for their fidelity as shall be required, or shall not have such further immunity and assurances to themselves for their lives, liberties, and estates, as they shall think fit to trust unto; then they shall have liberty and passes to transport themselves, with their families and movable estates, to any place beyond the seas. But such of them as shall give such engagement or assurance of their fidelity as shall be required, and shall submit to such fine or composition (as in the last precedent article), shall thereafter enjoy their lives, liberties, and estates (both real and personal), with the same immunity, protection, and right, as any other people under the authority, not obnoxious for any delinquency at all.

6. That all such officers, soldiers and gentlemen or clergymen (being English or Scottish, and Protestants), under the Lord Viscount Montgomery of Ardes, as shall come off with him from the Irish Popish party, shall, and may freely, without violence, injury, or molestation, pass and repair unto Enniskillinge in the county of Donegall, where and from whence (upon the like lists to be sent, and the like engagement to be given as in the first article), they shall have the same benefit in all respects (according to their qualities respectively) of the conditions expressed in that and the rest of the articles aforegoing, as those that shall come with and under the conduct of Colonel John Daniell are, or ought to have and enjoy.

7. That all such officers, soldiers, and gentlemen, or clergymen (being English or Scottish and Protestants), as shall come off as aforesaid with and under the command or conduct of Sir Thomas Armstrong, Knt., shall, and may freely, without any violence, injury or molestation, pass and repair unto Trim, in the county of East Meath, or to such other secure place thereabouts, as the Governor of Trim (upon notice given or their coming) shall appoint, where and from whence (upon the like lists to be sent, and upon the like engagements (as in the first article) they shall have the same benefit in all respects (according to their qualities respectively), of the conditions expressed in that and the rest of the articles aforegoing, as those that shall come with and under the conduct of Colonel John Daniell are, or ought to have and enjoy.

8. Provided always that the benefit of these conditions shall extend only to such as shall come off within the space of thirty days, and send a list of their names as aforesaid, within fifteen days from the date hereof, and that no benefit thereof shall extend to Colonel Wogan, or the Marshall that went out of Cork with him.

9. And all officers, soldiers, and others under my command, are required upon notice hereof, to observe the conditions hereby granted, and not to do any thing to the violation of them, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perils.

Given under my hand and seal this 26th day of April, Anno Domini, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Pr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 393-396, from a copy in *Carte Papers*, xxvii, 244. Summary in Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 58. Underwritten is the engagement for the fulfillment of the conditions, signed and sealed by Sterling, Boyle and Daniell. The original, according to Mrs. Lomas, was in the Tangye Collection, signed and sealed by Cromwell. Lord Montgomery of Ards had his estate slated for confiscation despite these articles, and petitioned Parliament in 1652. *C. S. P. D. passim*.

The collapse of Royalist resistance brought with it many problems—the treatment of the armed forces, the protection of their civilian adherents, the provision for departure of those who sought permission to leave Ireland, and the disposition of the war-material and the possessions of the disbanding troops. This last was of immediate importance; and in connection with the articles Cromwell signed a general license¹²⁰ which was identical with a special license that included Boyle's name:

To Colonel Daniell

Allowance of Horse and Arms to Protestant Party

The number of horses and arms intended to be allowed for officers, Gentlemen of quality and clergymen to keep and enjoy according to the conditions granted by me to the protestant party under the Lord Marquess of Ormonde of even date herewith, is to be as followeth, vizt:

To each Capt. two.	To each Lieut. Cornett and	} ^{with} swords & pistolls.
To every Colil, four horses.	Quarter Mr. of horse one.	
To Mr. Deane Boyle, four.	To every field officer, three	
	To each other clergyman, one	

April 26, 1650. O. CROMWELL.¹²¹

At the same time, in view of the approaching exodus of the Royalist officers and soldiers, Cromwell sent instructions to Penn to assist those proposing to leave, in every way he could:

For Capt. William Penn, Vice Admiral of the Irish Seas: These

SIR,

Understanding that there are many of the English Protestant party with the Lord of Inchiquin and others, who are desirous to come in to me and to lay down their arms, and desert the Irish interest; and that in their coming away they shall be necessitated to pass over the river Shannon, near the place where your ships ride, which without your assistance will be very hard for them to do, I therefore desire you (upon their informing you thereof) that you will afford them what countenance and assistance (for the furthering of this their purpose) you may without prejudice to the fleet. I rest, Sir,

Your very loving friend,

Fethard,
April the 26, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹²²

¹²⁰ Endorsed "General Cromwell's note for what he will allow of horses and arms to such as go off, etc." The original, with Cromwell's signature, is in the *Carte Mss.*, xxvii, 243, in the Bodleian Library. Printed in Gilbert, ii, 396.

¹²¹ Sold in 1919, according to *Autograph Prices Current*. Listed for sale again in Maggs Catalogue, no. 471 (1925).

¹²² Copy in the *Carte Papers*, xxvii; printed in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 397; Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement, 58.

CLONMEL, APRIL 27—MAY 18, 1650

It was, apparently, immediately after writing this letter that Cromwell set out for Clonmel before which he arrived on April 27. If he summoned the place to surrender, no document seems to have survived to that effect, and the next glimpse of his activities is in connection with a business which for some weeks was to absorb his attention—the negotiations with those Royalists who were about to give up the fight. It is not without interest to note that among these men was Ormonde's brother, Colonel Richard Butler, to whom Cromwell issued a special order to permit him to release himself from certain obligations:

Pass for Col. Richard Butler

By the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:

Forasmuch as Colonel Richard Butler of Kilkash, in the county of Tipperary, stands engaged for some monies for the ransoming of some prisoners at Dublin who are since released, and doth desire leave to go to the Lord Ormond, the Lord of Inchiquin, or any other of the enemies party, to disengage himself of the obligation aforesaid, these are therefore to require and strictly to charge all officers and soldiers under my command quietly to permit and suffer the said Colonel Butler, with James Lea, James Comerford, and Vincent Daulton, his servants, and their horses, riding arms, and other necessities, quietly to pass to the Lord of Ormonde, the Lord Inchiquin, or any of the enemies party to procure his discharge of the aforesaid engagement, and to return to my headquarters without any let or interruption. Provided the same be done before the twelfth day of May next. And I do hereby declare that if within the time aforesaid the said Colonel Butler shall discharge his said engagement, that then the said Colonel shall be free and at liberty from his imprisonment.

Given under my hand the 29th day of April, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹²³

Absorbed in these negotiations, which were so rapidly relieving him of his enemies, Cromwell had taken little active part in the siege of Clonmel where Owen Roe O'Neill's nephew, Major-General Hugh O'Neill, sometime a Spanish officer, with some twelve hundred troops, chiefly Ulstermen and all but some fifty of whom were infantry, had been more or less blockaded since February. Thus far the operations had consisted of little more than sallies by the garrison, which had inflicted considerable losses on the besiegers; but it seemed that, with Royalist collapse elsewhere, the fall of the place could not now be long delayed. Ormonde, to whom O'Neill had appealed for help, was in no position to aid him. Preston's promised reinforcements from Waterford never came, and other relieving parties had been turned

¹²³ Printed in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 399–400; *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 4 App. p. 561 (Ormonde Mss.); and, in abstract form, in Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 59.

back. Food and ammunition were running low, and when Cromwell finally arrived, it seemed that Clonmel was about to yield with little resistance or none. Moreover, here as elsewhere, there was treachery. According to the story, a certain Major Fennell had accepted Cromwell's offer of £500 to betray the town by opening one of its gates at midnight and admitting five hundred of the besiegers while pretending to oppose the rest.

But O'Neill was a vigilant as well as a capable commander, and "some inspyringe good angel" warned him that Fennell was not to be trusted. Visiting the post himself, he found that, instead of a guard composed as usual of two-thirds Ulstermen, it was composed entirely of men from Fennell's own regiment, all native Irish. Fennell, the story goes on to say, was arrested and, believing his plot discovered, confessed on promise of full pardon. The five hundred Parliamentary soldiers were admitted at the appointed hour and all slaughtered by the Ulstermen with whom O'Neill had replaced Fennell's detachment; the supporting troops were repulsed, and the attempt failed.¹²⁴

Whatever truth, if any, may lie in this story, it argues an unpromising beginning and Cromwell took prompt steps to remedy the situation. He sent for Broghill at once and on April 30 the great guns were brought up¹²⁵ and the bombardment began. While the siege went on, Cromwell himself continued the negotiations for the submission of the Protestant party. To clear up the ambiguities and obscurities of the document he had given to Boyle and his colleagues, as the result of their representations to Ireton, Cromwell issued a declaration on May 5 "elucidating the particulars" of his safe-conduct of April 26:

Explanation of Articles

By the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

Having seen a letter (dated the 2d instant) directed to Lieutenant-General Ireton from Mr. Michael Boyle, Dean of Cloyne and Colonel John Daniell (who together with Sir Robert Sterling, Knt. were lately employed unto me with certain overtures in the name and behalf of the Protestant party in Ireland under the command or obedience of the Lord Marquess of Ormond) wherein they do desire to have the sense and intention of certain particulars contained in the Articles by me granted and sent by them in relation to the said Protestant party to be cleared by me, which particulars are as followeth.

1. Whether, in the first Article where relation is made of English or Scottish Protestants, it be intended to extend as well to Protestants of any nation as of these.

2. Whether, whereas in the same Article there is security given for all that

¹²⁴ "Aphorismal Discovery," in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 77-78. Fennell seems to have accompanied O'Neill after Clonmel; and the surrender of Limerick, after which he was hanged, was attributed to him.

¹²⁵ *Several Proceedings*, May 11.

shall come off with or under the conduct of Colonel John Daniell and the like, in other Articles to all that shall come off with or under the conduct of other persons in the said Articles respectively named, the benefit of that Article be intended to extend as well to the persons conducting as conducted.

3. Whether in case any person obliged by those Articles to depart this dominion of Ireland within six months shall upon any particular debt be restrained under arrest so as he cannot perform accordingly it be intended that such his non-performance shall be accounted a breach of the Articles.

To these several scruples I answer and declare: To the two first affirmatively and to the third negatively, or (for more clearness) to the several particulars as followeth.

To the first: That the benefit of the first Articles granted to English or Scottish Protestants is intended and shall extend as well to Protestants of any nation as of those.

To the second: That the security given in the first Article to all that shall come off with or under the conduct of Colonel John Daniell and by any of the subsequent Articles to such as shall come off with or under the conduct of the other persons in those Articles respectively named is intended and shall extend as well to the respective persons conducting as conducted.

To the third: That if any person, being obliged by these Articles to depart this dominion of Ireland within six months, shall be restrained under arrest upon any particular debt so as he cannot perform accordingly it shall not be interpreted or taken advantage of as a breach of Articles.

And I do further hereby declare at the request of the said Mr. Dean Boyle and Colonel Daniell in their foresaid letters contained): That in case the list or lists required by the proviso to the said Article of the persons' names that shall come off thereupon to be sent in within fifteen days after date of the said Articles, shall not be returned or sent by the time so prefixed, the failer thereof for three or four days longer shall not be taken advantage of as a breach of the Articles in case the failer be, by any reasonable hindrance to the perfecting or sending of the lists by the time prefixed, and do not appear to be protracted in design to gain advantage to the prejudice of the Parliamentary party. In assurance thereof I have hereunto set my hand, the 5th of May 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹²⁶

One more important point remained to be determined—what of Ormonde and Inchiquin, who had refused to accept inclusion in the terms of surrender? Cromwell would have been glad to be rid of them and he and Ireton had hinted frequently to Boyle that they would listen willingly to any proposals looking toward special conditions for those commanders. Receiving no satisfactory reply, they finally asked the Dean point-blank what Ormonde intended? Boyle intimated that if things went well, Ormonde would leave Ireland, if he could find safe transportation; but to Cromwell's offer to give safe-conducts for Ormonde and Inchiquin, Boyle replied that he had been ordered not to ask favors for either one of them, but that he himself

¹²⁶ Original in the Tangye Collection, now in the London Museum.

would take such safe conducts, to be accepted or rejected by his superiors as they pleased.¹²⁷ To this Boyle added in his letter to Ormonde that the General was "a great servant of your lady, and much to pitty her condition; the estate which she brought your Lordship they openly profess shall not be given from her."¹²⁸

Following these conversations, therefore, on May 7 Cromwell drew up passes for the Royalist commanders:

To all officers, soldiers, and others under my command, and to all captains and commanders of any of the shipping under the obedience of the Parliament

By the Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland.

These are to require you, and every of you, to permit and suffer his Excellency the Lord Marquess of Ormond and his family, not exceeding the number of twenty persons, with three horses, and also their clothes, household stuff, and other goods (not being merchandise), quietly and safely to take shipping at any place within the river of Shannon, or at Galway, or to pass to Kinsale and take shipping there, and from such place of their shipping to be transported to any parts beyond the seas (except to England, Wales, or Scotland) without any violence, injury, or molestation, as you will answer the contrary at your perils; provided they take shipping and depart from Ireland within the space of two months after the date hereof. And that in the mean time they, or any of them, do not act anything to the prejudice of the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.

Given under my hand and seal the seventh day of May, Anno Domini 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹²⁹

To all officers, soldiers and others under my command, and to all captains and commanders of any of the shipping under the obedience of the Parliament

These are to require you to permit and suffer the right honorable the Lord Baron of Inchiquin and his family (not exceeding the number of thirteen persons with two horses and all their clothes, household stuffs and other goods, not being merchandise, quietly and safely to take shipping at any place within the river of Shannon or at Galway or to pass to Kinsale and take shipping there and from such place of their shipping to transport to any parts beyond seas (except to England, Wales or Scotland) without any violence, injury or molestation; as you will answer the contrary at your perils; provided they take shipping and depart from Ireland within the space of two months after the date hereof, and in the mean time they or any of them do not act

¹²⁷ Boyle to Ormonde, Apr. 30, Gilbert, ii, 401.

¹²⁸ Boyle to Ormonde, May 6, *Ibid.*, 406.

¹²⁹ Copy in *Carte Mss.*, xxvii, 462, in the Bodleian Library. Pr. in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-406. Calendered in *32nd Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. I, p. 39.

anything to the prejudice of the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.
Given under my hand and seal the seventh day of May, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁰

Whether or not the passes were issued in good faith, in the hope that with escape at hand Ormonde and Inchiquin might be removed from the path of Parliament, they were susceptible of another interpretation. The ink on the safe-conducts was hardly dry when Colonel Axtell wrote to Preston, the governor of Waterford, to advise him of their issue and to suggest that the game was up and Waterford might be surrendered without dishonor.¹³¹ On May 8, Boyle wrote Cromwell to protest the awkward position in which he had been placed, reminding him that he had made it plain that he had strict orders not to ask favors for Ormonde and Inchiquin and had only accepted the protections because he thought events might make them necessary for the safety of the Royalist commanders.¹³² Ormonde went still further. On the 17th he wrote Cromwell an angry letter, expressing his wonder, "why you ether gave or hee accepted it," adding "though I am yet to seeke a reason for his part of that transaction, yet yours appeares to mee in Axtells letter to Generall Preston. I have by this trumpeter returned you your paper, and for your unsought courtesy doe assure you, that when you shall desire a passe from mee, and I thinke fit to graunt it, I shall not make use of it to corrupt any that comands under you."¹³³ At first Ormonde ordered Boyle to return the pass to Cromwell, but fearing another trick, ordered it sent to himself instead, "lest the returne of it should be perverted to his prejudice."¹³⁴ Inchiquin's safe-conduct was, however, sent back to Cromwell, who within a few days issued another for the Earl's family:

Pass for Lady Inchiquin

By the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Whereas I have formerly granted license unto the right honorable the Lady Inchiquin and her family and servants with their household stuff and goods to depart this dominion, and to be transported to any foreign parts, In

¹³⁰ Copy in *Carte Mss.*, xxvii, 463, in the Bodleian Library.

¹³¹ News was brought to London by Col. Shelborne that Sir Thomas Armstrong, having made terms, was sent to make overtures to Preston for surrender on terms and that Cromwell was inclined to grant Preston's demand to be allowed to carry five hundred men to Spain but to refuse his demand for the exercise of public mass. The same day London heard that the Governor of Duncannon had asked for twenty days before delivering the fort, and that Cromwell had granted only three days. Whitelocke, p. 451, dates this Apr. 20 but it must have been May 20, if the story is to be given the slightest credence.

¹³² Letter in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 406, from *Carte Mss.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 411.

¹³⁴ Boyle to Cromwell, May 8, *loc. cit.*

pursuance whereof at the desire of the said lady, and for her transportation and better accommodation in her voyage, I do hereby give leave and license that the ship called the Golden Sun of Enkhuizen, whereof Reive Peeterson is master, burden 160 ton or thereabouts, bound for Middleburgh, and laden with the commodities hereafter mentioned, vizt. 3646 salted hides, 75 bags of wool, seven packs of sheep and goat skins, and 37 sides of bacon, to go from the port or harbour where she now lieth to Middleburgh aforesaid. Requiring all captains and commanders of the Parliament ships, and all others whom it may concern, to permit and suffer the said ship, and the said master and seamen belonging to her, with her lading before mentioned. And also with the said lady, her family and goods quietly to pass from this dominion to Middleburgh aforesaid without any let or molestation. Provided they act nothing to the prejudice of the State of England, and that under pretence hereof no person or goods be transported than as afore specified according to the purport and true meaning of these presence.

Given under my hand and seal the 13th of May, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁵

Amid these negotiations the siege of Clonmel had gone on. It was, apparently, a few days after the signature of the pass for Lady Inchiquin that the breach made by the artillery was considered practicable and three separate attacks had been launched in vain. On his part, while holding off these attempts to storm the town, O'Neill had not been idle. Instead of endeavoring to repair the damage to the fortifications, he had enlisted every person available to pile stones, timber and mortar to form walls some eighty yards in length on either side of a lane running up from the breach, digging a huge ditch at the end of the passage and planting his guns behind it. It was a most ingenious plan and, apparently on May 17,¹³⁶ Cromwell, igno-

¹³⁵ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 410, from *Carte Mss.*, xxvii, 339. Abstract in Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 59.

¹³⁶ Only two contemporary sources have been found which assign a definite date to the siege of Clonmel. One is "Dr. Jones' Diary" (*loc. cit.*) who says "the 17 [of May] Clonmel was taken where and when Col. Arthur Culme was slain being shott at the Breach." The other is a letter in *Several Proceedings*, May 23-30, which is there dated May 10 and describes the siege. This letter, received with letters dated Dublin, May 17 and May 19, the first silent about Clonmel, the second mentioning it, was reprinted in *Cromwelliana* and also by Gilbert who, assuming the date was printed correctly, inserted "May 9" and "May 10" in brackets in all the other accounts of the siege. To these two reprints may be traced all the secondary accounts which give a definite date, making the basis for them all a letter printed in a newspaper whose accuracy is by no means infallible and is definitely open to question in this case because other news sent after the 10th from Ireland appeared in print in London earlier than the news of Clonmel. Moreover, besides Dr. Jones' Diary we have the articles for surrender whose date of May 18 is not questioned even by Gilbert who printed them. Murphy, whose careful scholarship is at all times reliable, sidesteps the question of the date of Clonmel. Carte, who had access to much manuscript material for his *Life of Ormonde*, gives May 18 as the date of surrender. A careful search for activities of any

rant of or ignoring these defences, ordered another storm. At eight in the morning, singing hymns, his men rushed through the breach without opposition to find themselves in the death-trap O'Neill had prepared for them. Enfiladed by the fire from either side and with the guns playing on their front, the first who entered grasped the situation and shouted "Halt! Halt!" but those who followed, believing that the cries meant that the garrison was escaping, shouted "Advance! Advance!" and poured in through the breach.

The result was a massacre. The Parliamentarians, crowded into the narrow lane and driven on by those behind, were killed by the defenders or crushed in an effort to escape. With a loss estimated—no doubt with exaggeration—at a thousand men, the survivors of the storming-party could not be persuaded either by their officers' threats or swords to re-enter that deadly breach; and Cromwell, waiting on horseback at the main gate for it to be opened to admit his forces, and seeing the rout of his attacking party, rode away, it is said, "as much vexed as ever he was since he first put on a helmet against the King."

Despite the refusal of his infantry to attack again, he was not disposed to give up the fight and ordered up his cavalry under Colonel Sankey, Colonel Culme, Lieutenant Charles Langley, and a son of John Cook the prosecutor of Charles I, now chief justice of Munster. They drove Clonmel's defenders from the breach, but entering the lane, like their comrades of the infantry, they were mowed down by O'Neill's men. Colonel Culme and many of his officers were killed, and so close was the fighting it is said that Langley's hand was cut off with a scythe. For four hours Cromwell poured men into this desperate attack, until his losses were reckoned—again, no doubt, with exaggeration—at fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred men in this disastrous effort to take the town, whose resistance remained unbroken. Finally, according to the somewhat fantastic story, declaring his enemies invincible, he ordered a retreat, but finding a silver bullet in the grass, deduced that the garrison was short of ammunition and managed to persuade his shattered regiments to encamp near the walls and go on with the blockade.

O'Neill had been too much for Cromwell but the commander of Clonmel knew his strength was spent. Not only was his ammunition gone, but his food as well, and, after consulting with his officers, he told Mayor White that the garrison would evacuate the place that night. Giving them some hours to get a start, White sent to ask a safe-conduct to enter into a treaty, and, brought to Cromwell's quarters, negotiated terms of surrender which assured the safety of the inhabitants and their property:

of the chief officers in the siege during the week between May 10 and May 17 yields nothing, which would seem to add weight to a theory that they were before Clonmel.

Articles between the Lord Lieutenant and the inhabitants of Clonmel touching the rendition thereof, May the 18th, 1650

It is granted and agreed by and betwixt the Lord Lieutenant-General Cromwell on the one part, and Mr. Michael White and Mr. Nicholas Betts, commissioners, intrusted in the behalf of the town and garrison of Clonmel on the other part, as follows:

1st. That the said town and garrison of Clonmel, with the arms, ammunition and other furniture of war that are now therein shall be surrendered and delivered up into the hands of his Excellency, the Lord Lieutenant by eight of the clock this morning.

2. That in consideration thereof the inhabitants of the said town shall be protected as to their lives and estates, from all plunder and violence of the soldiery, and shall have the same right, liberty, and protection as other subjects under the authority of the Parliament of England have, or ought to have and enjoy within the dominion of Ireland.

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁷

But even this was not the last of Cromwell's discomfitures. According to the story, when the treaty had been signed, Cromwell asked White if O'Neill knew of the intention to surrender the town, and, informed that O'Neill and his men had already left, denounced the Mayor for his duplicity. "You knave," he is reported to have said, "why have you served me so, and did not tell me so before?" 'Had his Excellency inquired,' White replied, 'he would have told him before'; and when Cromwell demanded the return of the treaty, protested that 'his Excellency had the reputation of keeping his promises.' Cromwell was fairly caught, but, as an English officer reported he swore that "by G— above, he would follow that Hugh Duff O'Neill wheresoever he went." That vow he was not able to fulfil, for though O'Neill was pursued and his stragglers to the number of some two hundred were cut off, and though he was refused admission to Waterford, with Fennell he escaped to Limerick. There he defended the place against Ireton, and, compelled to surrender it finally, was saved from death by pleading the fact that he was a subject of the King of Spain, was sent to the Tower, and, ultimately released on intervention of the Spanish ambassador, ended his days in Spain.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 411-412, from a copy endorsed *copia vera* in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

¹³⁸ The various accounts of the siege of Clonmel differ widely. Seven separate relations are printed in Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, 408-17: Four letters printed respectively in *Perfect Diurnall*, May 6-13; *Several Proceedings*, May 23-30; Whitelocke, p. 456-7; and *A Letter from Sir Lewis Dyve* (who arrived in Holland from Ireland in mid-June) (1650); Geo. Bate, *Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles* (1685); Ludlow's *Memoirs* (ed. Firth), i, 238; Borlase, *op. cit.*; Edmund Hogan, *History of the Warr of Ireland from 1641 to 1653* (Dublin, 1873). The "Aphorismical Discovery" is in Gilbert, ii, 75-79. See also Dillingham to Sancroft, in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 218.

All in all, the siege of Clonmel was the most disastrous episode of Cromwell's whole military career, and whatever allowance may be made for the exaggerations of his enemies, it seems evident that it added nothing to his reputation. As to his treatment of the inhabitants after the surrender, the accounts, like those of the siege, vary widely. Though one of the chief authorities declares they were "pillaged, rifled and plundered,"¹³⁹ the others agree that Cromwell kept his word. Apart from such plundering as always accompanied the occupation of a conquered town, Clonmel apparently escaped the fate of Drogheda and Wexford. Of the accompanying incidents only one tale—and that of dubious authenticity—remains. It relates to one Richard Magner, a Confederate Catholic, who came to Clonmel to submit, and was kindly received by Cromwell, who promised him protection and gave him a letter to Colonel Phayre in Cork. Opening the letter and finding that it was an order for the execution of the bearer, Magner went on to Mallow and gave it to the governor, against whom he bore a grudge, telling him that Cromwell wished it delivered to Phayre. The governor delivered the letter but Phayre took the precaution to communicate with Cromwell before carrying out the order and so saved the bearer's life.¹⁴⁰

RETURN TO ENGLAND, MAY 18–JUNE 10, 1650

With the capture of Clonmel and the submission of the Protestant Royalists, the conquest of Ireland was over so far as Cromwell was actively concerned; and it was fortunate for him that he had not met more commanders like O'Neill. But if his army was weakened by this last adventure, the Royalists were in far worse case. Their forces were divided against themselves and the Protestant resistance was broken. There remained only the native Irish and the towns of Waterford and Limerick, and these could be safely left to Ireton, on whom devolved the command of the Parliamentary army in Ireland. Moreover the home authorities were daily becoming more and more alarmed and impatient. On April 9 the Council wrote Cromwell to leave Irish affairs in the hands of whomever he thought fit; on the 13th Scot was ordered to write him to leave at once; and on the 20th the frigate *President* left Milford Haven to bring him home.¹⁴¹

The reasons for their impatience were obvious and their alarm well founded. The negotiations between Charles and the Scots had been accompanied by Montrose's activities among the northern powers and by communications with the English Royalists through Colonel Keane, which promised the support of the west country if Charles could land Sir Richard Grenville with a thousand foot and

¹³⁹ *Aphorismical Discovery*.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, *History of Cork*, i, 296.

¹⁴¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), ii, 90; *C. J.*, vi, 397; *Severall Proceedings*, Apr. 26.

five hundred horse in the Scillies. It was hoped that the support of the Levellers might be obtained. Meanwhile Charles negotiated with such diverse elements as the Vatican, the Duke of Lorraine, Count Waldemar of Denmark and a Hessian General von Karpfen. It was natural to hope that with thousands of soldiers now disbanded from the German wars, it might be possible to recruit men and officers, even, perhaps, rulers, to take part in this new adventure.

The very number and variety of the sources to which Charles looked for help, however, revealed the insubstantial basis for his hopes of aid from continental powers, as the attitude of the English Royalists who leaned toward Montrose and feared the Scottish authorities revealed the deep divisions among his supporters in the British Isles. To Montrose Charles gave his full confidence. At the moment Cromwell was nearing Kilkenny, the King commissioned Lord Eythin as Montrose's lieutenant and alternate commander,¹⁴² agreeing not to consent to any terms of the Scottish commissioners which might be prejudicial to his lieutenant in Scotland. Meanwhile those commissioners arrived at Breda to demand the abandonment of both Ormonde and Montrose, acceptance of the Covenant and the adoption of Presbyterianism by England, Ireland, court and King. Those proposals Charles denied, but the negotiations lingered on until on April 29—two days after Montrose's expedition had failed—the Commissioners formally invited Charles to come to Scotland. On May 1 Charles signed the so-called Treaty of Breda, accepting the Covenant as the price of Scotch support, and so opened another chapter in the civil wars.

If he expected to regain his throne by force of arms he had little choice. Montrose's last campaign had been short and tragic. Assured by Charles in January, 1650, that though he would receive the Scots' commissioners, he would consent to nothing contrary to Montrose's authority as lieutenant-governor of Scotland which had been conferred on him in the preceding March, Montrose had collected men and money from the northern powers and sailed for the Orkneys in December, 1650. Of his twelve or fourteen hundred men he lost a thousand by shipwreck, and on April 27, 1650—the day that Cromwell arrived before Clonmel—the rest had been easily overpowered at Invercarron. Montrose himself escaped, but he was given up by Macleod of Asynt, with whom he had sought refuge; carried to Edinburgh by Leslie; and, in accordance with a decree of the Scottish Parliament, he had been hanged on May 21 at the Grassmarket in Edinburgh.¹⁴³

¹⁴² This was that General King whom Henrietta Maria had brought over to serve under Newcastle in the first Civil War.

¹⁴³ Buchan, *Montrose*; and art. "Montrose" in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Thus at the moment that Cromwell was engaged in clearing up the business remaining to him in Ireland, one foe was removed in Scotland, but a new combination was being formed against the revolutionary party in England. The leaders of that party were aware of the negotiations of the Scottish commissioners. They were no less cognizant of the Royalist intrigues, the dissatisfaction of the Levellers and the Londoners, which they prepared to counteract by every means in their power. Their first move was to inform Cromwell that five regiments of foot and six of horse were to be sent to Scotland, that he was needed to command the expedition, and that he could maintain constant communication with Ulster by means of a vessel from Carlisle.¹⁴⁴ Additional forces for Ireland seem to have been sent to Cromwell for on May 1 Captain Nixon had arrived in King Road from Munster under Cromwell's orders to convoy transport and provision ships back to England.¹⁴⁵ On May 7 the Council considered a commission which the Lord Lieutenant had given Colonel Le Hunt to raise a regiment for Ireland,¹⁴⁶ and on the 10th Cromwell's chaplain arrived with letters from his commander.¹⁴⁷ On that day the Council ordered a letter written to inform Cromwell that his communications brought by Colonel Le Hunt had been received and that the House was resolved to bring him to England at once;¹⁴⁸ and three days later it ordered Desborough to provide a horse-guard at Barnstaple or Bristol to receive him in case he should land at either port.¹⁴⁹

It is evident from these various communications that every effort was being made by the revolutionary authorities to meet the crisis which confronted them, especially by securing the presence of their chief reliance, the conqueror of Ireland. He, meanwhile, was on his way home. Leaving a garrison in Clonmel, he advanced toward Waterford; but, according to the *Aphorismical Discovery*, he had scarcely encamped there before he received news which caused him to leave it to Ireton. This was probably the letter ordered by the Council on May 4, to advise him of its plans for the expedition to Scotland.¹⁵⁰ It was there that he wrote the last of his Irish letters which has been preserved, a protection for Henry, Viscount Moore, who, like many of his kind, had changed from King to Parliament,

¹⁴⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 141. On May 24, Col. Jones was ordered to write to Cromwell or his deputy to arrange for a constant correspondence between the forces in the north of Ireland and the army in England. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 170.

¹⁴⁶ *Several Proceedings.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), ii, 150.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁵⁰ "Aphorismical Discovery," *loc. cit.*, ii, 79; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 141.

back to the King, and had but recently surrendered to Cromwell.¹⁵¹

For Colonel Hewson, Governor of Dublin

SIR,

The Lord Viscount Moore having had passes and protection from me to repair to Mellifont in the county of Louth and there to reside during the space of six months next ensuing; I desire you that the said Lord Moore during his stay at Mellifont, and if he shall during the said time have occasion to repair to Dublin to the Commissioners there, that he may be fairly and civilly treated, and that no incivility or abuse be offered unto him by any of the soldiery, either by restraining of his liberty or otherwise; it being a thing which I altogether disprove and dislike that the soldiers should intermeddle in civil affairs farther than they are lawfully called upon. Your care herein will oblige the said Lord in relation to his present condition, and will be well accepted by,

Your loving friend,

O. CROMWELL.¹⁵²

May 22, 1650.

At the moment that Cromwell despatched this letter, Hewson was back in Dublin, Ireton was in the neighborhood of Clonmel as acting commander-in-chief, and Reynolds was besieging Tecroghan, which still held out. Save for that, only Waterford was left unconquered in the area between Drogheda and Cork when Cromwell's work in Ireland was finished. On May 26 he set sail from Youghal, where Ireton bade him, as it happened, a last farewell, and turned his face toward England and his next adventure.¹⁵³ There his reputation was now higher than ever, and his return was anticipated by the revolutionary leaders with eagerness and anxiety. It was apparent not only that they no longer had confidence in Fairfax, but that they were profoundly disturbed at the temper of the army,¹⁵⁴ which they hesitated to assemble for the Scotch expedition before Cromwell arrived. It is no less apparent that Cromwell was their only resource, that he was the head of the armed forces in all but name, and it was proposed in many quarters, as the French agent, Croullé, testified, and as the Royalist news-sheets confirmed, to make him Constable or Protector.¹⁵⁵ The act for the establishment of a new High Court of

¹⁵¹ His mother, widow of Charles, the second Viscount, persistently informed on Royalists to secure her husband's arrears.

¹⁵² Original, with the signature and date in Cromwell's hand, said to have been at one time in the possession of Dean Swift, was owned by Capt. Charles Lindsay when it was printed in Lomas-Carlyle, Supplement 60. Printed also in *Anthologia Hibernica*, i, 170.

¹⁵³ Jones, "Diary," *loc. cit.*, p. 52. Jones was in Clonmel on the 27th and saw Ireton on his arrival from Youghal. Murphy says Cromwell set sail for Ireland on the 29th and arrived in London on May 31.

¹⁵⁴ Account of Col. Keane, Charles' agent, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 154.

¹⁵⁵ Croullé to Mazarin, June 3/13, quoted in Gardiner, *op. cit.* from Arch. des Aff. Étrangères.

Justice strengthened that idea, for it contained a clause that no one was to hold correspondence with Henrietta Maria, Charles or James without consent of Parliament, the Council of State, Fairfax or Cromwell.¹⁵⁶

With his departure from Ireland, though he was to have a profound influence on that island in the coming years, Cromwell's direct connection with its fortunes was over, for he never saw Ireland again. His campaign there was only an episode, though an important one, in the history of the relations between England and Ireland in these years. He did not conquer the Irish, he never even met any of their armies in the field. The way was paved for him by Jones' victory at Rathmines, without which his task would have been incomparably more difficult. He faced a defeated and discouraged enemy with a superior force and with vastly superior resources; and his operations were rather a repetition of his activities in his last campaign in the west after Naseby than like those of the campaigns against the Scots. They were almost without exception sieges of towns and the taking of fortified castles where his great superiority in artillery gave him an enormous advantage over the defenders. Nor did his conquests extend over much territory. As he himself declared, he gained "a great longitude of land along the shore, yet it had but little depth in the country." Finally, though he did not say so, he accomplished almost as much by bribery as by arms. It is a curious speculation of no great importance, yet at this distance it seems not improbable that, had he never set foot in Ireland, the same results might have been accomplished by Jones with the same support.

Yet Cromwell's achievement in Ireland was none the less considerable, nor is it to be minimized. If it had no other results, it spread the terror of his name and, as it happened, that contributed much to his next operations against Scotland. With arts and arms he broke the resistance of the English Royalists and made Ormonde's task hopeless. He thus relieved the Commonwealth from the danger of attack on that side and compelled Charles II to seek aid elsewhere. In so far he weakened the royal cause and freed the arms of the Commonwealth to face the danger from Scotland. He did more than that. He closed the Irish ports to privateers, whether the ships of Rupert or those of individuals like the men of Wexford, and so secured the safety of English commerce in those waters. He paved the way for the future conquest of Ireland and made it easier for his successors to overrun the whole country, at once securing the results of Jones' victory and preparing that of Ireton.

He thus contributed greatly to that forced emigration which, beginning with the flight of some of the best fighting material to foreign

¹⁵⁶ *Several Proceedings*, Mar. 26.

service, continued with the transportation of the native Irish in later years and under his orders to the plantations and the western provinces. In so far did his influence make for strengthening the hold of England on both Ireland and the Empire. Yet to this must be added another consideration. The Cromwellian conquest and policy left a heritage of hate among the conquered people scarcely equalled and seldom, if ever, surpassed in history; and among its other results this was not the least important in the long resolution of events. Beside its more immediate consequences may be set this ultimate result, for his ruthless cruelty became, as it were, a symbol of the English as a whole in the minds of a people prone to remember and to symbolize.

As to the effect on Cromwell's own fortunes and reputation, Marvell's ode on his return from Ireland indicates:

"So much one man can do,
That does both act and know.
They can affirm his Praises best,
And have, though overcome, confest,
How good he is, how just,
And fit for highest Trust;
Nor yet grown stiffer with Command,
But still in the *Republick's* hand:
How fit he is to sway,
That can so well obey,
He to the *Commons feet* presents
A *Kingdome* for his first year's rents;
And what he may, forbears
His Fame to make it theirs:
.
What may not others fear
If thus he crowns each Year!"

Something may be allowed the fervid eloquence of a panegyrist, but the tone of Milton's eulogy of Cromwell, and still more his distortion of the facts of the Irish campaign, reveal how little of the Irish situation was really known in England even by a secretary to the Council of State—or at least how little he was willing to communicate to his readers. "What need of many words?" he wrote in his *Defensio Secunda*. "Let me recount your greatest exploits as briefly as I can, as you were wont to achieve them rapidly. Ireland, save for one city, was wholly lost, when you, transporting an army, in one battle broke the power of the Irish." It would be difficult to compress more misinformation, conscious or unconscious, into a single sentence than this description of Cromwell's activities in Ireland.

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Yet it may serve to represent something of the impression on the English mind of Cromwell's share in that conquest. In it the decisive victory of Jones at Rathmines played little part or none, so completely was it overshadowed by the reports of Cromwell's successes which found their way back to England. Moreover Jones died, and his fame with him; and the part he played in relation to Cromwell has been compared, not inaptly, with that of Desaix and Bonaparte at Marengo.

CHAPTER VI

THE INVASION OF SCOTLAND, 1650

*"The Pict no shelter now shall find
Within his party-colour'd mind,
But from this Valour sad
Shrink underneath the Plad."*¹

The return of Cromwell from his success in Ireland—a success not minimized by his own accounts of it and those of the supporters of the Commonwealth—gave new strength and direction to the activities of its leaders. It provided not merely a much needed victory, an addition to that leadership and to the unity and resolution of its policies, but most of all an individual to direct and to personify those policies, an outstanding personality to set against that of the exiled king. For that rôle there was no rival to Cromwell, not even Fairfax, perhaps least of all Fairfax, and certainly not Vane nor any of the lesser figures in the army or in Parliament. An ever-victorious commander with an aura of invincibility, compelling eloquence, profound conviction of the righteousness of his cause and the certainty of its success, and unconquerable resolution, was precisely what the Commonwealth most needed and what he now provided.

This was the more important since the death of Charles I, for the circumstances of his trial and execution had not merely deepened the hostility of the Royalist Anglicans but it had shaken the allegiance of many who had thus far followed the revolutionary cause, especially the Presbyterians. There had been deep searchings of the heart even among Republicans, while Levellers like Lilburne still cherished distrust and dislike of the "grandees" in the army and Parliament. It was necessary then to have the great ability and prestige of Cromwell to bolster up the cause of the Commonwealth, and the rejoicings at his arrival testified, among other things, to the relief of the other leaders of the revolutionary movement at his presence among them.

The welcome he received revealed the strength of his position. After "an indifferent good passage," during which it was noted that

¹ A. Marvell, *Horatian Ode on Cromwell's Return from Ireland* (1650).

he was less seasick than on his voyage to Ireland,² he was welcomed at Bristol with a triple salute from the great guns.³ On May 29 Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and Thomas Scot were ordered to set out to meet him;⁴ and on the 31st he was met at Windsor, where, in the words of a contemporary pamphlet:

"he was entertained with many vollies of shot, his Lady also met him here, and many persons of eminency, Members of Parliament, and of the Council of State, and chief Officers of the Army; after much time spent in expressing civil respects one to another, and in congratulating his welcome thither, they had some discourse on the affaires of Ireland, and of the prosperous success wherewith it hath pleased God to crown his undertakings. . . .

"From Bristol to Windsor he came with a small retinue of his own Servants, and some few Gentlemen and Officers of the Army, he shews himself very affable, and courteous unto all, and as time will afford, admitteth any man that hath business, to speak with him.

"This Evening came some part of Collonel Riches Regiment of Horse, and most of the Innes in Town are full of guests, which come from London on purpose to attend him in his way to morrow. They tell us that a great number will also meet him by the way, in his passage to London; but his Lordship expreseth much humility, and when any Victory obtained is spoken of, he acknowledgeth God to be all in all, and saith, that that which is of God shall stand, but if it be not of God, t'will come to naught.

"He also declareth, That it is not sutable to his desire, to come up to London in great Pomp and Glory, yet because men would not be thought guilty of that abominable vice of ingratitude, and for that Worthy deeds are not to be requited with neglect, it may be decent and seemly, for such as are well-wishers to the common good, to testifie their affections this way, which may be done without ostentation in the one, and ascribing more then is due by the other."⁵

Hastening to London, on the next day he was met at Hounslow Heath by a great crowd of members of Parliament, officers and spectators. Passing through Hyde Park, where he was greeted with a salute of cannon and a volley from Barkstead's regiment,⁶ he arrived at Westminster "accompanied with many Lords, and most of the Members of Parliament and Council of State, the Officers of the Army, and many hundred well-affected Gentlemen and Citizens."⁷ The festivities were resumed on Monday the third, for, as during the six weeks past, the House had adjourned from Friday to Tuesday. But he attended the meeting of the Council on Saturday and it is

² *A Speech or Declaration of the Declared King of Scots. . . . Also some excellent Passages concerning the Lord Generall Cromwell, his Entertainment at Windsor Castle, and the manner of his coming from thence to London, the first of June, 1650*, p. 5.

³ Whitelocke, p. 457.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 178.

⁵ *A Speech or Declaration of the Declared King of Scots*, etc., pp. 4-6.

⁶ *Mercurius Politicus*, June 6; Whitelocke, p. 457.

⁷ *A Speech or Declaration of the Declared King of Scots*, p. 6.

notable that, emboldened by his arrival, that body now took steps to repress the Royalist newspapers which had attacked the new government during the previous twelvemonth with such vigor and success. At this meeting Ellis, the printer of *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, which had described Cromwell as "Copper Nose," "Nose Almighty," and "The Town Bull of Ely," was ordered to Newgate,⁸ and within a month his paper, with *The Man in the Moon* and *Mercurius Elencticus* ceased to appear.

If the Scotch expedition was taken up at this meeting of the Council, no record was kept of the discussion. That afternoon Cromwell called on Fairfax at his house in Queen's Street, "where there passed many remarkable expressions of mutuall love and Courtesie, sufficient to check the false tongues";⁹ and he was presently waited on by the City officials, as an old pamphlet records:

"This week the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London visited the Lord Cromwell at his lodgings near Whitehall, and the Recorder not being well in health, Mr. Sadler, acknowledging God's mercy in carrying his Excellency through so many difficulties in Ireland and bringing him victoriously hither again, &c. Unto which his Lordship made a modest reply, returning the praise and glory thereof to God alone."¹⁰

On Tuesday morning the Commons met and resolved that "when the Lord Lieutenant cometh to the House, Mr. Speaker do give him the hearty Thanks of this House for his great good Service." This done, Cromwell entered and Lenthall delivered "an eloquent Oration, setting forth the great Providence of God in those great and strange Works, which God hath wrought by him, as the Instrument;"¹¹ and from this the House went on to vote £2,000 for transporting colonists to Ireland, and to discuss petitions from the Irish Protestants. After this demonstration, Parliament resumed its usual procedure of considering such matters as bills for security of tenants, the sale of landlords' property, the appointment of two serjeants-at-law and a solicitor-general for the Commonwealth, but postponed consideration of an Act against women's painting their faces, wearing black patches and immodest dresses. Of Scotland and military arrangements, there was no word; such great concerns being left to the Council. That body met almost daily with Cromwell present at nearly every session, missing, in fact, only two of the nineteen meetings which were held while he was in London. In his capacity as member of the Council he

⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 187. Marchamont Needham had formerly published *Mercurius Pragmaticus* and was imprisoned the previous summer but, offered a pension, was at this time in the service of the Commonwealth, *Ibid.*, 174.

⁹ *Mercurius Politicus*, June 6.

¹⁰ *A Message sent from the Lord Hopton, etc.* (1650), quoted in C. L. Stainer, *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, Speech 13.

¹¹ *C. J.*, vi, 418.

was delegated on June 5 to present to the House the cases of the widows of three officers who had died in Ireland—Lieutenant-General Jones, Colonel Culme and Captain Fruen¹²—but, though much business relating to the army was considered, it was not until June 10 that the Council records contain any mention of the proposed expedition to Scotland.

On that day the Council voted to recommend Cromwell as Lieutenant-General under Fairfax, with command of the army destined for the north, leaving the General himself “to take immediate care of the safety of Parliament and these parts.”¹³ The next morning Mr. Bond reported the recommendation to Parliament, but, after some debate, the matter was postponed until the following morning, all the members present being enjoined to attend; and the House turned to a report by Cromwell on the Irish situation. That report has not come down to us, the *Commons Journal* merely recording that:

“The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, standing in his Place, made a Narrative of the State of the Garrisons and Forces of the Enemy in Ireland, and their interest there; and likewise of the Forces of the Parliament in Garison, and in the Field, and the Condition of them, and in what Employment they are, and under what Commands.”¹⁴

The report was referred to the Council with an order to attend to supplying Ireland with money immediately and to consider its further reduction to the Parliament. The problem of Scotland was not so easy, and the next day the debate on that developed great opposition to the Council's plan. As a result, it was informed that its recommendation was voted down, and was ordered by the House to notify Fairfax at once that he was to prepare to lead the march to Scotland, accompanied by Cromwell.¹⁵ That afternoon both commanders officially expressed their willingness to go; on June 14 Parliament was informed of their acceptance, and a new commission for Fairfax was reported.¹⁶

But the matter was neither so simple nor so certain as the official records indicate. It was well known that Fairfax had no heart for an invasion of Scotland, but it seemed necessary to induce him, if possible, to lead such an expedition to demonstrate the unity between English Independents and Presbyterians. On the other hand, the Independents stood to gain by replacing Fairfax with Cromwell, and

¹² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 192. Cromwell reported this to the House on June 25. *C. J.*, vi, 431. There as well as in the records of the Council it is spoken of as “the petition of Dame Mary Culme, relict of Lt. Gen. Michael Jones.”

¹³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 197.

¹⁴ *C. J.*, vi, 422. See also *Several Proceedings*, June 6–13.

¹⁵ *C. J.*, vi, 423.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 424.

events seemed to make this probable. On the first day of debate on the subject in the House, *Mercurius Politicus* hinted at new dignity and power for Cromwell as the "only *Novus Princeps* in History",¹⁷ but a week later Croullé wrote that he was such a strong opponent of any plan to elevate himself at Fairfax's expense that the promoters of that scheme had abandoned the idea for the present.¹⁸ The very rumors revealed the fact that there was division between two groups of the revolutionary leaders, and the probability that Cromwell was on the way to new authority.

Westminster resorted to the usual remedy. On June 13 the Council, the Commons and the judges held a solemn fast, with Fairfax and Cromwell both present,¹⁹ and endeavored to find some way out of the dilemma. On his side Cromwell took up the part which he so often assumed under such conditions, that of a mediator among the warring factions. He knew from the experience of the Royalists in Ireland what mischief could arise from lack of unity, and as usual he appeared as the apostle of conciliation. On the one hand, in addition to his efforts to reconcile Presbyterians and Independents, he advocated a diminution of the rigor with which Cavaliers were hunted out of London, on the ground that they were less dangerous there than in the country.²⁰ On the other he sought out Ludlow to sound out the private views of the Republicans.

He played, in fact, almost precisely the same part which he had taken three years earlier in the struggle between the army and the Parliament; and, viewing his conduct on that occasion, there were not wanting those who suspected that under guise of conciliation, he was drawing together the threads of a new design which would put him at the head of the army in place of Fairfax, and so bring him a step nearer to the headship of the state. Whether or not that was his plan, that was the result, and whatever the doubts as to Fairfax's decision, there was no question but that Cromwell would take the most prominent part in, or even lead, the Scotch expedition. In preparation for this new adventure, therefore, besides negotiating with the various factions in London, he spent much time and thought on clearing up the situation of Ireland before he started for the north.

The position which he occupied in Parliament, the Council of State, the army, and Irish administration, naturally brought him to the forefront of all administrative business, and there are numerous indications of his activities in his various capacities in these days.

¹⁷ *Mercurius Politicus*, June 11, written by the Royalist Needham who in return for a pension had become a Parliament sympathizer in his writings.

¹⁸ Croullé to Mazarin, June 17/27, quoted in Gardiner, *op. cit.*, from Arch. des Affaires Étrangères.

¹⁹ Whitelocke, p. 458.

²⁰ Croullé to Mazarin, *loc. cit.*

On June 18 the Council ordered him to adjust the Irish accounts to meet the sums due to those who had kept the men in Colonel Richards' and Colonel Le Hunt's regiments, then about to sail for Ireland; and Parliament resolved to guarantee four months' pay for the Irish forces.²¹ At the same meeting the Council voted to recommend Colonel Harrison as commander-in-chief of the troops near London during Fairfax's absence, and committed to Cromwell, Whitelocke, and Pickering the task of drawing up a declaration as to the justice and necessity of sending an army into Scotland.²² Two days later it adopted a resolution to the effect that the invasion of Scotland was the only means of preventing a Scotch invasion of England, and agreed to report that resolution to Parliament within the next six days.²³

From that moment the preparations for the northern expedition moved rapidly. Three thousand tents, two thousand muskets and a like number of pikes, with a supply of wheat and oats, were ordered to be collected at Berwick and Newcastle. A commissary for victuals and two clerks were ordered appointed for the army, and a squadron of eight ships under vice-admiral Hall was despatched to co-operate with the land forces, to take orders from Fairfax, or, as it added, perhaps significantly, in his absence, from Cromwell. To these were added provisions for the Lieutenant-General. The Council voted to raise a regiment for him in Lancashire, and have it sent with Colonel Daniel's regiment to Major-General Lambert at Doncaster to be armed; issued a warrant for £180 to pay for eighteen draught-horses and harness for Cromwell's carriage and added three wagons to the baggage-train for his personal use; meanwhile instructing Lambert to be prepared to march.²⁴

On the day that the Council thus made provision for his share in the expedition, Cromwell had occasion to recall an earlier campaign, in writing on behalf of one Humphrey Hooke of Bristol, whose property was about to be sequestered. It was a not uncommon case. According to Hooke's story, though he had loaned money to Fiennes and Essex he had helped defend the city against Fairfax and Cromwell. But after the surrender he had contributed a considerable part of the £6,000 levied on the town, in consideration of which—and certain other unspecified but conjecturable services in connection with the capture of the place—he had begged to be allowed to compound on the basis of the articles of surrender, having the protection of Fairfax and Cromwell in addition.²⁵ For some reason, however, his

²¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 207–8; *C. J.*, vi, 425.

²² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* p. 207. They were to bring it in the next day with amendments.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 209–11, 549, 580.

²⁵ *Cal. Committee for Compounding*, p. 1629.

estate had been sequestered, and Cromwell now appeared in his behalf:

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

MR. SPEAKER,

When we lay before Bristol in the year 1645, we considered the season of the year, the strength of the place, and of what importance the reducement thereof would be to the good of the Commonwealth; and accordingly applied ourselves to all possible means for the accomplishment of the same, which received its answerable effect. At which time, for something considerable done in order to that end, by Humphrey Hooke, Alderman of that place (which, for many reasons, is desired to be concealed), his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax and myself gave him an engagement under our hands and seals, that he should be secured and protected, by the authority of the Parliament, in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and estate, as freely as in former times, and as any other person under the obedience of the Parliament, notwithstanding any past acts of hostility, or other thing done by him, in opposition to the Parliament, or assistance of the enemy. Which engagement, with a certificate of divers godly persons of that city, concerning the performance of his part thereof, is ready to be produced.

I understand that lately an order is issued out to sequester him, whereby he is called to composition. I thought it meet therefore to give the honourable Parliament this account, that he may be preserved from anything of that nature. For the performance of which, in order to the good of the Commonwealth, we stand engaged in our faith and honour. I leave it to you, and remain, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.²⁶

June 20th, 1650.

For some reason, probably not unconnected with the fierce and active political rivalries in Bristol, this appeal does not seem to have been heeded, despite Cromwell's insistence that his honor and that of Fairfax was engaged, and seven months later a letter from one George Bishop to Cromwell revealed that Hooke's estate had been sequestered two months earlier. Cromwell was again appealed to for another letter to Parliament in Hooke's behalf, with the additional argument that Major-General Harrison hoped that Cromwell would intervene.²⁷

Meanwhile the preparations for the Scotch war went forward rapidly. On June 21 Colonel John Jones and Sir Gilbert Pickering reported to Parliament various resolutions concerning the army destined for Scotland. They were adopted with orders from Parliament to Cromwell to officer his regiment, and to Cromwell and Fair-

²⁶ Original, with the date and concluding words in Cromwell's hand, in *Tanner Mss.*, lvi, 212. Printed in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 222; Carlyle, Letter CXXXIII.

²⁷ Letter in Nickolls, *Original Letters*, p. 55.

fax to draw up a list of officers for the expedition to be presented to the Council of State;²⁸ while Cromwell was advised by the Council to seek the help of the committee which met with the army officers. To these instructions were added two others of far different character. The one was a request that he appoint some one to take charge of Spring Garden, in Lambeth across the river from Westminster, "that the concourse usually there may be prevented." The other was a suggestion that he visit Mynheer Gerard Schaef, the Dutch agent, if he thought fit, before going out of town.²⁹

The first of these orders apparently related to the general policy of the government to prevent large gatherings of the people for any purpose. The second was of a more delicate diplomatic nature. The relations between England and the continental powers had been strained after the execution of the King, and notably with the Netherlands, whither many Royalists and Presbyterians had fled. The murder of Doctor Dorislaus; the refusal of the States General to receive the English agent, Walter Strickland; the charges and counter-charges of Dutch and English merchants; and the sanctuary given Charles II, had combined to produce a situation between the two powers which the English revolutionary government had endeavored to keep from the breaking-point. It seemed that some affront had been offered Schaef and Cromwell's visit was in the nature of an official apology. At the same time, the Council voted to recall Strickland, but instructed him to assure the state of Holland of England's good will, and a ship was ordered to bring back the English agent, Charles Vane, from Portugal, on the ground that it was "of no advantage to the Commonwealth for him to remain."³⁰ In such fashion did the revolutionary government endeavor to clear up its relations with foreign powers before embarking on the Scotch expedition.

That expedition was all but prepared to leave, when, probably on June 22,³¹ Fairfax announced to the Council that he had decided not to lead the invasion. His decision was unwelcome but not unexpected. Studious and scholarly in private life, a soldier rather than a politician, his natural inclination, strengthened by his wife and the Presbyterian clergy, had been toward Presbyterianism and against the execution of the King. He was prepared to head the army against a Scotch invasion; he refused to accept the principle that this was, in effect, a defensive war. "Human probabilities," he said, "are not sufficient grounds to make war upon a neighbour nation, especially our brethren of Scotland, to whom we are engaged in a solemn league

²⁸ *C. J.*, vi, 428; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 211.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Fairfax was at the Council meeting on the 22nd and 25th.

and covenant.” For some time his old colleagues, including Cromwell, had tried to persuade him not to take such a step as this, fearing its effect on the army and the people in general, but with no effect. Finally, at Cromwell’s suggestion,³² a committee composed of Lambert, Harrison, St. John, Whitelocke and Cromwell himself, was appointed to make a last effort to induce Fairfax to alter his decision, and if not to lead the army into Scotland, at least to retain his post as Lord General. On the other hand, there were suggestions made—by Ludlow among others—that Cromwell himself should take Fairfax’s place.³³

To this Cromwell demurred. Ludlow testified later that “he acted his part so to the life that I really thought him in earnest;³⁴ and Mrs. Hutchinson wrote that every one at the time thought he was sincere and that only ‘as afterthoughts’ that he was dissembling. He was so fearful, she wrote, that Fairfax’s retirement would discourage the army and the people, that he “laboured almost all night with most earnest endeavours” to break down Fairfax’s resolution to resign.³⁵ Influenced, no doubt, by events, the first opinion that Cromwell was sincere in his plea to Fairfax was later replaced by the suspicion that he was, as Ludlow said, acting a part. But this much, at least, is true. When the Scotch expedition was announced, letters poured in from officers stationed at a distance, expressing a “wonderful zeal” and “a spirit of prayer and piety not usual in camps” favoring the new adventure;³⁶ and Cromwell had always reckoned such a spirit of the utmost importance—as it was—to such an enterprise as that to which he was now committed. Whatever his own designs, it was of the highest importance that the project of invading Scotland should not be hindered by the reaction which Fairfax’s resignation would inevitably produce. Whether or not he planned the elimination of Fairfax, this was not the time nor the occasion for it, and there can be no doubt that, from whatever motives, he added his solicitations to those of his colleagues to prevent such an unfortunate complication arising at this critical moment.

The committee met with Fairfax on June 24, and on that day, as an echo, perhaps, of his appointment to supervise Spring Garden, Cromwell was named to a committee to suppress blasphemous opinions and seditious meetings.³⁷ Meanwhile he turned aside from these affairs to write a permit for the son of his old subordinate, Colonel Moore, who had lately died, to leave his command in Ireland for a time:

³² Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. Firth, i, 243.

³³ *Ibid.*, 243-4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 243.

³⁵ *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* (1854), p. 344.

³⁶ Whitelocke, p. 459.

³⁷ *C. J.*, vi, 430.

Authority

To Captain Edward Moore, son of Col. John Moore lately deceased, to come over to England "to loke after his occations for 9 months if so long his occations constraine him to stay and his company to continue in ye same condition they are now in." June 24, 1650.³⁸

But the main business of that eventful 24th of June, 1650, was the meeting of Fairfax with the committee appointed to dissuade him, of which Whitelocke has left some notes. Beginning, as usual, with a prayer, Cromwell opened the discussion:

Speeches in Committee, Whitehall, June 24, 1650

CROMWELL: "My Lord General, we are commanded by the Council of State to confer with your Excellency touching the present design (whereof you have heard some debate in the Council) of marching the army under your command into Scotland, and because there seemed to be some hesitation in yourself as to that journey, this committee were appointed to endeavour to give your Excellency satisfaction in any doubts of yours which may arise concerning that affair, and the grounds of that resolution of the Council for the journey into Scotland."

LORD GENERAL: "I am very glad of the opportunity of conferring with this committee, where I find so many of my particular friends, as well as of the Commonwealth, about this great business of our march into Scotland; wherein I do acknowledge myself not fully satisfied as to the grounds and justice of our invasion upon our brethren of Scotland, and I shall be glad to receive satisfaction therein by you."

Lambert, Harrison, St. John and Whitelocke each asked Fairfax to state his particular objections to the expedition.

LORD GENERAL: "My Lords, you will give me leave then with all freeness to say to you that I think it doubtful whether we have a just cause to make an invasion upon Scotland. With them we are joined in the national League and Covenant; and now for us contrary thereunto, and without sufficient cause given us by them, to enter into their country with an army and to make war upon them, is that which I cannot see the justice of, nor how we shall be able to justify the lawfulness of it before God or Man."

CROMWELL: "I confess (my Lord) that if they have given us no cause to invade them, it will not be justifiable for us to do it; and to make war upon them without a sufficient ground for it, will be contrary to that which in conscience we ought to do, and displeasing both to God and good men. But (my Lord) if they have invaded us, as your Lordship knows they have done, since the national Covenant, and contrary to it in that action of Duke Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the Parliament of that Kingdom, and

³⁸ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 10, App. IV, p. 99 (Capt. Stewart's Mss.) This was sold at auction in Nov. 1901 with the other Moore papers owned by Capt. Stewart. A letter of this date to the Council of State from Cromwell was reported to the House on Oct. 29, 1650, by Mr. Scot.

so the act of the whole nation by their representatives. And if they now give us too much cause of suspicion that they intend another invasion upon, joining with their king with whom they have made a full agreement, without the assent or privity of this Commonwealth, and are very busy at this present in raising forces and money to carry on their design.

"If these things are not a sufficient ground and cause for us to endeavour to provide for the safety of our own country, and to prevent the miseries which an invasion of the Scots would bring upon us, I humbly submit it to your Excellency's judgment.

"That they have formerly invaded us and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all, wherein God was pleased to bless us with success against them and that they now intend a new invasion upon us I do as really believe, and have as good intelligence of it, as we can have of anything that is not yet acted.

"Therefore I say (my Lord) that upon these grounds I think we have a most just cause to begin, or rather to return and requite their hostility first begun upon us, and thereby to free our country (if God shall be pleased to assist us, and I doubt not but He will) from the great misery and calamity of having an army of Scots within our country. That there will be war between us, I fear, is unavoidable. Your Excellency will soon determine whether it be better to have this war in the bowels of another country or of our own, and that it will be one of them, I think it without scruple."

LORD GENERAL: "It is probable there will be war between us, but whether we should begin this war and be on the offensive part, or only stand upon our own defence is that which I scruple. And although they invaded us under Duke Hamilton, who pretended the authority of the Parliament then sitting for it, yet their succeeding Parliament disowned that engagement, and punished some of the promoters of it."

Whitelocke observed that some of the principal men in that engagement are now in great favor with the Scottish Parliament and employed in their army about to invade England. Fairfax and Harrison argued about the probability of the invasion.

ST. JOHN: "But (my Lord) that League and Covenant was first broken by themselves, and so dissolved as to us, and the disowning of Duke Hamilton's action by their latter Parliament, cannot acquit the injury done to us before."

CROMWELL: "I suppose your Excellency will be convinced of this clear truth, that we are no longer obliged by the League and Covenant which themselves did first break."

LORD GENERAL: "I am to answer only for my own conscience, and what that yields unto as just and lawful, I shall follow; and what seems to me or what I doubt to be otherwise I must not do."

Whitelocke argued that a nation once invaded may later invade the first invader to requite the former wrongs, and pointed out that the preparations in Scotland for war could only be aimed against England.

LORD GENERAL: "I can but say as I said before, that everyone must stand or fall by his own conscience, those who are satisfied of the justice of this war, may cheerfully proceed in it, those who scruple it (as I confess I do) cannot

undertake any service in it. I acknowledge that which hath been said to carry much weight and reason with it, and none can have more power upon me than this committee, nor none be more ready to serve the Parliament than myself in any one thing wherein my conscience shall be satisfied; in this it is not, and therefore that I may be no hinderance to the Parliament's designs, I shall willingly lay down my commission, that it may be in their hands to choose some worthier person than myself, and who may upon clear satisfaction of his conscience undertake this business, wherein I desire to be excused."

CROMWELL: "I am very sorry your Lordship should have thought of laying down your commission, by which God hath blest you in the performance of so many eminent services for the Parliament. I pray, my Lord, consider all your faithful servants, us who are officers, who have served under you, and desire to serve under no other General. It would be a great discouragement to all of us, and a great discouragement to the affairs of the Parliament for our noble General to entertain any thoughts of laying down his commission. I hope your Lordship will never give so great an advantage to the publick enemy, nor so much dishearten your friends as to think of laying down your commission."

Lambert and Harrison repeated Cromwell's arguments and begged Fairfax not to desert the "most glorious cause that ever men were engaged in." Much more "discourse passed between the General and the Committee" but Fairfax refused to reconsider.³⁹

In view of later events it was a momentous meeting and a momentous decision; and though Whitelocke observes that none of the committee was so earnest to persuade Fairfax to retain his post as Cromwell and the soldiers, wise in the event, he added his comment: "Yet there was cause enough to believe they did not over much desire it."⁴⁰ Fairfax's resolution and the project of replacing him with Cromwell were, in fact, not news. Each had been long in prospect and this meeting only confirmed what many had long felt, that it was time for Fairfax to go and for Cromwell to take direction of affairs in the army—and, some of his more ardent supporters would have added, even in the state. In any event the Council was informed on the next morning of Fairfax's unalterable resolution to lay down his commission. That afternoon at a special session the matter was brought before Parliament. First appointing Skippon to command the forces about London, the House listened to the reading of Fairfax's written resignation directed to Lenthall, in which he pleaded "debilities both in body and mind" and then named a committee—which did not include Cromwell—to wait on Fairfax to express its appreciation of his services and its belief in his continued affection for the Commonwealth. The next day both the General's original commission and the one just drawn up were delivered to Parliament by Rushworth.

³⁹ Whitelocke, p. 460-462.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

The response of the House was prompt. An Act was quickly passed repealing Fairfax's commission and another constituting Cromwell "captain-general and commander-in-chief of all forces raised and to be raised within the Commonwealth of England."⁴¹ The Council's declaration of war on Scotland was adopted,⁴² and, with other papers on the Scotch situation, was ordered printed; and with this prompt action and an order to the Council to consider what was to be done about Ireland in view of Cromwell's appointment as Lord General, the House adjourned.

The problem of Ireland was, in fact, serious, now that the Lord Lieutenant was embarked on a distant and dangerous adventure; and its gravity was appreciated by no one more than by Cromwell himself. His first thought was to make Ludlow assistant to the commander of the armed forces there, and on the same day, after the adjournment, as Ludlow himself records, he turned to that Republican soldier in a conversation which throws light not merely on Ludlow himself but on Cromwell, his opinions and his methods of approach:

Conversation with Ludlow

Parliament "voted Lieutenant-General Cromwell to be Captain-General of all their land forces, ordering a commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the Council of State to hasten the preparations for the northern expedition. A little after, as I sat in the house near General Cromwell, he told me, that having observed an alteration in my looks and carriage towards him, he apprehended that I had entertained some suspicions of him; and that being perswaded of the tendency of the designs of us both to the advancement of the public service, he desired that a meeting might be appointed, wherein we might with freedom discover the grounds of our mistakes and misapprehensions, and create a good understanding between us for the future. I answered that he had discovered in me what I had never perceived in myself; and that if I troubled him not so frequently as formerly, it was either because I was conscious of that weight of business that lay upon him or that I had nothing to importune him withal upon my own or any other account; yet since he was pleased to do me the honour to desire a free conversation with me, I assured him of my readiness therein.

"Whereupon we resolved to meet that afternoon in the Council of State, and from thence to withdraw to a private room, which we did accordingly in the Queen's guard-chamber, where he endeavoured to perswade me of the necessity incumbent upon him to do several things that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who in opposition to him took such

⁴¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 214; *C. J.*, vi, 431. The Act, printed in Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 393, was sent to all major-generals and governors of garrisons. *C. J.*, vi, 432.

⁴² *Declaration of the Parliament of England upon the Marching of the Armie into Scotland*, July 4, 1650.

courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publick cause, affirming his intentions to be directed entirely to the good of the people, and professing his readiness to sacrifice his life in their service.

"I freely acknowledged my former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the army, when they were in treaty with the King, whom I looked upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous at Ware, where they shot a souldier to death, and imprisoned divers others upon the account of that treaty, which I conceived to have been done without authority, and for sinister ends: yet since they had manifested themselves convinced of those errors, and declared their adherence to the Commonwealth, tho too partial a hand was carried both by the Parliament and themselves in the distribution of preferments and gratuities, and too much severity exercised against some who had formerly been their friends, and as I hoped would be so still, with other things that I could not entirely approve, I was contented patiently to wait for the accomplishment of those good things which I expected, till they had overcome the difficulties they now laboured under, and suppressed their enemies that appeared both at home and abroad against them; hoping that then their principles and interest would lead them to do what was most agreeable to the constitution of a Commonwealth, and the good of mankind.

"He owned my dissatisfaction with the army whilst they were in treaty with the King, to be founded upon good reasons, and excused the execution done upon the souldier at the rendezvous, as absolutely necessary to keep things from falling into confusion; which must have ensued upon that division, if it had not been timely prevented. He professed to desire nothing more than that the government of the nation might be settled in a free and equal Commonwealth, acknowledging that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon us; declaring, that he looked upon the design of the Lord in this day to be the freeing of His people from every burden, and that He was now accomplishing what was prophesied in the 110th Psalm; from the consideration of which he was often encouraged to attend the affecting those ends, spending at least an hour in the exposition of that Psalm, adding to this, that it was his intention to contribute the utmost of his endeavours to make a thorow reformation of the Clergy and Law; but, said he, 'the sons of Zeruiah are yet too strong for us'; and we cannot mention the reformation of the law, but they presently cry out, we design to destroy propriety: whereas the law, as it is now constituted, serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppress the poor; affirming that Mr. Coke, then Justice in Ireland, by proceeding in a summary and expeditious way, determined more causes in a week, than Westminster-Hall in a year; saying farther, that Ireland was as a clean paper in that particular, and capable of being governed by such laws as should be found most agreeable to justice; which may be so impartially administred, as to be a good precedent even to England itself; where when they once perceive propriety preserved at an easy and cheap rate in Ireland, they will never permit themselves to be so cheated and abused as now they are. At last he fell into the consideration of the military government of Ireland, complaining that the whole weight of it lay upon Major-General Ireton; and that if he should by death or any other accident be removed from that station, the

conduct of that part would probably fall into the hands of such men as either by principle or interest were not proper for that trust, and of whom he had no certain assurance. He therefore proposed that some person of reputation and known fidelity might be sent over to command the horse there, and to assist the Major-General in the service of the publick, that employment being next in order to his own, desiring me to propose one whom I thought sufficiently qualified for that station."⁴³

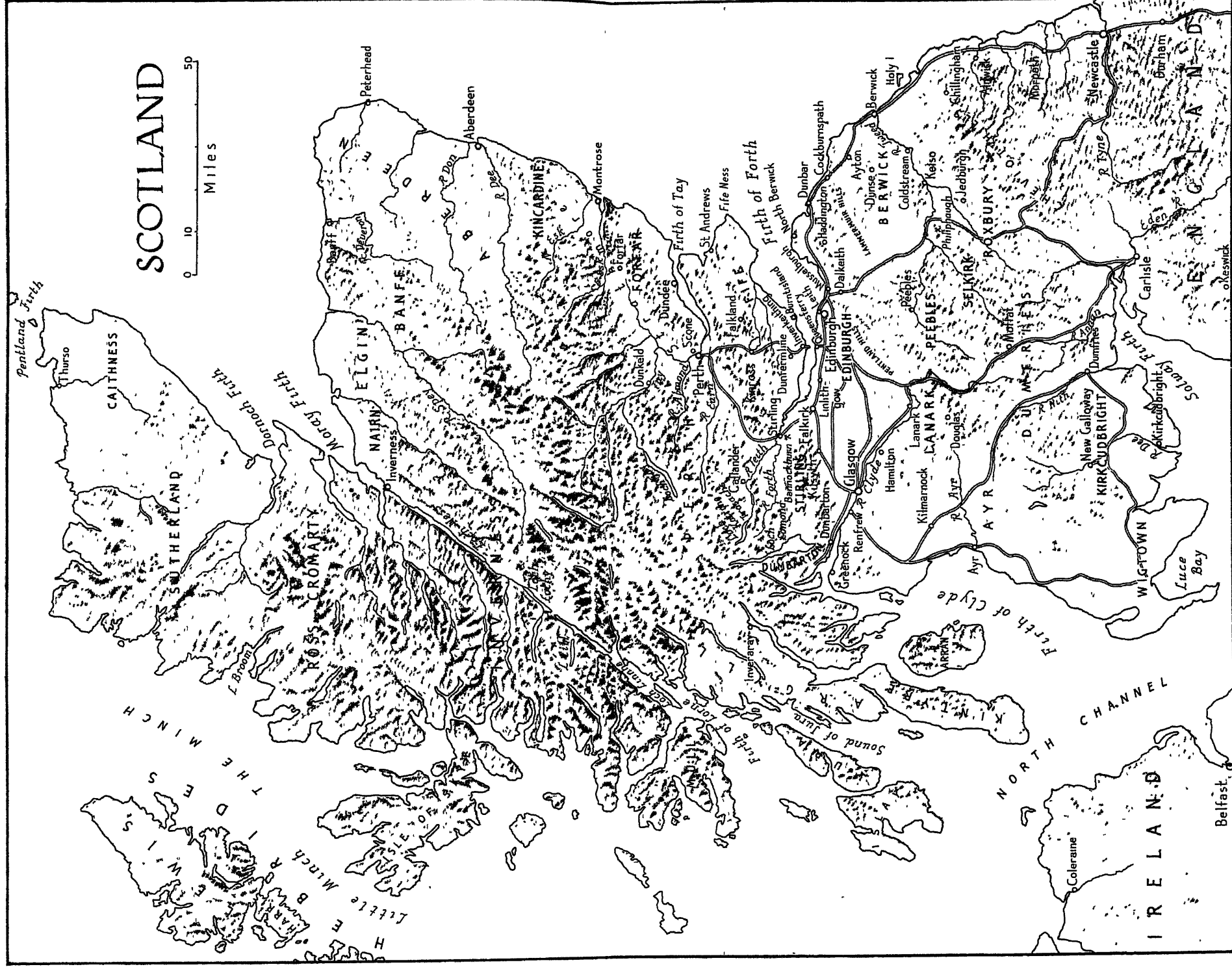
It was apparent, among other things, that Cromwell was sounding Ludlow out to see if he would consider the appointment in Ireland. The result seems to have been satisfactory and the next day he proposed Ludlow's name to the Council of State for the post of General of the Horse, and the Council proceeded to nominate him for that position.

Cromwell's idea of sending aid to Ireton was not confined to the nomination of Ludlow as general of horse. At his suggestion, on June 17 that onetime spokesman of the Agitators in the army councils, later the captor of the Scottish commissioners and now governor of Portland, Captain Edward Sexby, who was to play no small part in Cromwell's later life, was ordered to go to Ireland upon such terms as he and Cromwell should agree.⁴⁴ Those terms were that he should raise a regiment of foot for the Irish service which he was to command; but, as it happened, when it was raised it was ordered to Scotland in September.⁴⁵ And, as a further echo of past events, the command of Portland at the same time was given to Captain Joyce, sometime that Cornet Joyce who had taken Charles I from Holmby House, within a month Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce, and later, like Sexby, an opponent of the Protector. With these appointments Cromwell turned to his new adventure, the Scotch war.

⁴³ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, (ed. Firth), i, 244-8.

⁴⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 206.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*.



SCOTLAND AT THE TIME OF CROMWELL'S INVASION.

CHAPTER VII

THE CAMPAIGN IN SCOTLAND, 1650

By the first of July, 1650, the preparations of the English Commonwealth for the invasion of Scotland were well under way. The appointment of Cromwell to head the army was highly approved by those who favored this "defensive offensive" operation, and he was congratulated on all sides, while, as Whitlocke wrote, "he went on roundly with his business."¹ There was some fear that it might affect his relations with Fairfax, but apparently it did not, and as Fairfax retired quietly from his post and Cromwell plunged into his new duties, their continued friendliness was manifest to all. The day after Cromwell's appointment was made public, Henry Walker preached a sermon in Somerset House comparing them to Abraham and Lot²—a comparison which seems far-fetched until one reads the passage: "And Abraham said unto Lot, 'Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we be brethren. Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.'"³ This seems to have been exactly what they did. At least on July 4 the Council voted to grant Fairfax and two or three of his servants passes to go beyond seas; but whether or not he went, he was in London in September to hear the news of Cromwell's success in Scotland.⁴

Meanwhile the new commander-in-chief strove to free himself from his Irish responsibilities and duties before leaving London. His request to be relieved of his post as Lord Lieutenant having been denied, he asked to have commissioners for civil affairs sent over, and suggested that Ludlow be appointed to take Lieutenant-General Jones' place. Ludlow says that he refused the post, and the Council told him he could give his reasons to Parliament.⁵ Its minutes merely record that on June 27 he was named one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland and ordered to assist the "President of Munster and Lord Deputy" in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant.

¹ Whitlocke, p. 462.

² *Sev. Proc.*, July 10. The printed sermon was publicly burned in a town in Northumberland when the army headquarters were there. *Perf. Diurn.*, July 22-29.

³ *Genesis*, xiii, 8, 9.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 232.

⁵ Ludlow, *Memoirs* (ed. Firth), i, 247-8.

Ireton was thus officially styled Lord Deputy; Colonel John Jones, Major Salwey and a Mr. Weaver were named as the other commissioners;⁶ and on July 2 Parliament appointed Ludlow lieutenant-general of horse.⁷ He seems not to have been pleased with his honor, for to a friend who congratulated him he was reported later to have said that "he must needs go whom the devil drives";⁸ and he delayed his departure until the following January.

The General was now free to devote himself to the Scottish adventure; but his last few days in London burdened him with new duties not even remotely connected with Scotland.⁹ On June 27 he was ordered by the Council to send a troop of horse to Gloucestershire to prevent the "rude multitude" from further damaging estates.¹⁰ It may have been at his own suggestion, for he was now the owner of two manors in that county and may have feared for his property. The next day he wrote a letter in behalf of the Dowager Countess of Exeter, read in Parliament a month later, on the strength of which, apparently, the fines levied on her estate were discharged.¹¹ Besides these matters, he probably had a hand in the granting of Irish estates to Lord Broghill and Sir Hardress Waller—the former being already in possession, the latter now confirmed in ownership of the lands which he had farmed as Ormonde's tenant.¹²

By that time the General was ready to start for Scotland. The forces under his command, with the exception of a few appointments, had been made up, and the regiments designated for service in May were on the move. These included, besides the two formerly under Fairfax, five regiments of horse, under Lambert, Robert Lilburne, Charles Fleetwood, Whalley and Twisleton; and four of foot under Pride, Bright, Charles Fairfax and Mauleverer.¹³ Lambert had held

⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 219.

⁷ *C. J.*, vi, 435.

⁸ Col. R. W. to Secretary Nicholas, Jan. 10/20, 1655-6. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 109.

⁹ Among them perhaps was his appointment as governor of Sutton's Hospital (Charter House) on July 17, 1650, in place of the Earl of Manchester who refused to sign the Engagement. Lenthall, Lord Lisle, Sir William Armyne and Sir Henry Vane were the commissioners. *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* 8 App. II, p. 64 (Manchester MSS.).

¹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 218. Two weeks earlier the Committee for Compounding had written to the Gloucester Committee: "You speak of debts owing for fines from purchases of copyhold lands on the Earl of Newcastle's estate and of lands in Tidenham and Woollaston manors, now belonging to the Lord Lt. of Ireland. Let the former be speedily received and the tenants' estates confirmed. On the latter we will confer with the Lord Lieutenant." *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 250.

¹¹ July 31. *C. J.*, vi, 450.

¹² *C. J.*, vi, 433-4.

¹³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 140-41. This left several regiments still on active duty in various parts of England. In addition to these regiments there were ordered to take the field in April the horse regiments of Colonels Rich, Hacker, Harrison, Tomlinson, Sanders and Desborough, and the foot of Colonels Ingoldsby and Cox.

the rank of major-general for some time, and the rest of the higher posts were now filled. Fleetwood, joint governor of the Isle of Wight, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general; Cromwell's cousin, Edward Whalley, who, with Fleetwood, had been raising recruits for Ireland, was given Ireton's old position as commissary-general; and Harrison with the rank of major-general was put in command of the troops left in England. John Rushworth was continued in his post of secretary to the army, and the day before he left London Parliament allowed Cromwell twenty "corporals of the field," which, with other minor officers he now appointed.¹⁴

His own commission, dated June 28,¹⁵ came into his hands that day, and he set out at once on the familiar Great North Road,¹⁶ accompanied by Fleetwood and his companion on his last visit to Scotland, Lambert. With them, according to his own account, went John Lilburne, who took supper with Cromwell at Ware. They embraced at parting the next morning, and Cromwell promised, Lilburne says, that he "would put forth all his power and interest that he had in the world to make England enjoy the real fruit of all the army's promises and declarations," which, as Lilburne took it, meant "successive parliaments equally chosen by the people."¹⁷ Cromwell had expected to meet Harrison at Ware, but that commander failed to appear.¹⁸ There the General wrote a letter which was read three days later in Parliament, but of whose contents we have no knowledge, though it probably related to the Scottish expedition.¹⁹

On that same day the Council voted to authorize him to take the title of "General of the Forces of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England," and to receive no communications from the Scots which were not addressed to him in that form.²⁰ At the same time it issued orders for a supply of drums, colours, "battering-pieces," and six horses for his own use out of the horse-camp at Tutbury Race;²¹ requested his signature on various commissions;²² and

Ibid., p. 95. Other regiments had also been formed. On March 29 the twelve regiments of horse had consisted besides officers of 4,340 men; the seven of foot were to consist of 8,000. Besides this, nine regiments of foot were on garrison duty, one of them in London. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁴ *C. J.*, vi, 433.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vii, 142. In *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), said to be dated June 8, 1650.

¹⁶ *Merc. Pol.*, June 28. That day the Admiralty Committee was instructed to provide suitable standards for Cromwell and have them sent to him.

¹⁷ Lilburne's *Apologetical Narrative*, p. 13, quoted in Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii, 79.

¹⁸ Harrison's excuses in Nickolls, *Original Letters*; and Ellis, *Letters*, ser. 2, iii, 353.

¹⁹ *C. J.*, vi, 435.

²⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 222.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 230.

²² On July 2 he was to be asked to send Captain Cannon a commission as governor of Dover Castle and Sandwich, *Ibid.*, p. 228.

asked him to send a commission to Harrison in accordance with the orders of Parliament.²³ Of these various commissions there has survived only one—the first bearing his new title—given to a surgeon on July 1, somewhere on the way from Ware to York:

Oliver Cromwell, Esq. Lord Lieut. General of Ireland and Captain General of all the land forces of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England

To George Lankefourd, Chirurgion

By virtue of the power and authority to me derived from the Parliament of England I do hereby constitute and appoint you Chirurgion to the Regiment of Horse whereof Colonel Thomas Sanders is colonel. These are therefore to require you to make your present repair unto the same regiment and taking charge thereof as chirurgion you are faithfully and diligently to use your best care and skill in chirurgery upon all occasions requiring the same and further to do and execute all other things incident belonging unto your said place; and the officers and soldiers of the said regiment are hereby commanded to obey you as chirurgion for the said service, and you are likewise to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from myself and the superior officers of the said regiment and army according to the discipline of war. Given under my hand and seal the first day of July, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.²⁴

In such fashion began the Scotch adventure to which the leaders of the Commonwealth were now committed. To support that venture as well as the Irish war and their position in England, the troops under the command of the new General made up a formidable force. Apart from the Parliamentary army in Ireland of some twelve of fifteen thousand men, and the troops destined for Scotland, six additional regiments of horse and two of foot had been ordered to take the field in the preceding April. Besides these and the militia, there were nine regiments in garrison duty, of which one was in London, and six companies of dragoons under Okey, which presently joined the Scotch expedition. Recruiting constantly went on to keep the existing regiments at strength or to form new units; and it seems probable that there were then in England at least 30,000 men under arms, of whom roughly half were destined for Scotland. Well disciplined, well supplied, well officered, and led by capable and experienced commanders, there was perhaps no fighting force in Europe superior to this veteran army of the Commonwealth.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

²⁴ Original in the possession of William Cavalier, Esq., Oakland, California, to whom I am indebted for permission to include it here. This or a document of like nature, dated July 1, 1650, was sold on April 26, 1915, by Christie, Manson & Woods to Manning for nine guineas. *Autograph Prices Current*, i, 45.

What prospect, then, had the Scots of successful opposition to this expedition, backed by powerful reserves and accompanied by a fleet which controlled the sea and carried munitions and supplies for the invasion? At first sight the situation of the Scots seemed hopeless enough, not merely for military but for political reasons. The land had long been torn with factions, the more dangerous in that they were often based on religious differences, and the fiercer because those differences were often slight. Though, like the Irish, the Scots had a common ground in their devotion to the monarchy and their hatred of the Independent Commonwealth, they were almost as deeply divided as the Irish in their hatred of each other. The extreme Presbyterian clergy were hardly less difficult than the Irish Catholic ecclesiastics and they had not the excuse of representing a conquered and oppressed nationality.

In that respect Scotland had not greatly changed since Cromwell's visit two years earlier; but the balance of parties had meanwhile shifted. Then, as now, he came at the head of an army, and, if not on invitation, at least not opposed by those now in charge of Scotch affairs. He had then just defeated the army of "Engagers" under Hamilton and had come to make terms with Hamilton's opponents, headed by Argyll and including, besides the officials of the Kirk, such figures as Leven, Leslie, Loudoun and Johnston of Wariston. Had they been so disposed, the Scottish Estates had then possessed neither men nor supplies to oppose Cromwell, and they had made a virtue of necessity in receiving him.

But since that time much had happened. Charles I had been executed; the Commonwealth had been set up; the Independents were in power; many English Presbyterians had withdrawn or been excluded from any share in public affairs; and now even Fairfax had retired. Whatever share Argyll had taken in the negotiations which led to Charles' execution, he had repented of it and repudiated his connection with Cromwell. He had taken a leading part in inviting Charles II to land in Scotland—though on condition that he sign the Covenant—and Charles had been proclaimed king not only of Scotland but of England and Ireland at Edinburgh a week after his father's death. That proclamation, in defiance of the English Parliament, committed the Scots to the cause of royalty against that of the Commonwealth. But only in support of Charles was Scotland united, and even there her adhesion to the royal cause was not unqualified, for the Covenanters were more attached to their kirk than to their king, and the rivalries among the followers of Argyll and Hamilton, Montrose and Huntly, Anglicans, Catholics and Covenanters remained undimmed.

Some of the principal characters had already disappeared. The elder Huntly, though he had not aided Montrose in the campaign

which had ended five years earlier at Philiphaugh, had none the less been excepted from pardon by the Covenanters, captured by Leslie's forces, and finally executed in March, 1649. Montrose had been taken by Leslie and beheaded in May, 1650. He was followed to the scaffold by his principal supporters, Hurry, Hay, Spottiswoode, Sibbald and Charteris, so that the Montrose party was now virtually extinct.

These executions, with the defeat and death of Hamilton, had left Argyll and the Covenanters supreme, and an "Act of Classes" excluded from public affairs all "Malignants," or Anglican and Catholic Royalists, all "Engagers," or followers of Hamilton, and all men given to "uncleanness" in any form, from bribery to neglect of family worship. This measure, with another of like sort, savored more of Kirk than Parliament and gave the conduct of affairs into the hands of the Covenanters, who, with Argyll at their head, Leven as their nominal commander, and Leslie in active charge of the army, controlled Scotch affairs as absolutely as the Independents controlled England. It was that party which had sent emissaries to Charles II to invite him to take the Scottish throne, but only on condition that he subscribe to the Covenant; and it was over such a nation and under terms of complete submission to Presbyterianism, the repudiation of Ormonde and the abandonment of his trusted advisers, that Charles was called upon to rule.

He had hesitated long, but the Irish collapse decided him; and on June 2 Charles had sailed for Scotland. On the way, he signed the so-called "Treaty of Heligoland" with the Scots commissioners, by which he yielded everything—friends, principles, church, family, and faith. Before he landed, on June 23, he took the Covenant, and by the time he reached his house of Falkland all his companions, save those who were pledged to support Argyll, were banished from his court or from Scotland.²⁵ Meanwhile Argyll's plan to unite the Scottish factions had failed, and he, like Charles, was driven to rely wholly on the Covenanters. By means of their army and a Royalist-Presbyterian rising in England when Cromwell was fully engaged in Scotland, it was hoped that the Independent Commonwealth might be overthrown and Charles and Presbyterianism established in England as in Scotland. The strength and weakness of such a plan were apparent. On the one hand it provided Charles with an army and a general. On the other, the Act of Classes put unreasonable, and, as it proved, disastrous authority into the hands of those who, whether as clerical or lay members of the Kirk, took on themselves to purge "court,

²⁵ For Scotch affairs and Charles II, see Gardiner, *passim*, and the biographies of Charles by Airy, Loth, etc.

armie or kingdom without respect of persons" of "all malignant and scandalous persons."²⁶

This, though it may have made for righteousness, was of small help in meeting such a threat as that of Cromwell, now on his way to fight the forces of kirk and king. That journey took the best part of a fortnight. He did not go directly. From Ware he rode to Cambridge. According to a correspondent in that place,

"Cromwell, when he was here on Saturday was sevensnight, (in his passage towards the north,) told the vice-chancellor and doctors, who sneaked to the *Bear* to wait upon his mightiness, that there should be no further proceedings against non-subscribers; that he had desired the committee of regulation above to petition the house, in his name, that we might be no further urged. But we know his method well enough, namely, by courteous overtures to cajole and charm all parties when he goes upon a doubtful service; and as it is over to his mind, then to crush them: and that, I am confident, will be our destiny, when the Scottish affair is done to his desires and hopes."²⁷

From Cambridge he turned west, apparently, to Northampton. There, met by unusually large and enthusiastic crowds, he is said to have observed to his companions, Lambert and Ingoldsby, "Do not trust to that, for these very persons would shout as much if you and I were going to be hanged"—and ten years later as his companions again entered Northampton as captive and captor, Lambert reminded Ingoldsby of these words, adding that he "began to think Cromwell prophesied."²⁸ At Leicester he was entertained with "wyne, biskets, suger, beare and tobacko" by the mayor and aldermen.²⁹ At York he was greeted by "a great volley from Clifford's Tower,"³⁰ and he and his officers were dined and "highly caressed."³¹ From York he hurried to Durham, for news had come that Colonel Douglas with three Scotch regiments had left for the border and new levies were to follow,³² and there was no time to lose. At Durham he was met by Haselrig, governor of Newcastle, Colonels Pride and Hacker, and other officers of the ten regiments waiting in Northumberland, who, at dinner on the evening of his arrival, discussed the situation. In view of their ignorance of the Scotch position and designs they could make no definite plans. It was reported, however, that Leslie, after the old practice of the Border wars, planned to lay the country waste

²⁶ *Correspondence of Sir R. Kerr, 1st Earl of Ancrum and his son, William, 3rd Earl of Lothian*, ed. Laing (Edinb. 1875), ii, 284-6.

²⁷ Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 224.

²⁸ Burnet, *History of My Own Time* (ed. Airy), i, 154.

²⁹ Chamberlains' Acc'ts for Leicester, xii (1645-50) cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.* 8, App., p. 429b. The bill for these was £2/6/3.

³⁰ *Impartial Scout*, June 28-July 5.

³¹ *Merc. Pol.*, July 7.

³² *Impartial Scout*, June 28-July 5.

between Berwick and Edinburgh, which would compel the English to follow the shore line to keep in touch with the supply ships ordered to attend them.³³

By July 10 the General had reached Newcastle and there kept a fast with the army, five ministers taking part in the ceremony and praying for a blessing on the expedition.³⁴ With the necessity of waiting for the ships and for the organization of the land forces, the rush to the north was for the moment halted. The rumor of the devastation of the borders was confirmed,³⁵ and Cromwell found time to send a reply to a demand from the Scots as to the reasons for this hostile expedition.³⁶ There, or somewhere farther north, the army of sixteen regiments, which numbered some sixteen thousand men, was drawn up and inspected by the officers, the men expressing their enthusiasm for the new adventure and voting to live and die with the General.³⁷

Despite this apparent unanimity, not all were satisfied. Some officers of lesser rank were dismissed,³⁸ and Colonel Bright, reported to have been refused a fortnight's leave, threw up his commission. Cromwell suggested Monk, now a colonel without a regiment, for the vacant post; but Bright's men protested. As it happened, they had fought the Irish Royalists at Nantwich, six years before, where Monk, then on the King's side, had been taken prisoner. "Colonel Monk!" they cried. "What! to betray us! We took him not long since at Nantwich prisoner; we'll have none of him!"³⁹ In consequence, Lambert, already colonel of a horse regiment, was given the command, and Monk was presently made colonel of a new regiment made up of companies sent from Newcastle and Berwick by their governors, Haselrig and Fenwick. That regiment was mustered in at Coldstream, where, ten years later, Monk led it across the Tweed to effect the restoration of the king he now opposed, and gave it the name which it still bears.⁴⁰ These various activities took time, and meanwhile the General and his officers drew up a Declaration to be sent to Scotland:

³³ *Perfect Weekly Account*, July 10-17.

³⁴ *Sev. Proc.*, July 15; *Perf. Diurn.*, July 16.

³⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 15.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Reported in *Impartial Scout*, July 12-19, to be 23,000; in *Merc. Pol.*, July 19, as 14,000. The muster taken on entering Scotland was 16,354. *Sev. Proc.*, July 25-Aug. 1.

³⁸ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. Firth, i, 252.

³⁹ Hodgson's *Memoirs*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, p. 139. The regiment was still called Col. Bright's regiment a month later. *Large Relation of the Fight at Leth.* Bright was given a Yorkshire militia regiment in August 1651.

⁴⁰ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i, 252; Baldock, *Cromwell as a Soldier* (1899), p. 428; Mac-kinnon, *History of the Coldstream Guards*, i, 4; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 3; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 258.

*A Declaration of the Army of England upon their March into Scotland
To all that are Saints, and Partakers of the Faith of God's Elect, in
Scotland,*

We the Army of England do, from the bottom of our hearts, wish you mercy and truth, light and liberty with ourselves, from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Although we have no cause to doubt but that the Declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, bearing date the 26th of June last, and published to manifest to the world the justice and necessity of sending their Army into Scotland, may satisfy all impartial and disinterested men in all the nations round about us, (the matters of fact therein contained being true, and the conclusions made from thence, and the resolutions thereupon taken, agreeable to the principles of religion, nature, and nations) and therefore it may seem to some, if not improper, yet superfluous, for us, their Army, to say any more; yet, however, out of our tenderness towards you, whom we look upon as our brethren, and our desire to make a distinction and separation of you from the rest, as who, through the cunning practices of some wicked and designing men, biased by particular interests, or for want of a true and right information and representation of the great and wonderful transactions wrought amongst us, and brought to pass by the mere finger of our God, may possibly be scandalized at some late actions in England; and thereby be involved in that common cause, so much from Heaven declared against, by blasting all persons and parties that at any time, in the least, under what pretence or disguise soever, engaged therein, and so, with them, to become partakers of their miseries:

We have therefore thought fit to speak to some particulars, and that as in the presence of the Lord, (to whose grace, and in the dread of whose name, we do most humbly appeal, and who, should we come to a Day of Engagement, will be a sore witness against us, if we utter these things in hypocrisy, and not out of the bowels of love, to persuade the hearts and consciences of those that are godly in Scotland) that so they may be withdrawn from partaking in the sin and punishment of evil doers; or that, at least, we might exonerate ourselves before God and man, do remonstrate as followeth:

And for as much as we believe many godly people in Scotland are not satisfied with the proceedings of this nation, concerning the death of the late King; the rejection of his issue; the change of the government; and several actions conversant thereabout. Although it cannot be supposed that in this paper we should answer all objections that may be made, (these very particulars alone requiring more lines than we intend in the whole) yet we briefly say, That we were engaged in a war with the said King, for the defence of our religion and liberties; and how many times propositions for a safe and well-grounded peace were offered to him, and how often he refused to consent thereto, you well know; which, according to human account, he might have closed with, had not the righteous God, who knoweth the deceitful heart of man, and is the preserver of mankind, especially of his people in his secret judgment, denied him a heart to assent thereto.

By which refusals he made it appear, that nothing less would satisfy than

to have it in his own power to destroy religion and liberties; the subversion whereof he had so often attempted: That he was a man guilty of more innocent blood in England, Ireland, and Scotland, even of those he ought to have preserved, as a Father his children, than any of his predecessors, or, we think, than any history mentioneth; the guilt whereof he brought upon his family by solemn appeals to God: That the son did tread in the father's steps, and pursue his designs, destructive to religion and liberty: That a party in Parliament, false to God and to their trust, were willing, and did endeavor, to betray the cause into the late King's hands: That a remaining number in Parliament, desiring to be true to God, and to the people that intrusted them, (out of integrity of heart, and fearing that the high displeasure of God would fall upon them, if they had not done it) did bring to Justice, and cause to be executed, the said King; did reject the person now with you; did lay aside the House of Lords (an estate not representing the people, nor trusted with their liberties, yet at that time very forward to give up the people's rights, and obstruct what might save them, and always apt enough to join with kingly interest against the people's liberties, whereof we wish you have not like sad experience); and did, for the good of the people, resolve the government into a Commonwealth.

And having done all this, that they are not accountable to any other nation, is sufficient to say to you, except it be to excite you to rejoice in this wonderful work of God, and to be thankful to him for so much deliverance as you have thereby, and leave the rest to the state of England, to whom it doth only and properly belong; who have manifested their regular proceedings therein, according to the true and equitable intent of the constitution of England, and the representors of the people in Parliament, in their several and respective Declarations, if they be looked into, to which we refer you. Besides, it is worthy consideration, with how many providences this series of action hath been blessed, which would require a volume to recount.

If treaties be urged against us, it is easy to say by whom they were broken, and how eminently, even by the then full authority of the Parliament of Scotland, and the invasion of the Duke of Hamilton; and yet that not the first breach neither. And if it be said, That hath been protested against, and revoked since, we ask, Doth that make up the breach, so as to challenge England still upon agreements and articles? You know, as to right, it doth not, except you suppose that England made their bargain so, that Scotland might break and England remain bound; whereas it is a known law of nations, that in the breach of the League by the one party, the other is no longer obliged.

If the Covenant be alleged against us, this may be said by us with honesty and clearness, religion therein having the first place, civil liberties the next, the king's interest and constitution of parliament the last, and these with subordination one to another: The Covenant tied us to preserve religion and liberty, as the ends of it, even when these were inconsistent with the preservation of the king's interest and the frame of parliament; because when the means and the end cannot be enjoyed both together, the end is to be preferred before the means.

Now that there was a real inconsistency between the end and the means, and that the lesser did fight against the greater, is your own judgment; who, in a book of yours, called *A necessary and seasonable Testimony against Tolera-*

tion, say thus of the two Houses, p. 12, "And doubtless the Lord is highly displeased with their proceedings in the Treaty at Newport, in reference to religion and the Covenant; concerning which they accepted of such concessions from his Majesty, as, being acquiesced in, were dangerous and destructive to both." Had we not then appeared against these concessions, and likewise those of both Houses who acquiesced in them, had not religion and liberty both been destroyed, which now, by the blessing of God, are preserved? And if that action concerning the Parliament deserve a charge, yet least of all from yourselves; who when you saw the Parliament which sent the Duke of Hamilton with an army into England, proceed in ways destructive to religion and liberty, you countenanced and acted with those that rose up for public safety, tho' contrary to Acts of Parliament, and called a new one, excluding whom you thought fit; all which was done by virtue of authority from the Committee of Estates then sitting at Edinburgh; which indeed was no Committee, if you respect formalities, (the breach whereof you so often charge upon us) being constituted of such persons as, by Act of the foregoing Parliament, had not legal right to sit or act therein; they not having taken the Oath (for faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them, in reference to the late engagement against England) enjoined by that Parliament to be taken by every member of the Committee at his first sitting, or else to have no place or vote therein, as is fully set down in the commission for constituting of that Committee of Estates.

We could more particularly set forth how the Committee of Estates there sitting, according to the literal sense of the afore-mentioned Commission, was broken and driven away by that force raised and acted by you as aforesaid: But we spare, not seeing to justify our actions by yours, but to show, that you have done the same things for preservation of religion and liberty, which you so highly charge as evil upon us: and therefore we further desire you seriously to consider, that the inconsistency of our religion and liberties, with the King's interest and former constitution of Parliament, did not arise from our jealousies or pretences; but from the hardness of the King's heart, and the backsliding of the greater part of those that were entrusted in the Parliament, by their acquiescing in those concessions, and endeavoring immediately to bring in the King upon them. We therefore reckon it no breach, but a religious keeping, of the Covenant according to the equity thereof, when our Parliament, for religion and liberty's sake, and the interest of the people, did remove the King and Kingship. As also we assert ourselves Keepers of the Covenant, when the competition hath been between the form and substance, if we have altered some forms of the government in part for the substance sake.

As for the Presbyterian, or any other form of church-government, they are not by the Covenant to be imposed by force; yet we do and are ready to embrace so much as doth, or shall be made appear to us to be according to the Word of God. Are we to be dealt with as enemies, because we come not to your way? Is all religion wrapped up in that or any one form? Doth that name, or thing, give the difference between those that are the members of Christ and those that are not? We think not so. We say, faith working by love is the true character of a Christian; and, God is our witness, in whomsoever we see any thing of Christ to be, there we reckon our duty to love, wait-

ing for a more plentiful effusion of the spirit of God to make all those Christians, who, by the malice of the world, are diversified, and by their own carnal-mindedness, do diversify themselves by several names of reproach, to be of one heart and one mind, worshipping God with one consent. We are desirous that those who are for the Presbyterian government, should have all freedom to enjoy it; and are persuaded that if it be so much of God, as some affirm, if God be trusted with his own means, which is his Word powerfully and effectually preached, without a too-busy meddling with, or engaging, the authorities of the world, it is able to accomplish his good pleasure upon the minds of men, to produce and establish his purposes in the world, concerning the government of his church.

And as for the blasphemies and heresies wherewith some statists among you have labored to brand us, we can say, That we do own those grounds and principles of the Christian religion, preached and held by the generality of godly ministers and Christians of these later times; abhorring from our hearts, and being ready to bear our witness against, any detestable blasphemies and heresies lately broken out amongst us. We have already punished some amongst us for blasphemy, and are further ready to do it; but how uningeniously we have been dealt with by some amongst you, and of our own countrymen, in heaping calumnies upon our heads, to render us vile and odious to our brethren, yea and the whole world, we leave to God to judge, who will, we trust, in due time, make these things manifest. But were Presbytery thus to be contended for, and that in upholding it all religion did and would flourish; yet how improbable it is, that the course taken by those in authority with you will produce the things you desire, to say no more, let your own experience a little mind you.

What pretenders were some Lords and other persons in the north of Ireland, whilst they mingled the Presbyterian with the kingly interest; and the ministers, by their preaching, seduced the people from their obedience to England, under the same pretence: But no sooner had those persons got the power into their own hands, but they shook off the ministers by threatenings, causing some of them to quit the country, and, in general, discouraging the exercise of the government there; declaring plainly by their actions, that it was but a device to draw on the royal interest; and those very persons that did get power into their hands under those pretences, immediately, joined with Owen Roe O'Neal, and those bloody Irish rebels upon the kingly interest.

It will not be unfit to mind you also, how the nobility and some of the ministers of Scotland, preaching and crying up a war against England, under pretence of the Covenant, did thereby lay a foundation to the Duke of Hamilton's getting the command of that army; who, over-numbering them in Parliament, power, and friends, and by the advantage of malignants, thrust all that you could call the good party out of power and authority; himself getting the command of that army into England, and leaving his brother and other kindred in power in Scotland.

Thus, upon the same ground and pretence to carry on the kingly interest, have you been twice deceived; and now he is brought in among you, who hath turned every stone, and tried all friends and allies in foreign parts; endeavored commotions at home by his wicked and malignant instruments; commissioned

Rupert, the French and all that piratical generation, who do spoil, take, plunder, and destroy our ships and trade at sea, and all to the end he might destroy the people of God, and the peace of the three nations: And now being, by his Mother and the Popish interests abroad, counselled thereto, hath made a compliance with you, as his last refuge; who, even whilst he was treating with you, had his heart set upon Montrose and his accomplices, (writing letters, and sending particular orders to him) and upon his Popish army in Ireland, to whom he had given commissions, and whom he still owned as his faithful subjects, notwithstanding all the innocent blood by them shed; and would never be induced to comply, or close with the Covenant and Presbytery, till utterly disappointed of all those his malignant and Popish hopes and confidences.

Is there not now just cause for all good men with you to fear that one so bred, so engaged and interested, and merely in such a way coming in to you, doth but watch his opportunity (to speak nothing of the weight of the blood of Saints under the Altar, crying still for vengeance upon him and that family) till by his influence upon your army, which you know how composed, he may gain his ends upon you; and how likewise the generality of the people of Scotland are affected, is not unworthy of your most serious consideration, nor of a friendly intimation from us.

But that which most awakens us is, That notwithstanding all this, and all the wrongs done to England from Scotland, they refuse to do us right; so that what wrongs soever we have, or shall sustain, must be without remedy, and we also without security for the future, as is sufficiently expostulated in the Parliament of England's Declaration aforementioned; and the seeds laid of a perpetual war, by taking our grand enemy into your bosoms, and your engagement to him, in the late Treaty with him, to restore him to the possession of England and Ireland; and therefore we call Heaven and Earth to witness, whether or no we have not cause to defend ourselves, by hindering the present power of Scotland from taking their time and advantage to impose thus upon us: And whether they have now any just reason to wonder at the approach of an army to their borders, and the taking some of their ships by ours; yea, whether our coming into Scotland with an army, upon so clear a ground, be any other than a just and necessary defence of ourselves, for preservation of those rights and liberties which Divine Providence hath, through the expense of so much blood and treasure, given us; and those amongst you have engaged they will, if they can, wrest from us; unless it must be taken for granted that the Parliament of England ought to sit still and be silent whilst their ruin is contrived, their friends and brethren destroyed by sea and land, whom in conscience and duty, both before God and man, they ought to preserve.

And now we come to speak to all those who are within the compass of the title of this Declaration; that we undertake this business in the fear of God, with bowels full of love, yea, full of pity, to the inhabitants of the country; and if it shall please God to make Scotland sensible of the wrongs done to us, and to give to the Commonwealth of England a satisfying security against future injuries, we shall rejoice; but if that may not be obtained, we shall desire such as fear God not to join or have to do with those who are the authors and actors of so much evil and mischief against their neighbors: And we dare say, to the praise of God, that that which moves us to this great undertaking,

is not any reliance upon the arm of flesh, or being lifted up with the remembrance of former successes, or the desire of accomplishing any designs of our own that we have forelaid; but the full assurance we have that our cause is just and righteous in the sight of God; looking at all precedent changes, and the successes that have produced them, not as the work of the policy or strength of man, but as the eminent actings of the providence and power of God to bring forth his good-will and pleasure, concerning the things which he hath determined in the world. And we are confident, that as he hath hitherto gloriously appeared, so he will still, bearing witness to the righteousness of this cause, in great mercy and pity of the infirmities and failings of us his poor creatures: And we do most humbly implore his divine Majesty to give a merciful testimony, whether the actings of divers men amongst you have not proceeded from worldly interests, together with the rancour and bitterness of their spirits, who, we fear, through envy at instruments, have refused to acknowledge his hand and goodness in the accomplishment of these great changes; and whether ours have not come from the simplicity of our and other his poor servants' hearts; who, we trust have desired, though in the midst of manifold weaknesses, to follow him in integrity, through difficult paths, having nothing but danger and ruin appearing to the flesh, and little to encourage us, saving those signal manifestations of his presence in those high acts of His providence, and the fear of his name, lest He going before, we should not follow.

And this we can further add, That nothing is so predominant within us (next to our duty to God, nor to betray a cause to which he hath so much witnessed) as the love we have towards those that fear God there, who may possibly suffer through their own mistakes, or our disability to distinguish in a common calamity; of which Christian love we hope we gave some proof and testimony when we were last in Scotland with this army, and were by God made instrumental to break the power of those that then oppressed the godly party there, and were then ready at their desire, to do every thing on their behalf which might put them into the seat of authority and power; whose consciences know this is true, and for which this late Act of Engagement to their new king against England, is no good requital; nor their heaping on us the reproach of a sectarian army, a Christian dealing: All which we do with comfort commend to God, and can, notwithstanding all this, say, By the Grace of God, we can forgive and forget those things, and can and do desire of God that the precious in Scotland may be separated from the vile; which is the end of this our paper. And to the truth of this let the God of Heaven, in his great mercy pardoning our weaknesses, judge of us when we come to meet our enemies in the field, if, through the perverseness of any in authority with you, God shall please to order the decision of this controversy by the sword; which we, from our hearts, beseech the Lord to avert, and to give you the like Christian and brotherly affection towards us, which we, by God's grace, bear towards you.

Signed in the name, and by the appointment of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell and his Council of Officers.

Jo. RUSHWORTH, Secretary.⁴¹

⁴¹ Pub. in London, July 19. Pr. in *Sev. Proc.*, July 19; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 298-309; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 242-7.

The Declaration finished and put in the hands of a printer, the officers were entertained by the mayor at a banquet on Monday evening, the 15th;⁴² and on Tuesday they moved on to Morpeth with the artillery train.⁴³ The next night headquarters were established at Alnwick and there Cromwell wrote to inquire about his granddaughter:

For my very loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at his House at Hursley: These

DEAR BROTHER,

The exceeding crowd of business I had at London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed, Sir, my heart beareth me witness I want no affection to you or yours; you are all often in my poor prayers.

I should be glad to hear how the little brat doth. I could chide both father and mother for their neglects of me: I know my son is idle, but I had better thoughts of Doll. I doubt now her husband hath spoiled her; I pray, tell her so from me. If I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes. If my daughter be breeding, I will excuse her; but not for her nursery. The Lord bless them. I hope you give my son good counsel; I believe he needs it. He is in the dangerous time of his age, and it's a very vain world. O, how good it is to close with Christ betimes; there is nothing else worth the looking after. I beseech you call upon him; I hope you will discharge my duty and your own love: you see how I am employed. I need pity. I know what I feel. Great place and business in the world is not worth the looking after; I should have no comfort in mine but that my hope is in the Lord's presence. I have not sought these things; truly I have been called unto them by the Lord, and therefore am not without some assurance that He will enable His poor worm and weak servant to do His will, and to fulfil my generation. In this I beg your prayers. Desiring to be lovingly remembered to my dear sister, to our son and daughter, to my Cousin Ann and the good family, I rest,

Your very affectionate brother,

Alnwick,
July 17, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁴⁴

The following day the General received from the printer a consignment of the Army's *Declaration*, of which five hundred copies were sent at once by his trumpeter, Bret, into Scotland, with copies of the Parliament's *Declaration*, and three hundred were despatched to Carlisle.⁴⁵ This done, he rode to Rock Moor, where several regiments had been assembled, but the day being rainy, he dismissed them to

⁴² *Merc. Pol.*, July 22.

⁴³ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 20; *Perfectly Weekly Account*.

⁴⁴ In Lomas-Carlyle, CXXXIV, from the holograph original then in the Morrison Collection. One of the Pusey letters, it was printed in Noble, i, 326; and in Harris, p. 530.

⁴⁵ *Sev. Proc.*, July 24; *Perf. Diurn.*, July 22.

their quarters, and the next day reviewed the whole army in battalia at Lord Grey's estate of Chillingham Castle.⁴⁶ Thence marching northward, on the 20th they rendezvoused again at Haggerston Moor, four miles south of Berwick;⁴⁷ and while Cromwell's foot regiment with that of Colonel Fairfax and the supply train were quartered in the town, the rest of the army went into camp round about. There its leaders took occasion to draw up another Declaration, directed this time not to the saints but to the people of Scotland, to counteract the effects of the stories spread by the Scottish authorities of the cruelties which might be expected from the invaders—stories which, confirmed by the examples of Drogheda and Wexford, had lost nothing in the telling.

A Declaration of the Army of the Commonwealth of England To the People of Scotland

Whereas the army under my conduct, by the authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, is to advance into Scotland, upon the grounds, and for the ends, expressed in their Declaration of June 26, 1650: And considering the several ways and practices of some in that Kingdom, whose design it hath been, and still is, by all manner of groundless and unjust reproaches, and most false slanders, to make the army odious, and to render us unto the people as such that are to be abhorred of all pious, peaceable, and sober spirits, and to be rather monsters than men.

We think fit therefore, for the clearing of ourselves, to remind you of our former deportment and behavior; when, about two years since, we entered into the kingdom of Scotland, and then carried in by the hand of Divine Providence, and through the earnest invitation of those now in present authority and power with you, What injury or wrong did we then do, either to the persons, houses, or goods of any? *Whose ox have we taken?* Did we seek any thing for ourselves? Did we other than preserve the best-affected from their and our most desperate enemies? And having established our inviters in their power, without doing the least violence to any, we returned to our own nation. And, considering this, we have cause to hope that those former carriages of ours are not so soon forgotten, and that the present misreports of what our dealings will be, shall not disturb nor affright the people from their houses and dwellings.

And for satisfaction of all those that are lovers of religion, peace, and public liberty; and being desirous to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty, we do hereby declare, in the integrity of our hearts, That, as to the gentry and commonalty of the Nation of Scotland, whose habitations are in those places whither the army, by the Providence of God, may come; as we know full well they are not the persons, who, by their counsels and undertakings, have laid the certain foundation of a second unrighteous and unjust invasion of England, by closing with, and entertaining him who stirs up, and labors to engage, many foreign princes to invade the Commonwealth of Eng-

⁴⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 27; *Sev. Proc.* July 23.

⁴⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 26, 27.

land; and hath exercised actual hostility against the nation, by destroying the people, and commissionating pirates to kill our men, and to rob, spoil, and take away our ships and goods by sea, to the ruin of England, so much as in him lies; nor of those who have refused so much as a treaty with the Commonwealth of England, wherein only a just and equal satisfaction for past injuries was aimed at, and a security for a firm peace between the two nations desired: Which denial, and other practices, hath put us upon this unavoidable necessity of entering into Scotland, unless we would have stood still, and seen not only the destruction of the Godly and well-affected, but also of the very power of Godliness and holiness in both nations: So we shall not (the Lord continuing his goodness and presence to us) offer the least violence and injury to the persons, goods, or possessions of any of them; but strive and labor to our utmost to prevent all disorders that happen from an army, and to give all speedy redress and satisfaction that possibly may be, when any just complaint of miscarriage shall be made.

And upon the confidence of these our sincere and honest intentions, (which we hope our good and gracious God will enable us to perform) we do hereby invite all such persons to stay and abide in their own houses and habitations, where they may and shall enjoy what they have in peace; and not to suffer themselves to be misled by the craft and subtlety of any, into that which must needs prove their inevitable loss and ruin, and a great hazard to their country.

Howsoever we have done this as our duty to God, and for satisfaction to all good men.

Signed in the name, and by the appointment, of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell and his Council of Officers,

JOHN RUSHWORTH, Sec.⁴⁸

Copies of the Declaration were prepared to be dispersed amongst the people, and with that the army was ready to march into Scotland. With some five thousand horse and twice that many foot besides some seven hundred in the train, Cromwell's army was far inferior in numbers to the forces gathering to oppose it, and he pressed for eight thousand recruits to bring it to the limit of twenty-five thousand men which had been set by Parliament.⁴⁹ Nor was it fully equipped, for Cromwell's own foot regiment still lacked the arms for whose despatch to the north Parliament had appropriated money only a week before.⁵⁰ Yet in every other respect it was a formidable body. It was made up for the most part of veteran soldiers and officers, experienced in war, accustomed to acting together, and devoted to their general. The army itself was a compact and highly efficient weapon in which its leaders had entire confidence, as it had confidence in them. None the less its task was difficult, for Leslie was a capable com-

⁴⁸ In *Perf. Diurn.*, July 22; *Sev. Proc.*, July 24. Pub. London, July 23. *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 310-12.

⁴⁹ *Sev. Proc.*, July 25-Aug. 1; *Merc. Pol.*, July 18; Morosini to Doge, July 9/19, *Cal. S. P. Venetian* (1649-52), p. 151.

⁵⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 582.

mander, and while Cromwell had made his way northward, the Scotch general had been busy collecting men, devastating the country and fortifying the line between Edinburgh and its port of Leith.

Nor, with all their divisions, were any of the Scotch parties or commanders to be bought off, like the Irish, by promises or bribes. Cromwell's appeals to the Scots had been ineffectual, and even as he lay at Berwick, his trumpeter returned from Edinburgh with a "larded-like answer" addressed to "Lieutenant-General Cromwell,"⁵¹ which, under the vote of Parliament, he was forbidden to receive—though it appears he did. That answer repudiated his arguments and offered no basis for negotiation; nor was it to be expected that the Scottish authorities should meet his overture to the "Saints and Partakers of the Faith of God's Elect" in any friendly spirit. They were not much moved by an appeal to "faith working by love"—backed by an army of sixteen thousand men.

There were three issues in the quarrel—whether Hamilton's invasion of England was or was not to be avenged; whether religion was or was not to be "wrapped up in any one form"; and whether Charles II was or was not to be king, even in Scotland. As to the first, those now in charge of Scottish affairs were at one with the invaders in their disapproval of Hamilton's enterprise, as they had earlier demonstrated. But on the other issues they were unalterably opposed not merely to the invasion but to the principles which lay behind it. They clung to the Covenanting doctrine that theirs was "the only true Christian faith and religion pleasing to God and bringing salvation to man." They were as determined as they had been a dozen years before to "defend the same and resist all contrary errors and corruptions . . . to the utmost of that power that God hath put in our hands all the days of our life."⁵² Between that and the principle that religion was not "wrapped up in that or any one form" there was a great gulf fixed not to be bridged with words. If to the Independents there seemed something insincere in the utterances of the Covenanters, to the Scots the declaration of the English officers that they undertook this expedition "with bowels full of love, yes, full of pity, to the inhabitants of the country" they were about to invade, seemed the height of hypocrisy. Finally the invaders were determined to protect themselves against the possibility of the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. That, as their second declaration shows, was the root of the quarrel; and between Charles II and his Scottish subjects they were determined to effect a breach by arguments or arms. Now

⁵¹ *An Answer from the Committee of Estates to a Printed Paper Directed to the People of Scotland and Signed in the Name of L. G. Cromwel and his Officers*, Edinb., July 22, 1650. Cp. *Mercurius Politicus*, July 29; *Perfect Passages*, July 26–Aug. 2; *Perf. Diurn.*, July 27.

⁵² The Solemn League and Covenant.

that Ireland had failed him, Scotland was the monarch's last resort; and the Independents knew that his restoration would mean the downfall of their cause and their own destruction. It was in that sense that they had argued that this was a defensive move. Upon its success or failure hung the fortunes of the Commonwealth and of Independency.

Their first efforts had been directed to dividing their enemies by their proclamations. To further that design as well as to break the force of the tales of outrage and horror with which the Scottish leaders had filled the peasantry, on the morning of July 22, when the army was drawn up for inspection near Berwick, a proclamation was read at the head of each company and troop:

Proclamation to the Army

That whereas I have lately caused to be printed and published a Proclamation inviting those in Scotland (where the army shall come) who by their Councils or otherwise have not confederated against the Peace of England, or laid a foundation of a second invasion against England, to stay in their own habitations and houses, where they in peace shall enjoy what they have without the least offer of violence or injury by any of the army. These are therefore strictly to require all officers and soldiers that they presume not to offer any manner of violence or injury to the person or goods of any in Scotland, not in arms or belonging to the enemy's army upon pain of death.

To be proclaimed at the head of each regiment of horse by sound of trumpet, at the head of each regiment of foot by beat of drum, and to be afterwards read at the head of each troop and company.⁵³
July 22, 1650

Probably at the same time, Cromwell made a speech to his assembled officers which revealed his appreciation of the difficulty of his task:

Speech to the soldiers on the border of Scotland, July 22, 1650

"Showing he spoke as a Christian and a soldier" and pointing out the inconveniences they would meet with in Scotland because of the scarcity of provisions. The people, he said, they would find to be in great part soldiers, and they would be very numerous, and at present might be unanimous. And he charged the officers to double, nay treble their diligence, for they might be sure they had work before them.⁵⁴

THE ADVANCE INTO SCOTLAND

MUSSELBURGH TO GOGAR, JULY 22-AUGUST 30, 1650

Confident as he was, Cromwell did not underestimate the difficulties which confronted him. His opponent, David Leslie, to whom under

⁵³ Pr. in *Perf. Diurn.*, July 29-Aug. 5, with incorrect date, July 24. Abstract in Whitelocke, p. 466.

⁵⁴ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 130.

the nominal command of his uncle, Alexander, Earl of Leven, the defence of Scotland had been entrusted, was an able and experienced soldier, who had served under Gustavus Adolphus. He was well known to Cromwell, for his troops had shared the honors of Marston Moor with Cromwell's Ironsides. Since then he had stopped the conquering advance of Montrose at Philiphaugh; cleared Scotland of the royalist forces in the first civil war; refused to join Hamilton; organized the Whiggamores to support Cromwell's first invasion; and had just captured Montrose. He now labored, indeed, under serious disadvantages. The events of the past six years had greatly depleted Scotland's fighting strength. Argyll missed the fifteen hundred Campbells who had fallen before Montrose at Loch Eill. Leslie missed the followers of Hamilton who had not returned from Preston. A national levy supplied him with numbers superior to the invaders, but another element at this moment did much to nullify that gain.

This was the zeal of his own Covenanting party. To their horror, its leaders found that many "malignants" and others excluded by the Acts of Classes had flocked to Leslie's standard to fight for their country, and they set themselves to correct this situation. Among them Johnston of Wariston was an eminent representative, and in the pages of his diary⁵⁵ we may perceive why Leslie's cause was hopeless from the start. It commences with disjointed notes on the "non-classed," "malignants," "purging" and "censure," which reveals the state of mind of his party. It continues with regret that the coming of Charles II to the army produced a "carnal courage at his presence; more than the Lord's . . . ominous in my thought that, at the best, we gett a mixed blessing." It contains the very recipe for defeat. The men who now played a tragic part in Scottish history, of which they were never even aware, the "unco' guid" as one of their countrymen was later to describe their kind, now began that course of driving out of the army what seemed to them its undesirable elements, and so did what they could to wreck the cause to which they were attached.

At the moment that Wariston began to chronicle the events of the impending tragedy, on July 22, 1650, Cromwell's regiment of horse and Pride's foot regiment began to cross the Tweed. They were soon followed by the rest of the army, whose first rendezvous was about Lord Mordington's house. There Cromwell spent three days, with his men encamped between there and Aytoun;⁵⁶ and there, according to a tale which has come down to us, the invasion began on a note of comedy. Lord Mordington's servants, save two or three of the inferior sort, had left, taking the household utensils with them. Some of Cromwell's men, using a back-piece for a dripping-pan and a head-

⁵⁵ *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*, ed. Fleming, Edinb., 1919.

⁵⁶ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 19.

piece for a pot made shift to cook the meat which they had come by, while their companions were foraging. As Cromwell and some of his officers were watching these activities, they saw that some of the soldiers "had been purveying abroad, and had found a vessel filled with Scots cream, and bringing the reversions to their tents, some got dishfuls and some hatfuls; and the cream growing low in the vessel, one would have a modest drink, and heaving up the kirk, another lifts it up, and all the cream trickles down his apparel, and his head fast in the tub; and this was a merriment to the officers, as Oliver loved an innocent jest."⁵⁷

Such light touches only served to throw into relief the task before him. On his last day at Mordington, Cromwell received an answer to the Army Declaration by a Scottish trumpeter, but as it was, like its predecessor, addressed to "Lieutenant-General Cromwell," it was sent back.⁵⁸ Finally, before the start on the last stage of their journey, there was issued another and sterner proclamation against straggling and plundering:

Proclamation to the Army

Whereas I am informed that divers irregular soldiers straggle from their colours to places remote from their quarters, and contrary to my Proclamation of the 22 instant have forced victuals from several people, not giving satisfaction for the same, and put them and their families to such frights, that they dare not continue their habitations. These are therefore strictly to require all officers and soldiers of the army that they presume not, without special order or leave in that behalf, to straggle half a mile from their quarters, where they now are, and hereafter shall be, within this nation of Scotland upon pain of death. Given under my hand and seal at Mordington in Scotland, July the 24th, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

To be proclaimed at the head of each regiment of Horse by sound of trumpet, and at the head of each regiment of Foot by beat of drum, and afterwards read at the head of each troop and company.⁵⁹

All was now ready for the English, in the words of Montrose, to 'put their fortune to the touch and win or lose it all,' and on the afternoon of July 25 the camps about Aytoun and Halidon Hill were broken up "without sound of trumpet or touch of drum." That day the army advanced to Cockburnspath, a narrow, rugged pass between the Lammermuir Hills and the sea, and quartered about the village that night. There at this critical moment, in what was in one sense his greatest venture thus far, Cromwell, quartering at Sir James Nicholson's house,⁶⁰ took occasion to write to Vane in behalf of Sir

⁵⁷ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, pp. 129-30; see also *Perfect Passages* July 25-Aug. 2.

⁵⁸ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 29-Aug. 5.

⁵⁹ In *Perf. Diurn.*, July 29. Abstract in Whitelocke, pp. 465-6.

⁶⁰ *A Large Relation of the Fight at Leth.*

John Monson. Sometime an adventurer in fen drainage, and later a royal commissioner for the surrender of Oxford, Monson now petitioned to be relieved from the attempts of the government to evade the terms granted him by the articles of surrender and impose on him fines for delinquency; and Cromwell, like Fairfax, was anxious that the public faith should be kept:

For Sir Henry Vane, junior: These

SIR,

Having received this enclosed petition from Sir John Monson, expressing a very severe proceeding against him by the violation of the public faith because his Report by Mr. Attorney General hath not been yet made to the Parliament, I cannot but, for the vindication of the Parliament and army's honours, which I conceive are much concerned in it, and his just reparation, recommend it to your favour, desiring you would with all speed acquaint the Parliament with the substance of this petition and my humble and earnest request that he may receive the intended benefit of his Articles, and be freed from these pressures that are now upon him, his cause having been thought just by the army and so formerly recommended to the honourable Speaker. And by this favour, not doubting your effectual endeavours herein, you will much engage

Your humble servant,

Copperswith in Scotland, July 26, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁶¹

The campaign on which Cromwell was now embarked differed in every way from any of his previous adventures. Upon his arrival on the Scottish border, the Commissioners of Estates had not only collected all provisions but had ordered all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to be ready to march.⁶² The district which he traversed, in consequence, had been stripped of its male population, so that between Berwick and Edinburgh his army had not encountered ten Scotchmen, but had met only women and children "pitiful, sorry creatures," who bemoaned the absence of their men, "who they said were enforced by the lairds of the towns to gang to the muster."⁶³ Cromwell's Declaration of July 20 had endeavored vainly to refute the Scotch ministers' warnings that the English would cut the throats of all men, cut off the right hands of boys between six and sixteen, burn the women's breasts, and destroy everything.⁶⁴ Yet

⁶¹ Certified copy in *S. P. Dom. Interr.*, cxc, 913; cal. in *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 1432. Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 61. For Monson's case, see *ibid.*, p. 1431. Cp. Waylen, *House of Cromwell*, p. 274. With postscript, referring him for particulars to the Attorney General.

⁶² Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 19.

⁶³ *A Large Relation of the Fight at Leith*, pr. with Hodgson's *Memoirs*, p. 207; and with Terry, *Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie*, p. 459.

⁶⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 5. Cromwell had reprimanded his men for taking three Scotchmen, and, giving them copies of the Declaration, returned their money and sent them home. *Ibid.*, July 22-29.

even here the English found cause for satisfaction, for as one correspondent wrote from Mordington, "the putting fear to an enemy is the beginning of good success."⁶⁵ On the other hand they were compelled to keep in close touch with their fleet, and this conditioned much of Cromwell's later activities.

The national *levée en masse*, to which the Scots had been accustomed in the Border wars, together with the devastation of the country, had helped Leslie raise his forces to some twenty-seven thousand foot and five thousand horse, but though numerically superior to that of Cromwell, his army lacked cohesion, arms, and, above all, discipline. It was not possible to face Cromwell in the field with these raw recruits. It was still less possible to weld them into an offensive force in the time left to him. Least of all was it possible to reconcile the opinions of the nobility who urged on these levies and those of the burgesses and barons who insisted on purging first and recruiting afterwards. In consequence, as these men poured into his camp the Scottish commander set to work to fortify the Edinburgh-Leith line and reduce his force to some kind of discipline, while men like Wariston began to interfere not only with the recruits but with Leslie's plans to resist the English invasion.

Meanwhile Cromwell came on. He reached Dunbar on Friday, July 26 and began to unload provisions from the fleet. Fifteen ships, of which four were men-of-war, had been ordered to support the army,⁶⁶ but not all of them had arrived from Newcastle, whence Scoutmaster Rowe wrote Cromwell more were being sent.⁶⁷ It was, as Cromwell said, "but a pittance" and, having unloaded the supplies, the army went on the next day to Haddington, twelve miles from Edinburgh. The van was but six miles from the Scotch outposts, and there had the first sight of the enemy. Early the next morning a reconnoitering party brought word that Leslie's vanguard was at Gladsmoor, which rumor said the Scots had chosen for a battleground.⁶⁸ On that Sunday Charles had come to inspire the troops with that "carnal confidence" which so grieved Wariston, now doubly hurt by the English, who, contrary to the rigid Sabbath observance of his party, beat their drums early that morning for an advance to Gladsmoor. There they found only a small force of Scots, and Lambert and Whalley, with fourteen hundred horse, rode on to Musselburgh. The rest of the army followed close behind, made camp there and the next morning began a reconnoissance of Leslie's position.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *Perfect Passages*, July 25-Aug. 2.

⁶⁶ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 21.

⁶⁷ On July 25 he promised beer and cheese, 36,600 pounds of bread, ten casks of horseshoes, and a supply of nails and beds; and on July 26, five hundred copies of "letters from our friends at London." Nickolls, *Original Letters*, pp. 11-13.

⁶⁸ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 3; *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 6.

⁶⁹ Cromwell's letter, July 30.

That position was strong and to a force coming by the Musselburgh-Edinburgh road virtually impregnable. Leslie had established a line of entrenchments from Holyrood and Abbey Hill in Edinburgh, along the line of what is now Leith Walk, to Leith. Behind it was Calton Hill, and across the mouth of Leith harbor had been stretched a heavy boom to prevent the entry of the English ships. With one end resting on the fortifications of Edinburgh, the other on the sea, the position could not be outflanked, and, manned by some thirty thousand men, it was hopeless to make a frontal attack with the forces at Cromwell's command. There was an outpost on Arthur's Seat and a battery on the heights of St. Leonard's protecting the approach to the city from the southeast, and these were easily overpowered, but with that slight success Cromwell was forced to be content.

Each side hoped that the other would attack and each side was disappointed. On his part, Cromwell posted his cavalry at Restalrig and his infantry near Jock's Lodge, across the road to Musselburgh and opposite Holyrood, while his four men-of-war bombarded Leith. But Leslie's men were not lured from their trenches,⁷⁰ and, after a day and night of rain, Cromwell withdrew his tired, wet and hungry army to its quarters at Musselburgh on the morning of the 30th. They were, in fact, in such haste to be gone, that the rear-guard under Lambert was left behind, and seeing this, the Scots hastened to attack from both ends of their line, Leith and the Canongate. Those from Leith were driven back by Colonel Hacker; but at the Canongate Captain Evanson, who commanded two hundred horse in the extreme rear, was hard pressed until Cromwell's regiment came to his relief and repulsed the attack. The Scots were, in turn, reinforced, and after a "hot dispute" the English were again driven back until Whalley brought up four more troops of horse. With this the English drove the Scots to their entrenchments but fell into disorder in the pursuit, and had not Captain Chillenden come up with another of Whalley's troops and routed the Scots, they would have held the honors of the day.

This, as Wariston, who saw part of the engagement, was fond of saying, was a "mixed dispensation," nor was this the end of Cromwell's difficulties. Lambert was wounded and was for a time a prisoner; and when the English reached their camp at Musselburgh, they found it had been seized, barricaded and defended against them by five hundred of the country people.⁷¹ It was recovered, but it was apparent that the invaders faced a brave and determined foe and that they would be forced to fight for every inch they gained. That

⁷⁰ Wariston says Leslie was for sending out the foot, *Diary*, ii, 7.

⁷¹ Hodgson's *Memoirs; A Large Relation; A True Relation . . . of the Proceedings of the English Army*.

lesson was emphasized that night. According to the tale, a group of English Cavaliers in the Scots army swore to Charles II, "in their cups," that they would capture Cromwell and bring him back to their sovereign dead or alive.⁷² Whether or not this was the motive of the next Scotch move, that night Major-General Montgomery, in whose command the Cavaliers were numerous, with three colonels, Strachan, Lockhart and Kerr, and a considerable body of their best cavalry,⁷³ including many Cavaliers, set out for the English camp. About three o'clock in the morning, Lilburne's regiment, which, with that of Fleetwood, was on outpost duty, was warned of the Scots' approach. The men mounted and prepared for action, but two Englishmen in the attacking force rode forward and called out that it was a false alarm. Deceived by their accent, Lilburne's men dismounted and Montgomery's force dashed through them toward Musselburgh, defeated a detachment of Fleetwood's regiment and were only stopped by Lambert's musketeers. By this time the English were aroused and a counter-attack by their horse scattered the Scots, who fled toward Edinburgh. They were intercepted by a party of English dragoons who killed some of them and took a number of prisoners, among them several officers. These, giving their parole, were presently sent back by Cromwell in his own coach and some army carts⁷⁴—though this latter circumstance he failed to mention in his letter to Bradshaw, written on the day of the raid:

To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These

MY LORD,

We marched from Berwick upon Monday, being the 22d of July, and lay at my Lord Mordington's house, Monday night, Tuesday, and Wednesday. On Thursday we marched to Copperspath, on Friday to Dunbar, where we got some small pittance from our ships; from whence we marched to Haddington.

On the Lord's day, hearing that the Scottish army meant to meet us at Gladsmoor, we laboured to possess the moor before them; and beat our drums very early in the morning; but when we came there, no considerable body of the army appeared. Whereupon 1400 horse, under the command of Maj.-Gen. Lambert and Col. Whalley, were sent as a vanguard to Musselburgh, to see likewise if they could find out and attempt any thing upon the enemy; I marching in the heel of them with the residue of the army. Our party encountered with some of their horse, but they could not abide us. We lay at Musselburgh, encamped close, that night; the enemy's army lying between

⁷² *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 6.

⁷³ Wariston and Nicoll say eight hundred; Balfour says two thousand; other accounts estimate the number as fifteen hundred.

⁷⁴ Letter, Aug. 6, in *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 14; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 5-12; 12-19; *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 12, 16; *Records of General Assembly* (Scottish Hist. Soc.) Edinb. 1909, p. 24. The carts were allowed only as far as Arthur's Seat.

Edinburgh and Leith, about four miles from us, entrenched by a line flanked from Edinburgh to Leith; the guns also from Leith scouring most part of the line, so that they lay very strong.

Upon Monday 29 instant, we were resolved to draw up to them, to see if they would fight with us. And when we came upon the place, we resolved to get our cannons as near them as we could, hoping thereby to annoy them. We likewise perceived that they had some force upon a hill that overlooks Edinburgh, from whence we might be annoyed; did resolve to send up a party to possess the said hill; which prevailed:⁷⁵ but, upon the whole, we did find that their army were not easily to be attempted, whereupon we lay still all the said day; which proved to be so sore a day and night of rain as I have seldom seen, and greatly to our disadvantage, the enemy having enough to cover them, and we nothing at all considerable. Our soldiers did abide this difficulty with great courage and resolution, hoping they should speedily come to fight. In the morning, the ground being very wet, our provisions scarce, we resolved to draw back to our quarters at Musselburgh, there to refresh and revictual.

The enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our rear and put them into some little disorder, but our bodies of horse being in some readiness, came to a grapple with them; where indeed there was a gallant and hot dispute; the Maj.-Gen. and Col. Whalley being in the rear and the enemy drawing out great bodies to second their first affront. Our men charged them up to the very trenches, and beat them in. The Major-General's horse was shot in the neck and head; himself run through the arm with a lance, and run into another place of his body, was taken prisoner by the enemy, but rescued immediately by Lieut. Empson of my regiment. Col. Whalley, who was then nearest to the Maj.-Gen., did charge very resolutely and repulsed the enemy, and killed divers of them upon the place and took some prisoners, without any considerable loss, which indeed did so amaze and quiet them, that we marched off to Musselburgh, but they dared not send out a man to trouble us. We hear their young King looked on upon all this, but was very ill satisfied to see their men do no better.

We came to Musselburgh that night; so tired and wearied for want of sleep, and so dirty by reason of the wetness of the weather, that we expected the enemy would make an infall upon us, which accordingly they did, between three and four of the clock this morning with fifteen of their most select troops, under the command of Maj.-Gen. Montgomery and Straughan, two champions of the Church: upon which business there was great hope and expectation laid. The enemy came on with a great deal of resolution, beat in our guards, and put a regiment of horse in some disorder; but our men, speedily taking the alarm, charged the enemy, routed them, took many prisoners, killed a great many of them, did execution within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh; and, I am informed, Straughan⁷⁶ was killed there, besides divers other officers of quality. We took the major to Straughan's regiment, Maj. Hamilton, a lieut.-col., and divers other officers and persons of quality, whom yet we know not. Indeed this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather the Lord's; and I believe is not very satisfactory to the enemy, especially to the

⁷⁵ Arthur's Seat.

⁷⁶ Strachan was not killed; nor was Montgomery.

Kirk party. We did not lose any in this business, so far as I hear, but a cornet; I do not hear of four men more. The Maj.-Gen. will, I believe, within few days be well to take the field. And I trust this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of His servants.

I did not think advisable to attempt upon the enemy, lying as he doth: but surely it would sufficiently provoke him to fight if he had a mind to it. I do not think he is less than 6 or 7000 horse, and 14 or 15,000 foot.⁷⁷ The reason, I hear, that they give out to their people why they do not fight us, is, because they expect many bodies of men more out of the North of Scotland; which when they come, they give out they will then engage. But I believe they would rather tempt us to attempt them in their fastness, within which they are entrenched; or else hoping we shall famish for want of provisions; which is very likely to be, if we be not timely and fully supplied. I remain,

My Lord,

Musselburgh,
30 July, 1650.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.

I understand since writing of this letter, that Maj.-Gen. Montgomery is slain.⁷⁸

Montgomery's exploit had one result favorable to the English of which Cromwell could not have known. It was taken advantage of by the more rigid Covenanters to push their attack on the "Malignants" and the "Engagers" who, as Wariston wrote, "comit skirmishes, under pretext of coming and vewing the King" and so, in his opinion, embarrassed the army. It strengthened the hands of those who wished to purge the troops not merely of the presence of the unorthodox but of Charles himself, and they were presently able to persuade—or compel—him to leave the army, and to issue a proclamation ordering all "Malignants" to leave the camp.⁷⁹ Thus, if it had no other result, this rash exploit worked to the advantage of the invaders.

They needed all the advantage they could get. They dared not attack Leslie's entrenchments, from which he was not lured by Cromwell's reported jibe that they "could not haive a good cause who keepled in trinches and durst not trust God with the decision of it."⁸⁰ In fact they took the same precaution themselves and for the next

⁷⁷ This estimate is conservative. See Nickoll's *Orig. Letters*, p. 13. For the numbers engaged on both sides, see Firth, "Battle of Dunbar," *Royal Historical Society Trans.*, 1900.

⁷⁸ In *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the English Army . . . July 20-Aug. 5th. . . Letters . . . read in Parliament the sixth of Aug.*; *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 2; *Cromwellsana*, pp. 85-6; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 317; Carlyle, CXXXV. Reported to Parliament by Vane with a request that the provisions desired by Cromwell be furnished. A request for recruits was referred to a committee of the Council. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, ii, 273-4.

⁷⁹ Wariston, *Diary*, p. 6; Walker (*Historical Discourses*, p. 165) says this affected four thousand Cavaliers.

⁸⁰ Wariston, *Diary*, p. 9.

few days were busy digging trenches of their own in Musselburgh.⁸¹ That interval was employed by Cromwell in composing another letter to the Scots, this time to the Assembly of the Kirk, in an endeavor to set the various elements among his opponents against each other, as they were doing what they could to undermine the English morale by like means. That letter was notable, among other things, for his famous adjuration to the Scots ministers—"I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken":

To the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland; or, in case of their not sitting, To the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland: These

SIRS,

Your *Answer to the Declaration of the Army*⁸² we have seen; and some godly ministers with us did, at Berwick, compose this *Reply*,⁸³ which I thought fit to send you.

That you or we, in these great transactions, answer the will and mind of God, it is only from His grace and mercy to us. And therefore, having said as in our papers, we commit the issue thereof to Him who disposeth all things, assuring you that we have light and comfort increasing upon us, day by day, and are persuaded that, before it be long, the Lord will manifest His good pleasure, so that all shall see Him, and His people shall say, "This is the Lord's work, and it is marvellous in our eyes: this is the day that the Lord hath made; we will be glad and rejoice therein."

Only give me leave to say, in a word: You take upon you to judge us in the things of our God, though you know us not; though in the things we have said unto you, in that which is entitled the Army's Declaration, we have spoken our hearts as in the sight of the Lord who hath tried us. And by your hard and subtle words you have begotten prejudice in those who do too much (in matters of conscience, wherein every soul is to answer for itself to God) depend upon you. So that some have already followed you, to the breathing-out of their souls; others continue still in the way wherein they are led by you (we fear) to their own ruin.

And no marvel if you deal thus with us, when indeed you can find in your hearts to conceal the papers we have sent you from your own people; who might see and understand the bowels of our affections to them, especially such among them as fear the Lord. Send as many of your papers as you please amongst ours; they have a free passage. I fear them not. What is of God in them, would it might be embraced and received. One of them lately sent, directed *To the Under-Officers and Soldiers in the English Army*, hath begotten from them this enclosed *Answer*; which they desired me to send you: not a crafty politic one, but a plain simple spiritual one; such as it is God knoweth, and God also will in due time make manifest.

And do we multiply these things⁸⁴ as men; or do we them for the Lord

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸² *A Short Reply to the Army's Declaration*, signed A. Kerr (Edinburgh, July 22, 1650).

⁸³ *Vindication of the Declaration of the Army*.

⁸⁴ Papers and Declarations.

Christ and His people's sake? Indeed we are not, through the grace of God, afraid of your numbers, nor confident in ourselves. We could (I pray God you do not think we boast) meet your army, or what you have to bring against us. We have given (humbly we speak it before our God, in whom all our hope is) some proof that thoughts of that kind prevail not upon us. The Lord hath not hid His face from us since our approach so near unto you.

Your own guilt is too much for you to bear: bring not therefore upon yourselves the blood of innocent men, deceived with pretences of King and Covenant, from whose eyes you hide a better knowledge. I am persuaded that divers of you, who lead the people, have laboured to build yourselves in these things wherein you have censured others, and established yourselves upon the Word of God. Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that you say? I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken. Precept may be upon precept, line may be upon line, and yet the Word of the Lord may be to some a Word of judgment, that they may fall backward, and be broken and be snared and be taken.⁸⁵ There may be a spiritual fulness, which the world may call drunkenness; as in the second chapter of the Acts. There may be, as well, a carnal confidence upon misunderstanding and misapplied precepts, which may be called spiritual drunkenness. There may be a Covenant made with death and hell.⁸⁵ I will not say yours was so. But judge if such things have a politic aim: to avoid the overflowing scourge; or to accomplish worldly interests. And if therein we have confederated with wicked and carnal men, and have respect for them, or otherwise [have] drawn them in to associate with us, Whether this be a Covenant of God and spiritual, bethink yourselves; we hope we do.

I pray you read the twenty-eighth of Isaiah, from the fifth to the fifteenth. And do not scorn to know that it is the Spirit that quickens and giveth life.

The Lord give you and us understanding to do that which is well-pleasing in His sight. Committing you to the grace of God, I rest,

Your humble servant,

Musselburgh,
Aug. 3, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁸⁶

The results of the first week's operations had not been unfavorable to the Scots, and when Cromwell's letter was read the next day in Wariston's tent, they took comfort in the fact that Sunday had arrived and the English officers had not made good their boast that they would be preaching in Edinburgh that day.⁸⁷ So far from preaching in Edinburgh, the English were in real distress. Their provision ships had been unable to land their cargoes at Musselburgh,⁸⁸ and about midnight on August 5 the troops set out for Dunbar where

⁸⁵ Bible phrases all from the chapter in Isaiah mentioned below.

⁸⁶ Pr. in *A Letter sent to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland by Oliver Cromwell*; in *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 12; with some variance in *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1650-1652*, ed. J. Christie (Scott. Hist. Soc., Edinburgh, 1909), pp. 13-15; in *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 320-323; Carlyle, CXXXVI. Read in the Scotch General Assembly on Aug. 5.

⁸⁷ Wariston's *Diary*, p. 9.

⁸⁸ *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 14; Balfour, iv, 89; Hodgson, *Memoirs*.

there were still some supplies to be had.⁸⁹ The Covenanters were elated, and their ministers preached from the text "The wicked flee when no man pursueth."⁹⁰ Wariston saw in this the hand of God. He was shocked at the news that the English said no grace before or after meat, had no sermons on the Sabbath, and that Cromwell was reported to have said that he was as assured of victory as of his own salvation, or as God was in Heaven, "Yea urtherwyse that Christ . . . was a lyar." He was scarcely less shocked at the spoiling of the country by the invaders, and expressed the "hope wee can bring God with us, who soon can taik order with that proud peice of clay," Oliver Cromwell. But even amid his rejoicings it is apparent that there was deep dissension among his countrymen, not lessened by the purge of the army which cost Leslie, it was said, four thousand men and some of his best officers.⁹¹

The Scots ministers rejoiced too soon, nor was Wariston justified in his reflections on the religious habits of the English army. While it remained at Dunbar, unloading supplies from the six provision ships, many hours were spent by the officers in prayer and exhortation, as Cromwell pondered the General Assembly's reply to his letter. That reply revealed that whatever the carnal strength of the Scots, the edge of their spiritual weapons was unblunted. They began contemptuously enough in their letter "For the Commander-in-chief of the Armie come from England into Scotland."

"If after examination anything considerable shall be found in the reply which yee have sent ws . . . it shall be answered in due time. . . . Yow seeme to presume upon the issue and to boast much of the increase of your light and comfort. Lett not him that putts on his harnesse boast him self as he that putts it off. The Lord rejects the confidences of those who gaad about to change their way. Wee have not so learned Christ as to medle with times and seasons which the Father hath kept in his owne hand nor do we desire to admitt any such light and comfort as accompanies an unwarrantable warre. . . . Wee take not upon us to judge yow in any thing otherwise then by your cariage and fruites. These we see and know to be bitter as wormewood and gall. . . . As long as your actions caried upon them any shaddow of integrity, we said no thing against you. . . . But seing yow have discovered your selfe, we could not be faithfull if we did not make your deceitful way manifest." And they concluded, "We have long ago read the Scripture yow recommend unto ws, and prayes you industriously to search and consider who they are, and what they may expect, who, after they have broken covenant with God and their nighbours . . . darre promise to them selves not onlie immunitie from death and hell . . . but successe . . . in all their unrighteous undertakings."⁹²

⁸⁹ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 22; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 17.

⁹⁰ Whitelocke, p. 468.

⁹¹ Wariston's wife sent him reports of such complaints, *Diary*, p. 10.

⁹² *Register of the Commission of the General Assembly*, III. Scott. Hist. Soc., lviii, 19-23. Wariston, *Diary*, p. 12; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 17.

Amid these reproaches, they inserted others of even more penetrating acrimony. "Yow would have ws to think," they wrote, "that there is a possibilitie that we may be mistaken. Would yow have ws to be scepticks in our religion?" They repeated again and again the charge that Cromwell had signed the Covenant, which he now broke. They declared that, so far from concealing his papers, those who had read them "are none of them thereby perswaded of the bowells of your affections, but . . . hoold foorth more cruelty than love." And, they added, "We may truely say that wee have no delyte in multiplying of bookes." In brief they repudiated his whole contention.

It is evident from this vigorous reply that the Scottish ministers had not greatly changed their opinion of Cromwell since, two years earlier, Blair was reported to have called him "a greeting devil." Their reply was not calculated to soothe the feelings of its recipient; least of all their continual reference to the Covenant which Cromwell had signed and now forsworn, but it naturally did not alter his purpose. From the prayer-meetings and the deliberations of the higher officers, three plans to attack the enemy presently emerged. The first was to fortify the position at Dunbar and wait to be attacked. The second was to force Leslie's entrenchments, from which course, according to Wariston, Cromwell had earlier been dissuaded by Monk. The third, which Cromwell now favored, was to endeavor to outflank Leslie, cut off his supplies, and force him to fight,⁹³ for food was already reported so scarce in the Scottish army that the inhabitants were being levied on for its support.

This last was decided on; and, some £240 worth of peas and wheat having been distributed to the starving Scots near Dunbar,⁹⁴ whose crops Leslie had ordered to be destroyed, three days' rations were issued to the troops, and on August 11 orders were given to march back to Musselburgh.⁹⁵ At five in the morning of the 13th, two shots were fired signalling the ships to go north, and the army advanced unopposed to Braid House in the Pentland Hills, south of Edinburgh, where the tents were pitched.⁹⁶ Wariston confided to his diary his shocked surprise at the march of the enemy, "notwithstanding the Lord's Day," and "Blessed God had given us this day uninterrupted for our fast and humiliation."⁹⁷

⁹³ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 15.

⁹⁴ Nicoll, *Diary*; Loudoun to Charles II, Aug. 10, in *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 20.

⁹⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 19; *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 19; *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 24. Cromwell's generosity and mercy were lauded for this but one wonders if it was not prompted by his well known policy of gaining the good will of the country people.

⁹⁶ *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 28; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 23; *Merc. Pol.* Aug. 24. Cromwell intended to circle around Edinburgh and meet the ships on the other side.

⁹⁷ He had apparently even come to believe in the witch who had confessed that the devil had carried "2,000 of them to Cromwel's airmy . . . that Cromwel was a consulter, and had advysed with Lilly [the astrologer] who told him he would gayne the first but not the last." Wariston, *Diary*, p. 14.

Meanwhile he and his colleagues had been pressing Charles to issue a Declaration which condemned Charles' father as guilty of the bloodshed of the civil wars and his mother as an idolatress, renounced both Anglicans and Catholics and agreed to make England Presbyterian. From such activities even his party were finally aroused to recognize the fact that Cromwell meant to fight. Their first step was to issue a Declaration of the General Assembly in reply to Cromwell's letters, protesting that they had no intention of supporting Charles until he signed the *Declaration*, and promising to consider the English proposals.⁹⁸ This, with a letter from Leslie, was sent to Cromwell,⁹⁹ who replied the next day in a last attempt to drive a wedge between the Covenanters and the King. As he had already appealed to the Saints, the people, the Estates, and the Assembly, he now endeavored to seduce Leslie from his allegiance:

For the Right Honourable David Lesley, Lieutenant-General of the Scottish Army:

SIR,

I received yours of the 13th instant, with the paper you mentioned therein, enclosed; which I caused to be read in the presence of so many officers as could well be gotten together on a sudden; to which your trumpet can witness. We return you this answer, by which I hope, in the Lord, it will appear that we continue the same which we have professed ourselves to the honest people of Scotland, wishing to them as to our own souls; it being no part of our business to hinder any of them from worshipping God in that way they are satisfied in their consciences by the Word of God they ought (though different from us), but shall therein be ready to perform what obligation lies upon us by the Covenant.

But that under pretence of the Covenant, mistaken, and wrested from the most native intent and equity thereof, a King should be taken in by you, to be imposed upon us; and this called the cause of God and of the Kingdom; and this done to the satisfaction of God's people in both nations, as is alleged, together with the disowning of malignants, although he who is the head of them, in whom all their hope and comfort lies, be received; who, at this very instant, hath a Popish army fighting for and under him in Ireland; hath Prince Rupert, a man who hath had his hand very deep in the blood of many innocent men in England, now in the head of our ships, stolen from us upon a malignant account; hath the French and Irish ships daily making depredations on our coasts; and strong combinations by the malignants in England, to raise armies in our bowels, by virtue of his commissions, he having of late issued out very many to that purpose; and how the interest you pretend you have received him upon, and the malignant interest in the ends and consequences centering in this man, can be severed, we cannot discern! And how we should believe, that whilst known and notorious malignants fighting and

⁹⁸ In *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 27; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 23; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 325. Cp. also Airy, *Charles II*, p. 90.

⁹⁹ In *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 27; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 19-26.

plotting against us on the one hand, and you declaring for him on the other, should not be an espousing of a malignant party quarrel or interest; but be a mere fighting upon former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the Kingdom, as hath been these twelve years last past, as you say, for the security and satisfaction of God's people in both nations; or the opposing of which should render us enemies to the Godly with you, we cannot understand, especially considering that all malignants take their confidence and encouragement from the late transactions of your Kirk and State with your King. For as we have already said, so we tell you again, it is but satisfying security to those that employ us, and are concerned in that we seek, which we conceive will not be by a few formal and feigned submissions, from a person that could not otherwise tell how to accomplish his malignant ends, and [is] therefore counselled to this compliance, by them who assisted his Father, and have hitherto acted for him in his most evil and desperate designs; and are now again by them set on foot. Against which, how you will be able, in the way you are in, to secure us or yourselves is (for as much as concerns ourselves), our duty to look after.

If the state of your quarrel be thus, upon which, as you say, you resolve to fight our army, you will have opportunity to do that; else what means our abode here? And if our hope be not in the Lord, it will be ill with us. We commit both you and ourselves to Him who knows the heart and tries the reins; with whom are all our ways; who is able to do for us and you above what we know, which we desire may be in much mercy to His poor people, and to the glory of His great name.

And having performed your desire, in making your papers so public as is before expressed, I desire you to do the like, by letting the State, Kirk, and Army have the knowledge hereof. To which end I have sent you enclosed two copies [of this Letter]; and rest,

Your humble servant,

From the camp at Pentland
Hills, Aug. 14, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁰⁰

This letter was sent, as Cromwell suggested, to the General Assembly and to those then endeavoring to persuade Charles to sign the Declaration, but, so far from effecting the purpose for which it was designed, it was used by them as an additional argument for the King's submission to their demands.¹⁰¹ This was accompanied by a last effort to compose the quarrel. On the day that Cromwell wrote, there was a meeting of officers from the two armies on the sands between Leith and Musselburgh, each side accompanied by a hundred horse. Though the Scottish officers declared they had been deluded by the "Malignants" and were considering abandoning Charles

¹⁰⁰ There are several texts for this letter: those printed in the newspapers, *See. Proc.*, Aug. 27; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 23; abstract in *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 22; and *Old Parl. Hist.* xix, 331-3; *The Lord General Cromwell's Letter*. It is pr. in *Clarendon State Papers*, ii, 547-8, with no date, from a copy; and in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* 12, App. VIII, p. 30 (Duke of Atholl Mss.). Carlyle, CXXXVII.

¹⁰¹ Letter, Aug. 15, in *Records of the General Assembly*, iii, 30-1.

because of his refusal to disown his father's acts, they were not persuaded to desert to Cromwell, and nothing came of the conference.¹⁰² Cromwell's feints, both in arguments and arms, had for the moment failed. He was hampered in his operations by the necessity of keeping in touch with his supplies; the three days' rations were running out; and the army and the ships were ordered back to Musselburgh.¹⁰³

The stay of the troops there was short. Having replenished his supplies and left a detachment at Stoney Hill to protect the harbor, he returned to his former position south of Edinburgh.¹⁰⁴ From there he advanced to the southwest, and after three hours' rendezvous on August 18, took Collington House, three miles from the city.¹⁰⁵ Thence he went in person on a reconnoissance that day to a point near the Scots' "forlorn," or advance guard. There, it was reported, he was fired on, and called out that 'if it had been one of his soldiers he would have cashiered him for firing at such a distance.'¹⁰⁶

While Cromwell was thus prowling about like a beast of prey seeking where he could pounce upon his enemy,¹⁰⁷ his letters were having their effect. Some of the Scots officers were touched by his argument that it ill became good Covenanters to serve a "malignant" king. But the conclusion which they reached was not to desert him and join the invaders but to make him a good Covenanter. To their determination to compel him to sign the Declaration Cromwell's letter contributed; and, seeing that he must take his choice between deserting his principles and being deserted by his army, Charles yielded, assuring his friends meanwhile that he had no intention of abandoning them or the Church of England. As his grandfather, Henry of Navarre, had decided that Paris was worth a mass, Charles evidently considered that Scotland was worth a Covenant and even a Declaration. So, on August 16, as Cromwell once more took up his post in the Pentlands, Charles signed the document and rode off to Perth.

There he hoped to put himself at the head of the reinforcements then coming from the north; but in that he was disappointed, for they were ordered to join Leslie. If he was disappointed, so was Leslie, who

¹⁰² On the 16th Charles signed the Declaration required of him. Pr. in *ibid.*, pp. 33-40. See also Wariston, *Diary*, pp. 20, 24-5; Walker, *Hist. Discourses*, pp. 170-76; *New Statistical Account of Scotland*.

¹⁰³ *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 28; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 23; Wariston, *Diary*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 28; *True Relation of the Daily Proceedings*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 31.

¹⁰⁶ *Mer. Pol.*, Aug. 29; *True Relation of the Daily Proceedings*.

¹⁰⁷ On the 20th Lambert and other officers had a conference with some Scots including Strachan, who declared his hatred toward Charles more implacable than toward the English. *True Relation*. Cromwell held a council meeting on the 21st, of all field officers and captains. *Ibid.* About this time he cashiered several men, hanged one for plundering, and condemned twenty-seven deserters (Whitelocke, p. 469); and on Aug. 18 he signed a commission, which was sold by Sotheby to Madigan in 1919 (*Autograph Prices Current*, V).

was strongly urged by the Commissioners to attack the English, and such a dispute arose over that and the placing of John Leslie in command of Leith that, as Wariston records, "the Generall and the Lieut.-General took their huff . . . and went away in a passion."¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile the purging of the Scots army went on and many of Leslie's experienced officers were replaced by men whose theology was satisfactory to the Commissioners but whose skill in war left much to be desired by the General. Nor was Cromwell less disappointed. He not only had failed to separate the Scots from their King but he had contributed to Charles' signing of the Declaration. His only recourse, therefore, was arms, and he advanced to the attack. To meet his threat, Leslie had posted a detachment at Redhall, the house of Sir James Hamilton, some three miles southwest of Edinburgh, commanding the principal passage over Leith Water and the road to Glasgow. Some two miles farther north, on Costorphine Hill, directly west of Edinburgh, he stationed one end of a long line comprising his entire army, designed to protect the Stirling road and prevent the English from access to the sea if they attempted to push on to Queensferry and outflank his main position, resting on Edinburgh.

It seemed from this that the battle which Cromwell had sought was close at hand and he lost no time in moving against these positions. Planting artillery against Redhall on the morning of August 24, he began an attack which lasted some six hours. The place was vigorously defended, and not until the garrison's powder gave out and part of Monk's new regiment had broken in the doors and windows was the house taken with its store of money and of goods. Its owner, Hamilton, was captured, with sixty-four others, but was soon set at liberty,¹⁰⁹ and Cromwell prepared to advance on the Stirling road, ordering the fleet to move up the coast, and urging the Council to send him more supplies:

To the Council of State

Enclosing a list of Physic, surgery, clothing etc. needed by the army in Scotland.

Leaguer at Collington, Aug. 27, 1650.¹¹⁰

With this he began an advance to the northwest, while Leslie promptly moved his forces west to prevent his opponents from cutting

¹⁰⁸ Wariston, *Diary*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 25; *Sev. Proc.* Aug. 31; *Perf. Diurn.* Sept. 2; *Records of the Coldstream Guards*. On August 26 Cromwell consented to another conference between his officers and Wariston, Strachan and others but nothing came of it. *Perf. Diurn.* Sept. 6.

¹¹⁰ Referred to Parliament and back to the Council of State, Sept. 3; referred to the Irish Committee, and later to the Army Committee who were to see that the supplies were provided. *C. J.*, vi, 461; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 322, 332.

the road to Stirling or reaching the sea. The vanguards of the two forces met that afternoon near Gogar and the English drew up for battle, but Leslie had chosen his position well. The boggy ground prevented any general engagement involving cavalry, in which the English were superior; and though there was a skirmish in which Cromwell's men had the advantage, Leslie's position was too strong to attack.¹¹¹ That night the two armies lay opposite each other under arms, and the next morning, after a farewell cannonade, Cromwell gave the order to retire.¹¹² The possibility of a decisive battle on advantageous ground had vanished and his effort to reach the sea at Queensferry and isolate Edinburgh had failed. His supplies were again running short and he was himself in some danger of being cut off from his base by the Scots. His only recourse was to hurry back to Musselburgh before his way was blocked.

Leslie saw the eastward movement of Cromwell's army and, fearing that the English would interpose themselves between him and Edinburgh, hurried to prevent such a move; and when those fears appeared groundless he went on to block Cromwell's passage to Musselburgh. He had the easier and more direct way which lay through Edinburgh, and Cromwell, fearing he might be intercepted, hurried his tired and hungry men forward as rapidly as possible.¹¹³ By the night of August 28, his headquarters were on or near Blackford Hill, some two miles south of Edinburgh, while Leslie was at Calton Hill, just north of the city and out of sight of the English. To protect his march past the enemy's lines, Cromwell posted two guns on the eminence of Niddery which overlooked the most promising spot for a Scotch attack and prepared to force his way through. That, as it happened, was not necessary. The next morning, as Cromwell had foreseen, the Scots appeared on Arthur's Seat, moving toward Craigmillar, but they were too late to catch the English at a disadvantage. Whether they were checked by the cannon on Niddery or whether they merely intended a demonstration to frighten the English from their position, under the protection of his guns Cromwell marched within a mile of their front along the southern side of Duddington Loch, past Niddery, unmolested, and so by the shore road along the Firth to Musselburgh.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ George Downing, in *Several Letters from Scotland* says the Scots lost over a hundred, although Nicoll says only one killed and twelve hurt.

¹¹² *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 6.

¹¹³ Royalist news at the Hague said Cromwell had "lost sixty of his lifeguards (his brazen wall as he calls them) whom Lesley refused to exchange but put them to the sword" and that Cromwell's men "eat nothing but bread and cheese, drink ill water and lie on the ground without huts. . . . He has probably lost 2,000 men in killed, wounded and run away." *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 320-321.

¹¹⁴ Hodgson's *Memoirs*, p. 142; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 6; *A letter from a Colonel of the Army*. . . .

This would have seemed Leslie's opportunity, but it was by now apparent that his plan was not to fight if he could avoid it, but to force Cromwell to withdraw to England, whence the Scottish commander believed it would be impossible to launch another invasion. Despite the Commissioners' opposition to that plan and their demand for action, it appeared at this moment that these Fabian tactics were justified. After five weeks of maneuvering, not only had Cromwell's effort to outgeneral his opponent failed, but his army was in evil plight. It had plenty of supplies, but it had also five hundred sick and wounded which were now shipped off to Berwick,¹¹⁵ leaving it that much weaker in numbers. Like Ormonde a year earlier, the Scots relied on cold and sickness to defeat their enemies and it seemed that this policy might succeed. The distance from Berwick was great, the Musselburgh harbor was poor, and the landing of supplies was difficult. The weather was bad, the accommodations for the troops inadequate, and the sick list lengthened from day to day. It was obviously useless to attempt to draw Leslie to an engagement except on his own terms. At the Council of War on the day after they reached Musselburgh, Fleetwood complained of "the impossibility in our forcing them to fight, the passes being so many and so great that as soon as we go on the one side, they go over on the other."¹¹⁶ There seemed, then nothing for the English to do but to hope that Leslie's scanty supplies would run out, and meanwhile establish themselves in a fortified camp. There was no hint of abandoning the expedition. With every confidence that they would defeat the Scots in an open engagement which they had so long sought, the English leaders decided to retire to Dunbar and there await the event, hoping, perhaps, that this retirement might draw Leslie from his entrenchments.¹¹⁷ This they did, but before leaving Musselburgh Cromwell sent a brief account¹¹⁸ of his recent operations to London:

[*To the Council of State?*]

SIR,

Since my last, we seeing the enemy not willing to engage, and yet very apt to take exceptions against speeches of that kind spoken in our army, which occasioned some of them to come to parley with our officers, to let them know that they would fight us, they lying still in or near their fastnesses, on the west wide of Edinburgh, we resolved, the Lord assisting, to draw near to them once more, to try if we could fight them. And indeed one

¹¹⁵ Hodgson's *Memoirs*, p. 142; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 6.

¹¹⁶ Fleetwood's letter, Aug. 31, in *Several Letters from Scotland*.

¹¹⁷ Rushworth says it was a feint. *Parl. Hist.*, xix, 341-2.

¹¹⁸ The letter is dated Aug. 31 in the original pamphlet in which it appeared, but Cromwell may have mistaken the date, as he did on other occasions, for in a later letter he mentions a date, "Saturday, August 30th."

hour's advantage gained might probably, we think, have given us an opportunity.

To which purpose, upon Tuesday the 27th instant we marched westward of Edinburgh towards Stirling; which the enemy perceiving, marched with as great expedition as was possible to prevent us, and the vanguards of both the armies came to skirmish, upon a place where bogs and passes made the access of each army to the other difficult. We, being ignorant of the place, drew up, hoping to have engaged, but found no way feasible, by reason of the bogs and other difficulties.

We drew up our cannon, and did that day discharge two or three hundred great shot upon them; a considerable number they likewise returned to us, and this was all that passed from each to other. Wherein we had near twenty killed and wounded, but not one commissioned officer. The enemy, as we are informed, had about eighty killed, and some considerable officers. Seeing they would keep their ground, from which we could not remove them, and our bread being spent, we were necessitated to go for a new supply; and so marched off about ten or eleven o'clock on Wednesday morning. The enemy perceiving it, and as we conceive, fearing we might interpose between them and Edinburgh, though it was not our intention, albeit it seemed so by our march, retreated back again, with all haste; having a bog and passes between them and us; there being no considerable action, saving the skirmishing of the van of our horse with theirs, near to Edinburgh, without any considerable loss to either part, saving that we got two or three of their horses.

That night we quartered within a mile of Edinburgh, and of the enemy. It was a most tempestuous night and wet morning. The enemy marched in the night between Leith and Edinburgh, to interpose between us and our victual, they knowing that it was spent; but the Lord in mercy prevented it; which we perceiving in the morning, got, time enough, through the goodness of the Lord, to the sea-side, to re-victual; the enemy being drawn up upon the hill near Arthur's Seat, looking upon us, but not attempting any thing.

And thus you have an account of the present occurrences.

Musselburgh,
August 30, 1650.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁹

DUNBAR

AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 3, 1650

About two o'clock on the afternoon of August 31, Cromwell gave the order to march; the ships simultaneously weighed anchor;¹²⁰ and the English began their retirement to Dunbar, closely followed by the Scots. The English were fearful of rear-guard attacks, and in the moonlit evening, as they marched to Haddington, their fears were justified, for a strong body of Scottish horse fell upon the English cavalry protecting the retreat. The main body of Cromwell's troops had reached Haddington before the Scots had arrived in any con-

¹¹⁹ *Several Letters from Scotland*; repr. in *Old Parl. Hist.* xix, 339. Carlyle, CXXXVIII.

¹²⁰ Walker, *Historical Discourses*, pp. 179-80.

siderable numbers, and only a sudden obscuring of the moon saved the rear-guard from an attack in force. As it was, the brigade was thrown into disorder, though it reached the town with the loss of but three or four men.

There Colonel Fairfax's foot and Fleetwood's horse were posted on guard outside the walls, where, about midnight, under cover of the dark and mist, a detachment of Highlanders ventured to attack but were driven back to where their army was camped on Gladsmoor,¹²¹ the position Cromwell had sought to occupy in July thinking the Scots had selected it as a battle ground. "The next morning was the Sabbath," wrote Lieutenant Hodgson of Lambert's regiment, "and our officers were consulting on which side of the town to fight them; and drawing several regiments on the west side of town we were presently ordered to retreat, and to leave the town of Haddington betwixt us. We staid until about ten o'clock, had been at prayer in several regiments, sent away our waggons and carriages toward Dunbar and not long afterwards marched, a poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army."¹²² Again it seemed that this was Leslie's opportunity, but again he refused to engage. So, avoiding the main road which led out of Haddington to the north, Cromwell led his men to the south, keeping the Tyne between him and the Scots until he rejoined the road to Dunbar later on. Leslie had followed promptly, and where the road crossed the Tyne was so close on Cromwell's heels that the English rear-guard held his men off with difficulty from the "poor weak foot that was not able to march up."¹²³ Near Dunbar the rear-guard faced about, thinking that a skirmish was inevitable, but the Scots turned off the road to the right and occupied Doon Hill, about two miles from Dunbar, which it overlooked.¹²⁴

It now seemed that Cromwell was caught in a trap from which it would be difficult or impossible to escape. Doon Hill was unassailable by the English, but from its slopes the Scots could descend on the fields about Dunbar and command the road to Berwick. They had, besides, sent forward a detachment to seize the narrow pass at Cockburnspath, and so not only blocked Cromwell's retreat but prevented reinforcements reaching him from England. Yet though he was confronted by an army numerically superior¹²⁵ and in an impregnable position, Cromwell had certain advantages. Dunbar was not ill adapted to the purpose of a fortified camp. Situated on a rocky promontory, to the west of it was Belhaven Bay, a passable year-

¹²¹ Hodgson's *Memoirs; A Brief Relation*.

¹²² Hodgson's *Memoirs*, p. 143.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Merc. Pol.*

¹²⁵ The Scotch had 27,000 while the English had 12,000. *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 7; Cadwell's Narrative, in Carte, *Letters*, i, 381; *Brief Relation. Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 5-12, says 23,000 and 11,000.

round harbor for the herring-fishery, which was Dunbar's chief support, and was available for supply from the English fleet, which had accompanied his march and was then in the harbor. On each side of the town of Dunbar was a little stream, Beil Water, on the west and Brock's Burn on the south-east, which gave a certain protection to the English flanks. Moreover the country between Dunbar and Haddington on the west was rough, and the English position on that side was protected by a glen. On the south, Brock's Burn, though of no importance as a stream, ran through a narrow glen some forty feet in depth, with sides too steep, except in three places, for either infantry or cavalry to cross in formation. At the bottom of this glen was a cottage which Cromwell occupied as an outpost, and on the left bank of Brock's Burn, near the sea, was the Earl of Roxburgh's house, Broxmouth, surrounded by a deer-park, where Cromwell placed a garrison. Dunbar was out of the range of artillery on Doon Hill, and though the English seemed fairly caught, they were in no danger of being crushed, for there was only one way by which Leslie could attack them. That was to come down the hill to the plain southeast of the town and on the other side of Brock's Burn.

The Scots, on the other hand, were not without serious disadvantages. There was continual friction between Leslie and the Committee of Estates, especially with men like Wariston, and Leslie labored under the fatal disadvantage of civilian advice which often came near to being a command. His army had not only been purged of many of its most valuable officers and soldiers, but even at this critical moment that process was going on, so that not only were incompetent officers being put in command, but they were comparative strangers to their men, as they were often total strangers to their business.

On his arrival in Dunbar on September 1, Cromwell, fearing an immediate assault, with Fleetwood's aid had distributed his forces in the fields between the town and hill, to the west of Brock's Burn, where they stood without pitching tents, with the guns and train in the churchyard just outside the town, behind them and near the shore. Meanwhile he learned that the Scots had occupied Cockburnspath and cut him off from Berwick, and so wrote to Haselrig for help:

*To the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselridge at Newcastle or elsewhere:
These. Haste, haste*

DEAR SIR,

We are upon an engagement very difficult. The enemy hath blocked up our way at the Pass at Copperspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination.

I perceive your forces are not in a capacity for present relief; wherefore (whatever becomes of us) it will be well for you to get what forces you can together; and the South to help what they can. The business nearly concerneth all good people. If your forces had been in a readiness to have fallen upon the back of Copperspath, it might have occasioned supplies to have come to us; but the only wise God knows what is best. All shall work for good. Our spirits are comfortable (praised be the Lord), though our present condition be as it is. And indeed we have much hope in the Lord; of whose mercy we have had large experience.

Indeed do you get together what forces you can against them. Send to friends in the south to help with more. Let H. Vane know what I write. I would not make it public, lest danger should accrue thereby. You know what use to make hereof. Let me hear from you. I rest,

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.

Sept. 2d, 1650.

It's difficult for me to send to you. Let me hear from [you] after [you receive this.]¹²⁶

By this time Cromwell realized that Leslie meant to fight. The weather was wet and stormy and the men on both sides cold and drenched, the Scots especially, on account of their exposed position on the hillside. The Commissioners were particularly uncomfortable. As Wariston's nephew, Burnet, wrote later, "They were weary of lying in the fields and thought that Lesley made not haste enough to destroy those Sectaries . . . He told them by lying there all was sure; but that by engaging in action with gallant and desperate men, all might be lost, yet they still called on him to fall on."¹²⁷ Wariston himself confessed that he was "warned at Craigmillar and Dunbar against sudden and rash meddling in war,"¹²⁸ and the urging of the Commissioners seems largely responsible for Leslie's next move. Early on Monday morning, September 2, he drew some of his horse down the hill followed by the rest of his army, closely watched by the English all day.

The first clash came with an attack on Cromwell's little outpost of thirty men at the bottom of Brock's Glen. Of these some were captured, the rest driven back, but the post was soon retaken. It would appear that this was in the nature of an effort to gain intelli-

¹²⁶ Lomas-Carlyle, Letter CXXXIX, from the pamphlet *Four Letters from Oliver Cromwell to Sir Arthur Heselridge, Governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, pr. at the Courant Office, Pilgrim Street, by J. Blackwell and Co., 1847, from the originals then in the possession of Sir A. G. Hazlerig, Bart. Carlyle printed first from an old copy, then from Brand's *History of Newcastle* (London, 1789), ii, 478-9.

¹²⁷ Burnet, *Hist. of My Own Time*, (1823) pp. 93-4. He adds, "Many have thought this was all treachery; some laying it upon Lesley, and others upon my uncle. I am persuaded there was no treachery in it; only Wariston was too hot and Lesley too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he ought not to have done.

¹²⁸ Wariston's *Diary*, ii, 101.

gence, for one of the prisoners was brought before Leslie and asked "if the enemy did intend to fight?" "What," inquired this one-armed veteran, "did he think they came there for." "How will you fight," said Leslie, "when you have shipped half your men and all your great guns?" "Sir," replied the soldier, "if you will please to draw down your army to the foot of the hill, you shall find both men and great guns too."¹²⁹ Released by Leslie, the man came to Cromwell, told his story, and was rewarded with two gold pieces to replace what had been taken from him by the Scots. Apparently satisfied with his estimate of the situation, about four o'clock in the afternoon the Scots' commander began to move his baggage and his train of artillery down into the fields east of Brock's Burn. Early in the evening the greater part of the horse was shifted from the left to the right wing toward the sea, where the burn was easily passable, to prevent the English from embarking or breaking through, or to head an attack on their position. The center rested on each side of the road to Berwick and behind it was the general's tent and the camp for the train. Leslie's plan was to cut the English off from escape and to overwhelm them by sheer weight, for, though his army was far inferior in discipline, it outnumbered Cromwell's by some twenty-two thousand to twelve thousand—making no allowance for ineffectives on either side.

To meet the Scottish threat, the English front, which had faced Doon Hill, was swung about as the Scots came down, moved up close to Brock's Burn and stood to arms with two field-pieces to a regiment, ready to repel an assault if one should come. About four o'clock in the afternoon Cromwell and his officers went into Dunbar for refreshments, after which Cromwell and Lambert took up their post at Broxmouth House and watched the Scots' dispositions, certain that they would attack the next day. They noted in particular how the Scots' left wing was crowded against the steep slope of the hill. This Cromwell pointed out to his major-general and they agreed that if the enemy's right wing were attacked, the left would be unable to move to its assistance. Monk was called in for his concurrence and at the council of war that night, though many of the colonels, as Hodgson wrote, "were for shipping the foot, and the horse to force a passage," the higher command was opposed to this. "There was no time to ship the foot," said Lambert "for the day would be upon us, and we should lose all our carriages." He insisted on attacking the Scots, urging "the disadvantage . . . in the posture they were drawn up in . . . if we beat their right wing we hazarded their whole army, for they would be all in confusion, in regard they had not great ground to traverse their regiments betwixt the mountain and the clough."

¹²⁹ Carte, *Ormonde Papers*, p. 382, quoted in Baldock, *Cromwell as a Soldier*, p. 447. For accounts of the battle see also Douglas, *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns*, and Firth, "Battle of Dunbar," in *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.*, xiv, 19-52.



THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR, FROM A PRINT MADE FOR PAYNE FISHER BY PETER STENT. FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE SUTHERLAND COLLECTION IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

Moreover "they had left intervals in their bodies upon the brink of the hill, that our horse might march a troop at once, and so the foot; and the enemy could not wheel about nor oppose them, but must put themselves into disorder." Finally, he added, "our guns might have fair play at their left wing while we were fighting their right."¹³⁰

That was, in effect, the plan which was adopted. As soon as Cromwell had observed the Scots coming down the hill—whether or not he exclaimed "The Lord has delivered them into my hands"¹³¹—he had decided, with the approval of Monk and Lambert, to take the offensive. Whether the actual "conduct" of the attack was due to Lambert, as Hodgson says; or to Monk, as Monk's chaplain, Gumble, declares; or to Cromwell; or to all three; it was pushed forward rapidly. The elements, as the English leaders no doubt calculated, favored them. "A drakie nycht full of wind and weit"¹³² put an end to any thoughts the Scots may have had of attacking, and after two or three false alarms of an English assault they settled down for the night, the officers, many of them newly appointed, apparently taking refuge from the weather at some distance from their men,¹³³ who were huddled amongst the sheaves of grain with which the fields were covered. A large number of the horses were unsaddled and toward morning Major-General Holbourne gave orders to extinguish all matches but two in each company of musketeers, in order to save the match.¹³⁴ Thus, save for that part of the foot armed with flintlocks, the Scotch musketry was of no immediate use.

So stormy was the weather that the movements in the English camp went undetected and its commanders worked all night shifting troops, giving explicit orders to their officers, and arranging every detail of an attack which could only succeed if carried out with speed and precision, for Brock's Burn had to be crossed and a battle line formed before they could be thrown back. As one of his troopers says, Cromwell "rid all the night . . . through the several regiments by torchlight, upon a little Scots nag, biting his lips till the blood ran down his chin without his perceiving it, his thoughts being busily employed to be ready for the action now in hand."¹³⁵ It was decided that Lambert, Fleetwood and Whalley should lead six regiments of horse, and Monk the foot brigade of three regiments and a

¹³⁰ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 144.

¹³¹ *New Statistical Account*, ii, 79.

¹³² Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 27.

¹³³ Leslie to Argyll, Sept. 5, in *Correspondence of Sir R. Kerr, 1st Earl of Ancrum and his son, William, 3rd Earl of Lothian*, ed. Laing (Edinb. 1875), ii, 297-8.

¹³⁴ Walker, *Historical Discourses*, p. 180; Bate, *Elenchus Motuum* (1685), p. 106.

¹³⁵ *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes* (Surtees Soc., 1867), i, 111, where is quoted also a Scotch preacher who said Cromwell "was worse than the Devil, for the scripture said, Resist the Devil and he will flee from you, but resist Oliver, says he, and he will flee in your face."

half, behind him the brigades of Pride and Overton, the former with his own, Cromwell's and Lambert's regiments of foot. Cromwell's regiment of horse and Okey's dragoons were designated to bring up the cannon in the rear to play upon the Scots' left wing and so add to the confusion into which they would be thrown by being crowded against the hill, while the attack was being directed against their right.

The attack was set for a little before sunrise, but when the moment came Lambert was still riding among his men giving orders about the guns on the right and making the last preparations, while Cromwell's impatience increased as daylight began to appear. Finally, a little after four o'clock on the morning of September 3, the signal was given and three horse regiments crossed the stream below Broxmouth House, drove in the Scots' outposts, and fell upon the Scots' right wing, while the artillery opened fire and two foot regiments moved up in support to secure the passage for the rest of the army. The trumpets sounded; the English shouted their battle-cry, "The Lord of Hosts," and the Scots replied with "The Covenant! The Covenant!" as they rallied to meet Lambert's charge against their right wing. They resisted stubbornly, and though Cromwell ordered Lambert to incline a little more to the left to outflank them, if possible, they began to drive the English back into the stream in considerable disorder. At that moment, Cromwell himself, at the head of his own regiment of horse, Pride's infantry brigade, and his own foot regiment under Goffe and Packer, charged the advancing Scots, and repulsed them "at push of pike." Meanwhile Monk and Lambert reformed their men and headed another charge which broke the Scottish ranks. "The horse and foot were engaged all over the field and the Scots all in confusion," wrote Hodgson, "and, the sun appearing upon the sea, I heard Nol say, 'Now let God arise and his enemies shall be scattered': and he, following us as we slowly marched, I heard him say, 'I profess they run.'"¹³⁶

He used something of the same tactics as at Marston Moor, and with the same effect. The Scots' horse, once broken, hopelessly crowded together, rode over their own infantry on the left wing toward Berwick and Haddington, and with the cavalry gone, the English attacked the unprotected flank of the Scots' center. Some of the Scots' regiments fought well, and two, like Newcastle's Whitecoats at Marston Moor, died where they stood, while the broken remnants fled toward Dunbar. Not a semblance of order remained anywhere in the Scottish ranks. The English were in little better case as they dashed off toward Haddington in pursuit, but Cromwell rode after them, sounded a halt, and while the troops collected they sang the

¹³⁶ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, pp. 146-8.

117th Psalm, "O, give ye praise unto the Lord."¹³⁷ Then, ordered on, they chased the Scots to Haddington, some even to Edinburgh, slaughtering as they went, while Cromwell remained to secure the foot-soldiers and the train.

In less than three hours it was all over. Leslie arrived at Edinburgh at about nine o'clock with only some four thousand of his forces left. A like number of Scots were killed, ten thousand made prisoners; and thirty cannon, fifteen thousand small arms and two hundred colours fell into English hands. And while it is hard to believe that, as Cromwell wrote, he had hardly more than twenty men killed,¹³⁸ it is apparent that the English loss was slight.

Cromwell was elated, as he had every right to be. Throughout the engagement it was noted that, as at other times, he was filled with the fierce joy of conflict. As Aubrey wrote:

"One that I knew, and who was present, told me that Oliver was carried on as with a divine impulse. He did laugh so excessively as if he had been drunk, and his eyes sparkled with spirits. He obtained on that occasion a great victory, though the action was said to be contrary to human prudence. The same fit of laughter seized him just before the battle of Naseby, as a kinsman of mine and a great favourite of his, Colonel J. P. [John Pickering?] then present, testified."¹³⁹

The victory of Dunbar was Cromwell's crowning achievement in arms. It seemed to him and to many of his followers a miracle of divine intervention—as perhaps it was—and Leslie agreed with him. Yet there are carnal considerations which make his success understandable without a supernatural element. Cromwell had no choice but to fight; the stroke of genius was to attack. He and his officers, Lambert and Monk, perceived the weakness of the Scots whose dispositions were made with a view to taking the offensive. Their position left them no room to maneuver their superior forces and cost them the advantage of that superiority. Their discipline was slack; their officers inexperienced and not to be relied on; their men, of whom a great part were raw recruits, were wet, tired and hungry; and though their army contained many brave men and good soldiers, once their crack regiments were broken, the rest were an easy prey for the English veterans. It may have seemed to some the counsel of necessity or despair and "against human prudence" to fall upon the Scots; but it was, in fact, a carefully thought out plan, which relied confidently on the element of surprise, the superiority of the English forces in unity, discipline, experience and capable command over an army inferior in every respect save numbers.

¹³⁷ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 147.

¹³⁸ Cromwell's letter, Sept. 4; Cadwell's narrative; *See. Proc.*

¹³⁹ Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, p. 143.

Leslie himself declared that "it was the visible hand of God, with our owen lacines, and not of man, that defeat them, notwithstanding of orders given to stand to their armes that night. I know I get my owen share of the falt by many for drawing them so neer the enemy . . . though I tak God to witness wee might have as easily beaten them as wee did James Graham at Philipshauch, if the officers had stayed by their troops and regiments."¹⁴⁰ In that he was not, perhaps, wholly ingenuous. His strategy had been perfect, but his tactics were bad. He had his opponent in what seemed an impossible position, but whether it was his fault or not, he lost his advantage at the point of contact. On the other hand, any defects in Cromwell's strategy, like that of permitting the enemy to secure the pass at Cockburnspath and so cutting off his retreat or reinforcements, were more than atoned for by his tactics. It is certainly not true of his conduct at Dunbar, as has been said of him, that "in war, as in politics, Cromwell never rose above the simple strategy of finding out the enemy wherever it was most easy to give him battle."¹⁴¹

His principle there, as elsewhere, was to seek out the weakest point of his enemy, be superior at the point of contact, and attack as suddenly and as unexpectedly as possible. Of this, among all his victories, the battle of Dunbar was the most striking example—as it was the only major engagement in which he did not have the advantage of numbers. His success there was more than a mere triumph over an opposing force. It was, as he and his party realized, the salvation of the Commonwealth. If Naseby ruined the Stuart monarchy in England and Rathmines blasted its hopes in Ireland, Dunbar not merely wrecked the Covenanters but it weakened the forces of the King in Scotland and secured England for Independency against both Royalist Anglican and Presbyterian.

Such a battle leaves in its wake a multitude of details to be attended to; and among them the first was Cromwell's merciful proclamation in regard to the Scotch wounded:

PROCLAMATION

FORASMUCH as I understand there are several Soldiers of the enemy's army yet abiding in the field, who by reason of their wounds could not march from thence:

These are therefore to give notice to the Inhabitants of this nation that they may and have free liberty to repair to the field aforesaid, and, with their carts or any other peaceable way, to carry away the said Soldiers to such places as they shall think fit, provided they meddle not, or take away, any

¹⁴⁰ *Ancram Corresp.*, ii, 298.

¹⁴¹ Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, iv, 184-5.

the Arms there. And all Officers and Soldiers are to take notice that the same is permitted.

Given under my hand, at Dunbar, Sept. 4, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

To be proclaimed by beat of drum.¹⁴²

This done he turned at once to write his report of the battle to Parliament and letters to his friends; and his extravagant phrases are some measure not only of his triumph but of his relief. Nowhere else in his career, not even after Naseby, did he gloat over his triumph as he did now, not merely to Lenthall and the Council but to Haselrig, Ireton and Wharton, and he even took occasion to write his wife, and his son's father-in-law, while his men reaped the fruits of their great victory:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

SIR,

I hope it's not ill taken, that I make no more frequent addresses to the Parliament. Things that are of trouble, in point of provision for your army, and of ordinary direction, I have, as I could, often presented to the Council of State, together with such occurrences as have happened; who, I am sure, as they have not been wanting in their extraordinary care and provision for us, so neither [in] what they judge fit and necessary to represent the same to you. And this I thought to be a sufficient discharge of my duty on that behalf.

It hath now pleased God to bestow a mercy upon you, worthy your knowledge, and of the utmost praise and thanks of all that fear and love His name; yea, the mercy is far above all praise, which that you may the better perceive, I shall take the boldness to tender unto you some circumstances accompanying this great business, which will manifest the greatness and seasonableness of this mercy.

We having tried what we could to engage the enemy, three or four miles west of Edinburgh; that proving ineffectual, and our victual failing, we marched towards our ships for a recruit of our want. The enemy did not at all trouble us in our rear; but marched the direct way towards Edinburgh, and partly in the night and morning, slips through his whole army, and quarters himself in a posture easy to interpose between us and our victual. But the Lord made him to lose the opportunity, and the morning proving exceeding wet and dark, we recovered, by that time it was light, into a ground where they could not hinder us from our victual: which was a high act of the Lord's Providence to us. We being come into the said ground, the enemy marched into the ground we were last upon; having no mind either to strive to interpose be-

¹⁴² In *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 5-12; *A True Relation of the Routing of the Scottish Army*; Russell, *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, ii, 317; Carlyle, ii, 101.

tween us and our victuals, or to fight; being indeed upon this lock,¹⁴³—hoping that the sickness of your army would render their work more easy by the gaining of time; whereupon we marched to Musselburgh, to victual, and to ship away our sick men; where we sent aboard near five-hundred sick and wounded soldiers; and upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the enemy lying upon his advantage, at a general council it was thought fit to march to Dunbar, and there to fortify the town, which (we thought), if anything, would provoke them to engage, as also, that the having of a garrison there would furnish us with accommodation for our sick men, would be a place for a good magazine (which we exceedingly wanted); being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather, for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done though the being of the whole army lay upon it (all the coasts from Berwick to Leith not having one good harbour), as also, to lie more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick.

Having these considerations, upon Saturday the 30th¹⁴⁴ of August we marched from Musselburgh to Haddington, where, by that time we had got the van-brigade of our horse, and our foot and train, into their quarters, the enemy was marched with that exceeding expedition that they fell upon the rear-forlorn of our horse, and put it into some disorder; and indeed had like to have engaged our rear-brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord by His good Providence put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the army, which accordingly was done without any loss, save of three or four of our aforementioned forlorn; wherein the enemy (as we believe) received more loss.

The army being put into a reasonable secure posture, towards midnight the enemy attempted our quarters, on the west end of Haddington, but through the goodness of God we repulsed them. The next morning we drew into an open field, on the south side of Haddington; we not judging it safe for us to draw to the Enemy upon his own ground, he being prepossessed thereof; but rather drew back, to give him way to come to us, if he had so thought fit; and having waited about the space of four or five hours, to see if he would come to us; and not finding any inclination in the enemy so to do, we resolved to go, according to our first intendment, to Dunbar.

By that time we had marched three or four miles, we saw some bodies of the enemy's horse draw out of their quarters; and by that time our carriages were gotten near Dunbar, their whole army was upon their march after us; and indeed, our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy. The enemy, that night, we perceived, gathered towards the hills; labouring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick, and having in this posture a great advantage, through his better knowledge of the country; which he effected by sending a considerable party to the strait Pass at Copperspeth; where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make

¹⁴³ Nares gives "to be at his old lock" as meaning "to follow his old practices," and Cromwell uses this phrase in his letter of July 16, 1651. Carlyle altered it to "upon this aim of reducing us to a lock." [Mrs. Lomas' note.]

¹⁴⁴ Saturday was the 31st.

their way; and truly this was an exigent to us,¹⁴⁵ wherewith the enemy reproached us with that condition the Parliament's army was in when it made its hard conditions with the King in Cornwall. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us, and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons, and had swallowed up the poor interest of England; believing that their army and their King would have marched to London without any interruption; it being told us (we know not how truly) by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, that their King was very suddenly to come amongst them, with those English they allowed to be about him. But in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them.

The enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having those advantages; we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, wherein I believe not a few amongst us shared ¹⁴⁶: that because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the Mount, and in the Mount the Lord would be seen; and that He would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us—and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes.

Upon Monday evening, the enemy, whose numbers were very great; as we heard, about six-thousand horse, and sixteen-thousand foot at least; ours drawn down, as to sound men, to about seven-thousand five-hundred foot, and three-thousand five-hundred horse, the enemy drew down to their right wing about two-thirds of their left wing of horse, to the right wing, shogging also their foot and train much to the right, causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. The Major-General and myself coming to the Earl Roxburgh's House, and observing this posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the enemy, to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me. So that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both of our hearts, at the same instant. We called for Colonel Monk, and showed him the thing; and coming to our quarters at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the colonels, they also cheerfully concurred.

We resolved therefore to put our business into this posture: That six regiments of horse, and three regiments and an half of foot should march in the van; and that the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the horse, and the Commissary-General, and Colonel Monk to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business; and that Colonel Pride's brigade, Colonel Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse should bring up the cannon and rear; the time of falling-on to be by break of day, but through some delays it proved not to be so till six o'clock in the morning.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ A disgraceful summons of caption to us; 'exigent' is a law-writ issued against a fugitive (Carlyle).

¹⁴⁶ "stand" in *Sen. Proc.*

¹⁴⁷ Gardiner notes that on Sept. 3rd the sun rises at 5:33; that Cadwell in his account speaks of fighting by moonlight, and that Cromwell's well-known words "Let

The Enemy's word was, *The Covenant*, which it had been for divers days. Ours, *The Lord of Hosts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whalley, and Colonel Twistleton's gave the onset; the enemy being in a very good posture to receive them, having the advantage of their cannon and foot against our horse. Before our foot could come up, the enemy made a gallant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute at sword's point between our horse and theirs. Our first foot, after they had discharged their duty (being overpowered with the enemy), received some repulse, which they soon recovered. But my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe and my Major White, did come seasonably in; and, at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give, which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot; this being the first action between the foot. The horse in the mean time did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all opposition, charging through the bodies of the enemy's horse and their foot; who were, after the first repulse given, made by the Lord of Hosts as stubble to their swords. Indeed, I believe I may speak it without partiality: both your chief commanders and others in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this war. I know they look not to be named; and therefore I forbear particulars.

The best of the enemy's horse and foot being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout; our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place and near about it were about three-thousand slain; prisoners taken of their officers, you have this enclosed list; of private soldiers near ten-thousand. The whole baggage and train taken, wherein was good store of match, powder and bullet, all their artillery, great and small, thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them not less than fifteen-thousand arms. I have already brought-in to me near two-hundred colours, which I herewith send you.¹⁴⁸ What officers of quality of theirs are killed, we yet cannot learn, but yet surely divers are, and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Colonel Lumsden, the Lord Liberton and others. And, that which is no small addition, I do not believe we have lost twenty men. Not one commissioned officer slain that I hear of, save one cornet and Major Rookesby, since dead of his wounds; and not many mortally wounded: Colonel Whalley only cut in the handwrist, and his horse (twice shot) killed under him; but he well recovered another horse, and went on in the chase.

Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and His people, this war.

And now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words. It is easy

God arise," etc., spoken after the tide of battle turned, coincided with sunrise. Firth thought that the preliminary fighting began about four or five, and the real battle an hour or more later.

¹⁴⁸ They hung long in Westminster Hall beside the Preston ones, and still others that came. There is a volume of coloured drawings of these flags at the British Museum (*Harley MS. 1460*) compiled "by FF, his Highness' historiographer." This, no doubt, is Fitzpayne Fisher.

to say, the Lord hath done this. It would do you good to see and hear our poor foot go up and down making their boast of God. But, Sir, it is in your hands, and by these eminent mercies God puts it more into your hands, to give glory to Him; to improve your power, and His Blessings, to His praise. We that serve you beg of you not to own us, but God alone; we pray you own His people more and more, for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel. Disown yourselves, but own your authority, and improve it to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever; relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England; be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions; and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth. If He that strengthens your servants to fight, pleases to give you hearts to set upon these things, in order to His glory, and the glory of your Commonwealth, besides the benefit England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a pattern, and through the power of God turn into the like.

These are our desires; and that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things, and not be hindered, we have been and shall be (by God's assistance) willing to venture our lives, and not desire you should be precipitated by importunities, from your care of safety and preservation; but that the doing of these good things may have their place amongst those which concern wellbeing, and so be wrought in their time and order.

Since we came in Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business, by reason that God hath a people here fearing His name, though deceived; and to that end have we offered much love unto such, in the bowels of Christ, and concerning the truth of our hearts therein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers of Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them, and now we hear, that not only the deceived people, but some of the ministers are also fallen in this battle. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who take¹⁴⁹ into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, to wit, meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the kingdom of Christ, which is neither it, nor, if it were it, would such means be found effectual to that end; and neglect, or trust not to, the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that kingdom, and, when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it. This is humbly offered for their sakes who have¹⁵⁰ lately too much turned aside, that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the Gospel; and then no doubt they will discern and find your protection and encouragement.

Beseeching you to pardon this length, I humbly take leave and rest,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Dunbar,
Sept. 4th, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ "taking" in original.

¹⁵⁰ "having" in original.

¹⁵¹ Pr. in *Sev. Proc.* Sept. 10; *A letter from ... Dunbar; Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 342-50; Lomas-Carlyle, CXL, *Cromwelliana*, pp. 87-91; Fellowes, *Hist. Sketches*, pp. 250-56.

To the Lord President of the Council of State: These

MY LORD,

I have sent the Major-General, with six regiments of horse and one of foot, towards Edinburgh; purposing (God willing) to follow after, tomorrow, with what convenience I may.

We are put to exceeding trouble, though it be an effect of abundant mercy, with the numerousness of our prisoners; having so few hands, so many of our men sick, so little conveniency of disposing of them; and not, by attendance thereupon, to omit the seasonableness of the prosecution of this mercy as Providence shall direct. We have been constrained, even out of Christianity, humanity, and the forementioned necessity, to dismiss between 4 and 5000 prisoners, almost starved, sick and wounded; the remainder, which are the like, or a greater number, I am fain to send by a convoy of four troops of Col. Hacker's to Berwick, and so on to Newcastle, southwards.

I think fit to acquaint your Lordship with two or three observations. Some of the honestest in the army amongst the Scots did profess before the fight, that they did not believe their King in his Declaration; and it's most evident he did sign it with as much reluctance and so much against his heart as could be: and yet they venture their lives for him upon this account, and publish this to the world, to be believed as the act of a person converted, when in their hearts they know he abhorred the doing of it, and meant it not.

I hear, when the enemy marched last up to us, the ministers pressed their army to interpose between us and home; the chief officers desiring that we might have way made, though it were by a golden bridge. But the clergy's counsel prevailed; to their no great comfort, through the goodness of God.

The enemy took a gentleman of Major Brown's troop prisoner, that night we came to Haddington; and having quarter through Lieut.-Gen. David Lesley's means; who, finding him a man of courage and parts, laboured with him to take up arms. But the man expressing constancy and resolution to this side, the Lieut.-Gen. caused him to be mounted, and with two troopers to ride about to view their gallant army; using that as an argument to persuade him to their side, and, when this was done, dismissed him to us in a bravery. And indeed the day before we fought, they did express so much insolency and contempt of us, to some soldiers they took, as was beyond apprehension.

Dunbar,
Sept. 4th, 1650.

Your Lordship's most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.¹⁵²

*For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrige, at Newcastle
or elsewhere: These. Haste, haste*

SIR,

You will see by my enclosed of the 2d of this month, which was the evening before the fight, the condition we were in at that time, Abstract in *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 10; *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 10. Read in Parliament Sept. 10.

¹⁵² *See. Proc.*, Sept. 10; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 10. In *Cromwelliana*, p. 91; *Old Parl. Hist.* xix, 350-52. Carlyle, CXLII. A letter to Cromwell from Sir Henry Vane, Sept. 10 (Nickolls, *Orig. Letters*, p. 19) mentions having received Cromwell's letter to the Lord Chief Justice [Lisle] and Pickering.

which I thought fit on purpose to send you, that you might see how great and how seasonable our deliverance and mercy is, by such aggravation.

Having said my thoughts thereupon to the Parliament, I shall only give you the narrative of this exceeding mercy believing the Lord will enlarge your heart to a thankful consideration thereupon. The least of this mercy lies not in the advantageous consequences which I hope it may produce, of glory to God and good to His people, in the prosecution of that which remains, unto which this great work hath opened so fair a way. We have no cause to doubt but, if it shall please the Lord to prosper our endeavours, we may find opportunities both upon Edinburgh and Leith, Stirling-Bridge, and other such places as the Lord shall lead unto, even far above our thoughts; as this late and other experiences gives good encouragements.

Wherefore, that we may not be wanting, I desire you, with such forces as you have, immediately to march to me to Dunbar; leaving behind you such of your new levies as will prevent lesser incursions: for surely their rout and ruin is so total that they will not be provided for any thing that is very considerable; or rather, which I more incline unto, that you would send Thomlinson¹⁵³ with the forces you have ready, and that with all possible expedition; and that you will go on with the remainder of the reserve, which, upon better thoughts, I do not think can well be done without you.

Sir, let no time nor opportunity be lost. Surely it's probable the Kirk has done their do. I believe their King will set up upon his own score now, wherein he will find many friends, taking opportunity offered. 'Tis our great advantage, through God. I need say no more to you on this behalf, but rest,

Your humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

My service to your good Lady. I think it will be very fit that you should bake hard-bread again, considering you increase our numbers. I pray you do so. Sir, I desire you to procure about three or four score masons, and ship them to us with all speed, for we expect that God will suddenly put some places into our hands, which we shall have occasion to fortify.¹⁵⁴
Dunbar, Septemb. 4, 1650.

[*To Lieutenant-General Ireton, Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland: These*]

SIR,

Though I hear not often from you, yet I know you forget me not. Think so of me, for I often remember you at the Throne of Grace. I heard of the Lord's good hand with you in reducing Waterford, Duncannon, and Catherlogh. His name be praised

We have been engaged upon a service the fullest of trial ever poor creatures were upon. We made great professions of love, knowing we were to deal with many who were Godly, and pretended to be stumbled at our invasion; indeed, our bowels were pierced again and again; the Lord helped us to sweet words, and in sincerity to mean them. We were rejected again and again, yet still we begged to be believed that we loved them as our own souls; they often re-

¹⁵³ Colonel Matthew Thomlinson.

¹⁵⁴ Brand, *History of Newcastle*, ii, 479n; Carlyle, CXLI.

turned evil for good. We prayed for security: they would not hear or answer a word to that. We made often appeals to God; they appealed also. We were near engagements three or four times, but they lay upon advantages. A heavy flux fell upon our army; brought it very low, from 14 to 11 thousand: 3500 horse and 7500 foot. The enemy 16000 foot, and 6000 horse.

The enemy prosecuted the advantage. We were necessitated; and upon September¹⁵⁵ the 3d, by six in the morning, we attempted their army; after a hot dispute for about an hour, we routed their whole army; killed near 3000; and took, as the Marshal informs me, ten-thousand prisoners; their whole train, being about thirty pieces, great and small, good store of powder, match and bullet, near two-hundred colours. I am persuaded near fifteen-thousand arms left upon the ground. And I believe, though many of ours be wounded, we lost not above thirty men. Before the fight, our condition was made very sad, the enemy greatly insulted and menaced, but the Lord upheld us with comfort in Himself, beyond ordinary experience.

I knowing the acquainting you with this great handiwork of the Lord would stir up your minds to praise and rejoicing, and not knowing but your condition may require mutual experiences for refreshment, and knowing also that the news we had of your successes was matter of help to our faith in our distress, and matter of praise also, I thought fit (though in the midst of much business) to give you this account of the unspeakable goodness of the Lord, who hath thus appeared, to the glory of His great Name, and the refreshment of His Saints.

The Lord bless you, and us, to return praises; to live them all our days. Salute all our dear friends with you, as if I named them. I have no more, but rest,

Dunbar,
Sept. 4, 1650.

Your loving father and true friend,
O. CROMWELL.¹⁵⁶

For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These

MY DEAR LORD,

I, poor I, love you! Love you the Lord: take heed of disputing. I was untoward when I spake last with you in St. James's Park. I spake cross in stating grounds: I spake to my judgments of you; which was: That you,—shall I name others?—Henry Lawrence, Robert Hammond, &c., had ensnared yourselves with disputes.

I believe you desired to be satisfied, and tried and doubted your sincerities. 'Twas well. But uprightness (if it be not purely of God), may be, nay is, commonly deceived. The Lord persuade you, and all my dear friends.

The results of your thoughts concerning late transactions I know are your mistakes by a better argument than success. Let not your engaging too far upon your own judgments be your temptation or snare: much less success,—lest you should be thought to return upon less noble arguments. It is [in] my heart to write the same things to Norton, Montague and others: I pray you read or communicate these foolish lines to them. I have known my folly do

¹⁵⁵ '7ber' he writes.

¹⁵⁶ Russell's *Life of Cromwell* (Edinburgh, 1829; forming vols. 47, 48 of *Constable's Miscellany*), ii, 317–19. Carlyle, CXLV.

good, when affection has overcome my reason. I pray you judge me sincere, lest a prejudice should be put upon after advantages.

How gracious has the Lord been in this great business. Lord, hide not Thy mercies from our eyes!

My service to the dear Lady. I rest,

Your humble servant,

Dunbar, September 4th, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁵⁷

For my beloved Wife Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These

MY DEAREST,

I have not leisure to write much, but I could chide thee that in many of thy letters thou writest to me, that I should not be unmindful of thee and thy little ones. Truly, if I love thee not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice.

The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy: who can tell how great it is. My weak faith hath been upheld. I have been in my inward man marvellously supported; though I assure thee, I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease. Pray on my behalf in the latter respect. The particulars of our late success Harry Vane or Gil: Pickering will impart to thee. My love to all dear friends. I rest thine,

Dunbar,

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁵⁸

September 4, 1650.

*For my loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.
In Hantshire, near Winchester*

DEAR BROTHER,

Having so good an occasion as the imparting so great a mercy as the Lord hath vouchsafed unto us in Scotland, I would not omit the imparting thereof to you though I be full of business.

Upon Wednesday¹⁵⁹ we fought the Scottish army. They were in number, according to all computation, about twenty-thousand; we hardly eleven-thousand, having great sickness upon our army. After much appealing to God, the fight lasted about an hour. We killed (as most think) three-thousand; took near ten-thousand prisoners, all their train, about thirty guns great and small, besides bullet, match and powder, very considerable officers,

¹⁵⁷ Lomas-Carlyle, CXLVI, from holograph original at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1814), lxxxiv, 419.

¹⁵⁸ Carlyle, XCLIII, from the holograph original purchased by John Hare, in 1842, for twenty-one guineas. Sold in 1904 by S. V. Hare, it is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. A copy is in *Add. MSS.* 5834 and another is calendared in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* (Bath Mss.) ii, 92. With this letter or with another to his wife Cromwell enclosed a letter of Lord Lauderdale's which she showed to Oliver St. John (St. John to Cromwell, Sept. 26, 1650, Nickolls, *Orig. Letters*, p. 25).

¹⁵⁹ Should be Tuesday, which Cromwell wrote first and then crossed out, substituting Wednesday.

about two-hundred colours, above ten-thousand arms; lost not thirty men. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Good Sir, give God all the glory; stir up all yours, and all about you, to do so. Pray for

Your affectionate brother and servant,

Dunbar, Sept. 4th, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

I desire my love may be presented to my dear sister, and to all your family. I pray tell Doll I do not forget her nor her little brat. She writes very cunningly and complementally to me; I expect a letter of plain dealing from her. She is too modest to tell me whether she breeds or no. I wish a blessing upon her and her husband. The Lord make them fruitful in all that's good. They are at leisure to write often—but indeed they are both idle, and worthy of blame.¹⁶⁰

Though the people of Edinburgh knew of the defeat of their army within three hours, it was four days before the news of Dunbar reached London. Sir John Hipsley, who seems to have been the first messenger to arrive, brought the good tidings to Ludlow, Fairfax and other members of Parliament at Hampton Court, and Fairfax "seemed much to rejoice at it."¹⁶¹ Whitelocke, on his way to Chelsea, was stopped by a man at Charing Cross with the news of victory, turned about and followed him to Westminster to the Council meeting, where the narrative was delivered and ordered to be published and read in the churches.¹⁶² Of the five messengers sent from Dunbar, Cadwell, Heath, Captain Evanson and Major White were brought into the House bearing letters concerning it, of which two were from Cromwell, together with two hundred colours, and Major White was invited to describe the engagement. For their pains, £700 was distributed among them. The Council was instructed to thank Cromwell; a committee was appointed to consider the preparation of gold and silver medals for all who took part in the battle; and October 8 was appointed as a day of thanksgiving.¹⁶³

The faith of the government seemed to have been justified, for its members had not been lax in their support of Cromwell. Their preparations had included two shallops and the frigate *Falcon* ordered sent to the Firth of Forth on August 9, to Cromwell at his request; four provision ships which were reported ready four days later; and a fort-

¹⁶⁰ The holograph original, once in the Pusey collection, later in the Morrison collection, was sold in 1919 to Dr. T. A. Emmet and in 1923 to W. Hearst, and will be sold again at auction in January 1939. Pr. in Harris, p. 531; Noble, i, 327; Thomas Cromwell, *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 463; Carlyle CXLIV. A large part is printed in Anderson Galleries catalogue, 1922.

¹⁶¹ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i, 254.

¹⁶² Whitelocke, p. 470; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 331.

¹⁶³ *C. J.*, vi, 464-5. Many ministers refused to observe the thanksgiving day. Made of gold and silver and bearing Cromwell's likeness, the medals were designed by Thomas Simon, the famous engraver of the time. *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 10; *Mer. Pol.*, Sept. 10. See Cromwell's letter, Feb. 4, 1650-1.

night afterward Colonel Vincent Potter had been sent to Cromwell to take charge of the receipt and issuance of provisions.¹⁶⁴ The day after Potter's appointment, Haselrig, who had charge of the reserves, had been ordered to send to Scotland all available foot, part of which had just been raised in the northern counties. Meanwhile Parliament and Council had deluged Cromwell with orders and promises; advices of preparations for reserves, provisions, and additional troops under Colonel Birch and Major Rippon being sent him, and requests for commissions to officers—among them one for Colonel Alured—and even instructions to take charge of the harvests in Scotland.¹⁶⁵ On August 30 William Rowe had written him to advise him of Ireton's activities, "pen, tongue, head, or both or all, being incessantly at work," and chiding him for not acknowledging the receipt of supplies and for acting "too softly toward Scotland" where, at least, he should sequester all the corn and cattle of the nobility.¹⁶⁶ Thus, among his other difficulties, Cromwell had to endure the Council and Parliament. They had more confidence in their general than did the people, among whom the rumor spread that the army was forced to retreat;¹⁶⁷ so that the news of Dunbar was doubly welcome to the government. Vane hastened to inform Cromwell that it had made a great impression on Parliament and that five thousand men were being sent to him at once. In regard to them and to the prisoners, Cromwell took occasion to write Haselrig again, two days after Dunbar:

For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These

SIR,

After much deliberation, we can find no way how to dispose of these prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends (to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of which would we willingly incur) but by sending them into England; where the Council of State may exercise their wisdom and better judgment in so dispersing and disposing of them, as that they may not suddenly return to your prejudice.

We have despatched away near 5,000 poor wretches of them; very many of which, it's probable, will die of their wounds, or be rendered unserviceable for time to come by reason thereof. I have written to the Council of State, desiring them to direct how they shall be disposed of: and I make no question but you will hasten the prisoners up southwards, and second my desires with your own to the Council. I know you are a man of business. This, not being

¹⁶⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 284, 307, 329, 554.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 263, 288, 308, 328.

¹⁶⁶ Nickolls, *Original Letters*, p. 17.

¹⁶⁷ Peter Sterry to Cromwell, Sept. 9, *ibid.*, pp. 18–19. Sterry was later one of Cromwell's chaplains and was credited with praying during Cromwell's last illness "Lord we pray not for his life, for that we are sure of, but that he may live to do greater things for thy name and glory than ever yet he has done." Dr. Thomas Goodwin was also reputed to have prayed thus. *Memoirs of Mr. Ambrose Barnes*, p. 19.

every-day's work, will willingly be performed by you; especially considering you have the commands of your superior.

Sir, I judge it exceeding necessary you send us up what horse and foot you can, with all possible expedition; especially considering that indeed our men fall very sick; and if the Lord shall please to enable us effectually to prosecute this business, to the which He hath opened so gracious a way, no man knows but that it may produce a Peace to England, and much security and comfort to God's people. Wherefore, I pray you, continue to give what furtherance you can to this work, by speeding such supplies to us as you can possibly spare. Not having more at present, I rest,

Dunbar,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Sept. 5, 1650.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁶⁸

The victory of Dunbar did more than wreck Leslie's army. It did not, indeed, break down Scottish resistance but it made that resistance far more difficult. It altered the whole strategy of the campaign and disrupted Leslie's plan of defense. He could no longer hold the Edinburgh-Leith line which had been fortified so carefully, for even had the English not followed him so closely, he no longer had the troops to man those defenses. It put into Cromwell's hands not only the capital itself but what proved even more important—the port of Leith and the virtual command of the Firth of Forth. Leslie was forced back to Stirling, Charles to Fife and now that the passage over the Forth was practicable, neither place was any longer secure. Only Edinburgh Castle and the western Covenanters remained to be subdued before he turned his full strength against Leslie and Charles, and to those tasks he next addressed himself.

¹⁶⁸ Pr. in *Four Letters from Oliver Cromwell to Sir Arthur Haselridge, Governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. Carlyle, App. 19 (1). See letter of Sept. 2 to Haselrig, and note.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REDUCTION OF EDINBURGH AND THE WEST

With his victory at Dunbar, Cromwell had achieved his first objective. He had lured Leslie into the field and had all but destroyed the Scottish army. He hastened to improve his advantage and occupied Edinburgh and its port of Leith at once, while the Scots were still shaken by their defeat. The effect of that defeat on the whole of Scotland was naturally profound, not merely in a military but in a political sense. It bred new dissensions among her parties and leaders, and it altered the whole balance of Scottish politics. Leslie escaped to Edinburgh, thence to Stirling, and there gathered some four or five thousand men, chiefly refugees from Dunbar. Bitterly attacked by the Covenanting leaders, especially by Strachan and Kerr, he promptly resigned and was persuaded with difficulty to withdraw his resignation, but the breach was widened between his party of the Estates and the Covenanting group. The ministers who had fled from Dunbar to take refuge in Edinburgh Castle reproved God for having forsaken them and allowed their army to be dispersed, though some of the more extreme were inclined to forgive Him, for how could He be expected to favor a people which had suffered the leadership of the "chief malignant," Charles Stuart? The ministers of Stirling and Glasgow, Guthrie and Gillespie, published a declaration of the High Church of Glasgow, calling the people to repentance and Charles to mourn the sins of his father and his own; while Charles and his followers, Cromwell was informed, actually rejoiced at the news of Dunbar.¹

All this boded ill for common action against the invaders, but, none the less, Scotland prepared for further resistance. Strachan and Kerr hurried to the west to raise fresh forces. Charles remained at Perth, hoping for aid from the northern loyalists, who, under the influence of Middleton, had declared for the King. The tide was beginning to turn against the extreme Covenanters in favor of Charles, the "Engagers" and even the "Malignants"; and, as Cromwell foresaw, the catastrophe bade fair to lift that prince from his rôle of puppet king into the headship of a national movement and a new army. In spite of the extreme Covenanters, it seemed for a moment that the dreams

¹ Clarendon, xii, 23, says that if the Kirk had not been defeated, Charles would probably have been kept a prisoner. *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 18, says Cromwell was told by a messenger from Strachan that Charles was so pleased at being rid of the Covenanters, he fell on his knees.

of uniting Scotland which Charles and Argyll, each in his own way, had entertained, might be possible of accomplishment, and the task of the invaders thus made more difficult.

They faced a weakened if not a chastened people. The Scottish losses at Dunbar had been very great; the deaths from disease and starvation among the prisoners even larger than the loss in battle. Of the ten thousand men taken at Dunbar, it seems probable that at least a third never saw Scotland again. Cromwell had known that food was scarce in Leslie's army, but he was surprised and touched at the sight of the captives, whose condition accounted in no small part for their feeble resistance. Half of them he released at once, as being no menace to the English army and providing him only with the obligation of feeding them. The other half he sent under conduct of Colonel Hacker, first to Berwick and so to Haselrig at Newcastle, begging that commander to exercise humanity toward them. They were in desperate condition from cold, hunger and disease. In Morpeth they fell upon a cabbage-field and ate the cabbage, roots and all, and this, it was declared, helped spread the epidemic which thinned their ranks. By the time they reached Durham there were only some three thousand left, and these, or most of them, were housed in the cathedral. Some sixteen hundred got to Newcastle, of whom five hundred were ill, and a good part died.² A few were sent to America, others indentured in England, but enough remained to be a problem to the government for some time to come.

EDINBURGH AND STIRLING

SEPTEMBER 4-OCTOBER 8, 1650

His prisoners disposed of and his army strengthened by the plunder of the Scots and the arrival of recruits, on September 6, with two regiments, Cromwell followed the forces which, under Lambert's command, had occupied Edinburgh. He seems to have first made for Leith,³ which he fixed on as the principal base of supplies for his ensuing operations. Despite the fact that it was defended by walls and thirty-seven guns, he presently occupied it without opposition and seized the ships in the harbor.⁴ Leaving four regiments there as a garrison under Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Hobson as governor, he

² Haselrig's letter of Oct. 31, pub. with Hodgson's *Memoirs*, p. 339, and summarized in *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 11; extract in Brand, *op. cit.* In *Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. xii, 380, Cromwell is denounced for quartering Scotch prisoners in Durham. He had no part in that "desecration," and it was probably the most humane thing to do. There were no tents available and there was no other shelter. A month later he suggested sending some Scotch prisoners to Ireland. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1650), p. 375.

³ A letter in *Perf. Diurn.* Sept. 9-16 says Cromwell left Sept. 7 for Leith.

⁴ One ship was to be fitted out as a man-of-war to be employed on the coast. Lane to Deane, Dec. 21. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 477.

marched to Edinburgh on the following day.⁵ There he was met by three citizens—a doctor, a lawyer and a “corderin”—representing the city.⁶ He assured them that he had no quarrel with its inhabitants; encouraged them to carry on their business as usual; and even sent Colonel Whalley to invite the ministers in the Castle to preach in the city churches, promising that his soldiers would not molest them.⁷ They refused, fearing that this was merely a ruse to seize them;⁸ and Cromwell took the opportunity to express his annoyance and to call attention once more to the discrepancy between their pretensions and their practices:

For the Honourable the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh: These

SIR,

The kindness offered to the ministers with you was done with ingenuity,⁹ thinking it might have met with the like; but I am satisfied to tell those with you, that if their Master's service (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of suffering¹⁰ would not have caused such a return; much less the practice by our party, as they are pleased to say, upon the ministers of Christ in England, have been an argument of personal persecution.

The ministers of England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel, though not to rail, nor, under pretence thereof to overtop the civil power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the Gospel, nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the army hither. The speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ.

When ministers pretend to a glorious Reformation, and lay the foundations thereof in getting to themselves worldly power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late agreement with their king; and hopes by him to carry on their design, [they] may know that the Sion promised and hoped for will not be built with such untempered mortar.

As for the unjust invasion they mention, time was when an army of Scotland came into England, not called by the supreme authority. We have said, in our papers, with what hearts, and upon what account, we came; and the Lord hath heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel.

And although they seem to comfort themselves with being the sons of Jacob, from whom (they say) God hath hid His face for a time; yet it's no wonder—when the Lord hath lifted up His hand so eminently against a family as He hath done so often against this, and the men will not see His

⁵ Letter from R. O. [Col. Robert Overton] in *Merc. Pol.* Sept. 20.

⁶ *Chronicles of the Frasers* (Wardlaw Mss.) (Edinb. 1905), p. 370; Douglas, *Cromwell in Scotland*, p. 120, from *Collections by a Private Hand*.

⁷ Whalley to Gov. Dundas, Sept. 9 in Thurloe, *State Papers*, i, 158.

⁸ Dundas to Whalley, *ibid.*, p. 159. *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 24.

⁹ Means as always, *ingenuously*.

¹⁰ Fear of personal injury.

hand—if the Lord hide His face from such; putting them to shame both for it and their hatred at His people, as it is this day. When they purely trust to the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God, which is powerful to bring down strongholds and every imagination that exalts itself, which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the new Jerusalem; then and not before, and by that means and no other, shall Jerusalem, which is to be the praise of the whole Earth, the city of the Lord, be built; the Sion of the Holy One of Israel.

I have nothing to say to you but that I am, Sir,

Edinburgh,

Septemb. 9, 1650.

Your humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹¹

In spite of his exhortations the ministers were not to be tempted from their refuge and the governor, Sir Walter Dundas, wrote to decline his invitation in their name. Thus rebuffed, Cromwell wrote to Haselrig for masons to repair the Leith fortifications and for the promised reinforcements:

*For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle:
These: Haste, Haste*

SIR,

I cannot but hasten you in sending up what forces possibly you can. This enclosed was intended to you on Saturday, but could not come.

We are not able to carry on our business as we would, until we have wherewith to keep Edinburgh and Leith, until we attempt, and are acting, forwards. We have not, in these parts, above two months to keep the field, therefore expedite what you can. And I desire you to send us free masons; you know not the importance of Leith.

I hope your northern guests are come to you by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them; I am persuaded it will be comely. Let the officers be kept at Newcastle, some sent to Lynn, some to Chester. I have no more; but rest,

Your affectionate servant,

Edinburgh,

September 9, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

I desire, as forces come up, I may hear from time to time what they are, how their marches are laid, and when I may expect them.

My service to the dear Lady.¹²

¹¹ Pr. in *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 24; *Merc. Pol.* Sept. 24; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 23; *Several Letters and Passages*, etc.; Thurloe, i, 159; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 391-3. Carlyle, CXLVII.

¹² Carlyle, App. 19 (2), from the original then in the possession of R. Ormston, agent for Sir A. Haselrige, of Newcastle-on-Tyne and printed in *Four Letters*, etc. Extract in Brand, *op. cit.* See letter of Sept. 2, 1650. The signature and last words are autograph. Considered by the Council of State on Sept. 20, *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1650), p. 348. This may have been the letter of Cromwell's dated Sept. 9 that was read in Parliament Sept. 18. *C. J.*, vi, 469.

From these military activities he turned once more to the congenial task of belaboring his theological and political opponents, the Covenanting ministers:

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle

SIR,

Because I am at some reasonable good leisure, I cannot let such a gross mistake and inconsequential reasonings pass without some notice taken of them.

And first, their ingenuity in relation to the Covenant, for which they commend themselves, doth no more justify their want of ingenuity in answer to Colonel Whalley's Christian offer, concerning which my letter charged them with guiltiness [and] deficiency, than their bearing witness to themselves of their adhering to their first principles, and ingenuity in prosecuting the ends of the Covenant, justifies them so to have done merely because they say so. They must give more leave henceforwards; for Christ will have it so, will they, nill they, and they must have patience to have the truth of their doctrines and sayings tried by the sure touchstone of the Word of God. And if there be a liberty and duty of trial, there is a liberty of judgment also for them that may and ought to try, which if so, they must give others leave to say and think that they can appeal to equal judges, who have been the truest fulfillers of the most real and equitable ends of the Covenant.

But if these gentlemen which do assume to themselves to be the infallible expositors of the Covenant, as they do too much to their auditories of the Scriptures, counting a different sense and judgment from theirs breach of covenant and heresy, no marvel they judge of others so authoritatively and severely. But we have not so learned Christ. We look at ministers as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any trying their doctrines, and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of sectary? And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? What doth he whom we would not be likened unto¹³ do more than this?

In the second place, it is affirmed that the ministers of the Gospel have been imprisoned, deprived of their benefices, sequestered, forced to fly from their dwellings, and bitterly threatened, for their faithful declaring of the will of God; and that they have been limited that they might not speak against the sins and enormities of the civil powers; that to impose the name of railing upon such faithful freedom was the old practice of malignants against the preachers of the Gospel, &c. If the civil authority, of that part of it which continued faithful to their trust,¹⁴ true to the ends of the Covenant, did, in answer to their consciences, turn out a tyrant, in a way which the Christians in aftertimes will mention with honour, and all tyrants in the world look at with fear,¹⁵ and many thousands of saints in England rejoice to think of it,

¹³ The Pope.

¹⁴ When Pride purged them.

¹⁵ Mr. Goldwin Smith, in his *Three English Statesmen*, p. 59, states that Cromwell never touches on the King's death, either in his letters or speeches. This is not the only time, as he alluded to it also in his speeches of March 23, 1648-9, and of May 20, 1653. [Mrs. Lomas' note.]

and have received from the hand of God a liberty from the fear of like usurpations, and have cast off him who trod in his father's steps, doing mischief as far as he was able (whom you have received like fire into your bosoms,—of which God will, I trust, in time make you sensible): if ministers railing at the civil power, calling them murderers and the like, for doing this, have been dealt with as you mention, will this be found a personal persecution? Or is sin so, because they say so? They that acted this great business¹⁶ having given a reason of their faith in this action; and some here are ready further to do it against all gainsayers.

But it will be found that these reprovers do not only make themselves the judges and determiners of sin, that so they may reprove; but they also took liberty to stir up the people to blood and arms; and would have brought a war upon England, as hath been upon Scotland, had not God prevented it. And if such severity as hath been expressed towards them be worthy the name of personal persecution, let all uninterested men judge, whether the calling of this practice railing be to be paralleled with the malignants' imputation upon the ministers for speaking against the Popish innovations in the Prelates' times, and the tyrannical and wicked practice then on foot, let your own consciences mind you! The Roman Emperors, in Christ's and His Apostles' times, were usurpers and intruders upon the Jewish State; yet what footstep have ye either of our blessed Saviour's so much as willingness to the dividing of an inheritance, or their meddling in that kind? This was not practised by the Church since our Saviour's time, till Antichrist, assuming the infallible chair, and all that he called the church to be under him, practised this authoritatively over civil governors. The way to fulfil your ministry with joy is to preach the Gospel; which I wish some who take pleasure in reproofs at adventure, do not forget too much to do.

Thirdly, you say that you have just cause to regret that men of civil employments should usurp the calling and employment of the ministry, to the scandal of the Reformed Kirks. Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Is preaching so inclusive in your function? Doth it scandalise the Reformed Kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if it be so! I thought the Covenant and these could have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no Covenant of God's approving, nor the Kirks you mention in so much the Spouse of Christ. Where do you find in Scripture such an assertion, That preaching is included in your function? Though an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better than that, hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high may give His gifts to whom He please: and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy. You know who bids us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the Apostle explains there to be a speaking to instruction and edification and comfort, which the instructed, edified and comforted, can best tell the energy and effect of. If such evidence be, I say again, take heed you envy not for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua for envying for his sake.

Indeed you err through the mistake of the Scriptures. Approbation is an

¹⁶ The trial and execution of the king.

act of conveniency in respect of order; not of necessity to give faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended fear lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, judge. If a man speak foolishly, ye suffer him gladly because ye are wise; if erroneously, the truth more appears by your conviction. Stop such a man's mouth with sound words that cannot be gainsayed; if [he speak] blasphemously, or to the disturbance of the public peace, let the civil magistrate punish him; if truly, rejoice in the truth. And if you will call our speakings together since we came into Scotland, to provoke one another to love and good works, to faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and repentance from dead works; to charity and love towards you, to pray and mourn for you, and for the bitter returns to, and incredulity of, our professions of love to you, of the truth of which we have made our solemn and humble appeals to the Lord our God, which He hath heard and borne witness to; if these things be scandalous to the Kirk, and against the Covenant, because done by men of civil callings, we rejoice in them, notwithstanding what you say.

For a conclusion: In answer to the witness of God upon our solemn appeal, you say you have not so learned Christ to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish blindness hath not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not you and we to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the Great God in this mighty and strange appearance of His; but can slightly call it an event! Were not both yours and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilst we waited on God, to see which way He would manifest Himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations and solemn appeals, call these bare events? The Lord pity you.

Surely we fear; because it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us. I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you; and we shall help you by our prayers, that you may find it out: for yet (if we know our hearts at all) our bowels do, in Christ Jesus, yearn after the godly in Scotland. We know there are stumbling-blocks which hinder you: the personal prejudices you have taken up against us and our ways, wherein we cannot but think some occasion has been given, and for which we mourn; the apprehension you have that we have hindered the glorious Reformation you think you were upon. I am persuaded these and such like bind you up from an understanding, and yielding to, the mind of God, in this great day of His power and visitation. And, if I be rightly informed, the late blow you received is attributed to profane counsels and conduct, and mixtures in your army, and such like. The natural man will not find out the cause. Look up to the Lord, that he may tell it you. Which that He would do, shall be the fervent prayers of,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 12, 1650.

Your loving friend and servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹⁷

¹⁷ Pr. in *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 23; *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 24; Thurloe, i, 158-62; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 394-99; Carlyle, CXLVIII.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, These

These queries are sent not to reproach you, but in the love of Christ laying them before you; we being persuaded in the Lord that there is a truth in them, which we earnestly desire may not be laid aside unsought after, by any prejudice either against the things themselves, or the unworthiness or weakness of the person that offers them. If you turn at the Lord's reproofs, He will pour out His Spirit upon you, and you shall understand His words, and they will guide you to a blessed Reformation indeed, even to one according to the Word, and such as the people of God wait for: wherein you will find us and all saints ready to rejoice, and serve you to the utmost in our places and callings.

QUERIES

1. Whether the Lord's controversy be not both against the ministers in Scotland and in England, for their wresting, straining, and improving the Covenant against the Godly and Saints in England (of the same faith with them in every fundamental) even to a bitter persecution; and so making that which, in the main intention, was spiritual, to serve politics and carnal ends, even in that part especially which was spiritual, and did look to the glory of God, and the comfort of His People?

2. Whether the Lord's controversy be not for your and the ministers in England's sullenness at, and darkening, and not beholding the glory of God's wonderful dispensations in this series of His providences in England, Scotland and Ireland, both now and formerly, through envy at instruments, and because the things did not work forth your platform, and the great God did not come down to your minds and thoughts.

3. Whether your carrying on a Reformation, so much by you spoken of, have not probably been subject to some mistakes in your own judgments about some parts of the same,—laying so much stress thereupon as hath been a temptation to you even to break the Law of Love, the greatest of all laws, towards your brethren, and those Christ hath regenerated; even to the reviling and persecuting of them, and to stirring-up of wicked men to do the same, for your form's sake, or but some parts of it.

4. Whether if your Reformation be so perfect and so spiritual, be indeed the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, it will need such carnal policies, such fleshly mixtures, such unsincere actings as to pretend to cry down all malignants, and yet to receive and set up the Head of them and so act for the Kingdom of Christ in his name, and upon advantage thereof? And to publish so false a paper, so full of special pretences to piety, as the fruit and effect of his repentance, to deceive the minds of all the godly in England, Ireland and Scotland; you, in your own consciences, knowing with what regret he did it, and with what importunities and threats he was brought to do it, and how much to this very day he is against it? And whether this be not a high provocation of the Lord, in so grossly dissembling with Him and His people?¹⁸

¹⁸ Enclosed with the foregoing letter and printed in *Several Letters*. Repr. in Thurloe, i, 162, *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 400-01. Carlyle CXLVIII.

Having thus relieved his mind, he applied himself to more carnal matters. Among these was the task of disposing of a certain amount of booty, in regard to which he wrote:

[*To the Council of State?*]

Of "300 tun" of French wines taken as prize at Leith, he has sold part and the rest is sent to England to be sold. Asking that it be excise free, and to be permitted to use the proceeds to pay the soldiers. Edinburgh, Sept. 14, 1650.¹⁹

He was now ready for his new campaign. A thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot had reached him a day or two earlier;²⁰ and, leaving Overton's brigade of three regiments to garrison Leith and Edinburgh and continue the siege of the Castle, he took his remaining forces with seven days' rations and set out for Stirling Bridge which crossed the River Forth to make the only important connection between the north and south of Scotland. Before he started, according to his custom when entering the territory of an enemy, he issued a proclamation:²¹

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS it has pleased God, by His gracious providence and goodness, to put the city of Edinburgh and the town of Leith under my power; and although I have put forth several proclamations, since my coming into this country, to the like effect with this present: yet for further satisfaction to all those whom it may concern, I do hereby again publish and declare,

That all the inhabitants of the country, not now being or continuing in arms, shall have full and free leave and liberty to come to the army, and to the city and town aforesaid, with their cattle, corn, horse, or other commodities or goods whatsoever; and shall there have free and open markets for the same; and shall be protected in their persons and goods, in their coming and returning as aforesaid, from any injury or violence of the soldiery under my command; and shall also be protected in their respective houses. And the citizens and inhabitants of the said city and town shall (and hereby likewise) have free liberty to vend and sell their wares and commodities; and shall be protected from the plunder and violence of the soldiers.

¹⁹ *Merc. Pol.* Sept. 21; *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 20. Parliament voted to dispense with the Act prohibiting the importation of French wines, to allow it to come in custom and excise free, and to ask Cromwell for a list of the wines sold and to whom. *C. J.*, vi, 470. Shipments arriving in Dutch ships were frequent during the next year. The customs were negligible and the profit high on such articles as French wine. The Council finally wrote to Cromwell on July 30, 1650 that Dutch ships were not to be permitted to enter Leith unless he disapproved of such an order. An additional reason given was that goods were more easily smuggled to the Scotch army if ships that happened to be searched had the excuse that they were on their way to Leith. (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 300.

²⁰ *Modern Intelligencer*, Sept. 21.

²¹ *Sev. Proc.* Sept. 27; *Merc. Pol.* Sept. 28; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 30.

And I do hereby require all officers and soldiers of the army under my command to take due notice hereof, and to yield obedience hereto, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril.

Given under my hand at Edinburgh, the 14th of September, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

To be proclaimed in Leith and Edinburgh, by sound of trumpet and beat of drum.²²

Though Charles II was in Perth,²³ Stirling became for the moment the center of resistance to the English invaders. There Leslie had gone with the remnants of his army and there also were many of the nobility, the Committee of Estates and others rallying for the defense of the kingdom. With these and the recruits coming down from the Highlands, it was hoped to stop the invasion. Toward this new Scottish capital Cromwell advanced on September 14, to finish the work he had begun at Dunbar. The first day his army covered only six miles, camping at a place called Niddry,²⁴ beyond Almond Water. The weather was bad, the roads even worse than he had expected, and the two largest pieces of artillery had to be sent back. The General apparently accompanied them, going on to Leith in the hope, it would seem, of meeting General Deane, who, however, did not arrive until the next day. Cromwell's stay was brief, for on the 15th he was again in Linlithgow, where the army was delayed by heavy rains. Thence it marched to Falkirk on the 16th, and Cromwell summoned the garrison of a country-seat near by, presumably Callander House. They replied that the gentlemen defending it would die rather than surrender unless Stirling should capitulate or be taken, and apparently their defiance was effective. On Tuesday the 17th, though the weather was again "extraordinary wet and stormy," the army marched past Bannockburn to within a mile of Stirling, where, with no house available, Cromwell took up his quarters in St. Ninian's church.²⁵

It was still raining the next morning when he held a council of war and sent a summons to Stirling. His trumpeter was denied admission to the town and ladders were brought up and preparations made to storm. Despite the refusal to admit the trumpeter, Leslie sent a letter to Cromwell asking him to release some of his prisoners for ransom, which Cromwell, taking high moral ground, refused to consider:

²² Pr. in *The Lord General Cromwell his march to Stirling: being a Diary*; and in *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 27; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 30, with some omission. In Nicoll, *Diary*, ed. by D. Laing for the Bannatyne Club, (Edinb. 1836) p. 29 (in Scotch spelling, and dated Sept. 7). Listed in Crawford, ii, 345, from Nicoll.

²³ See Charles' letter to the Committee of Estates, Perth, Sept. 12, in Thurloe, i, 163-4.

²⁴ "Netherish" in the account.

²⁵ *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 27; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 30; *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 28; *The Lord General Cromwell his March to Stirling*.

To Lieutenant-General David Leslie

"We came not hither to make merchandise of men or to get a gain to ourselves, but for the service and security of the Commonwealth of England." Sept. 18, 1650.²⁶

It seemed that with this a final trial of strength was to come, for at one o'clock orders were sent to the foot and most of the horse to storm the place; but before they could be carried out, Cromwell changed his mind. Stirling was defended by some five thousand men, the horse mostly refugees from Dunbar, and though many of the garrison, as Loudoun said, consisted of "green new levied sojourns"; though the town was "not yet fortified as it should be";²⁷ and though he had a superior force, Cromwell hesitated to risk his men in a storming operation, and his artillery was inadequate for a siege. The council of war decided that the task of taking Stirling would be too great and even if it succeeded, it would be impossible to hold the place at this stage of the campaign. Thus, rather than waste time and men in such a difficult operation, he resolved to strengthen his hold on southern Scotland before winter set in. In consequence, on the 19th he abruptly raised the siege and retired with his army to Linlithgow.²⁸

His retirement caused great rejoicing among the Scots, and while he prepared to fortify Linlithgow, the Committee of Estates and the nobles who had fled from Stirling on his approach²⁹ hastened back. On September 20 he went to Dundas Castle, just south of Queensferry, which had been taken a week earlier by a detachment from Edinburgh and met General Deane who had come up with his North Sea squadron.³⁰ Together they returned to Linlithgow the next day and there, with an engineer³¹ and other officers, laid out a plan for the fortification of the town, whose palace was to be repaired and strengthened with "stones of the town hall, the hospital, and all the houses in the church gaitt."³² Leaving Colonel Sanderson with five troops of horse and six companies of foot to carry out these plans, Cromwell and Deane returned to Edinburgh to review the situation there.³³

²⁶ Quoted in *The Lord Generall Cromwell his March to Stirling*.

²⁷ Loudoun to Lothian, Sept. 16, *Ancram and Lothian Correspondence*, ii, 306.

²⁸ *The Lord Generall Cromwell his March to Stirling*; Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 29; Cromwell's letter, Sept. 25.

²⁹ Loudoun to Lothian, Sept. 16, *loc. cit.*

³⁰ Overton's letter, *loc. cit.*, quoted in Douglas, p. 122; *The Lord Generall Cromwell his March to Stirling*.

³¹ Possibly Joachim Hane, and the author of a letter from Edinburgh, Sept. 25, in *Merc. Pol. Cp. Journal of Joachim Hane* (ed. Firth), introd.

³² Ferguson, *Ecclesia Antiqua* (1905), p. 75.

³³ *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 27; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 30; *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 28.

The situation was peculiar. Though the Castle was held by a garrison under Sir Walter Dundas, the city itself was wholly in the hands of the Parliamentarians under Colonel Overton. That officer had been busy trying to induce the townspeople to declare against the Kirk, in return for a promise of protection and a share in city government. Meanwhile he had been taking stock of the scanty food supplies in the city; having oatmeal made; seizing and selling a cargo of French wines; throwing up fortifications; and blockading the Castle, which, aside from occasional random shots, had thus far been quiet. At the same time Overton had exercised strict surveillance over his men to prevent plundering and had thereby induced many of the citizens to return to their homes whence they had fled on the coming of the English.³⁴

In general the men of Edinburgh had not met Overton's advances. But a certain Sir John Henderson, who, with like "unclean creatures," had served in the "popish" army under Newcastle and a month earlier had been named by Loudoun as a "malignant" to be apprehended by Argyll,³⁵ wrote to Cromwell, reminding him of his offer of protection, sending papers he thought might be useful, and offering any service which Cromwell might require of him.³⁶ What use was made of him at this time does not appear, but it is perhaps significant to note that three years later he was courted by the Royalist exiles on the continent as able to help them financially and otherwise, though, as one of Thurloe's correspondents wrote quaintly, "some of the courtiers having lately put no obscure disvalue upon him."³⁷

Cromwell's brief stay in Edinburgh was improved by drawing up the details of his new campaign. He kept a day of humiliation on Monday the 23rd; and the next day sent four regiments of foot to take up their quarters in the country round about.³⁸ At this moment several of the officers asked for leave to go to England on private affairs and, after consultation, it was decided that Cromwell should write a letter to the Council of State, asking that no unfavorable action be taken against their estates in their absence. This apparently he did, though that part of his letter was omitted from the printed version, together with his request for bread and clothing.³⁸ Cromwell would have written sooner had not communication between London and Edinburgh been interrupted at this time. As the *Perfect Diurnall* reported, the General had been "in continuall expectation of a Post from England, which kept his hand from Paper and so

³⁴ Overton to Cromwell, Sept. 21, in Nickoll, *Orig. Letters*, p. 24.

³⁵ Letter, Aug. 14 in *Correspondence of Ancram and Lothian*, ii, 281.

³⁶ Letter dated Sept. 19 from the Canongate, in Nickolls, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁷ Thurloe, i, 242, 246.

³⁸ *Sev. Proc.* Oct. 8. On Oct. 2 such a letter, dated Sept. 25, was read in Council. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 367.

others from a convenience of sending.”³⁹ There was, in fact, not much for him to write, save, perhaps, his estimate of the obstinacy of the Scots and their curious aversion to the truth, their passion for profanity, and their lack of appreciation of the justness of the English cause, all of which grieved and puzzled him:

To the Council of State: These

* * * On Saturday the 14th instant, we marched six miles towards Stirling, and, by reason of the badness of the ways, were forced to send back two pieces of our greatest artillery. The day following, we marched to Linlithgow, not being able to go further by reason of much rain that fell that day. On the 16th, we marched to Falkirk, and the next day following, within cannon-shot of Stirling; where, upon Wednesday the 18th, our army was drawn forth, and all things in readiness to storm the town.

But finding the work very difficult; they having in the town 2000 horse and more foot, and the place standing upon a river not navigable for shipping to relieve the same, we could not, with safety, make it a Garrison, if God should have given it into our hands: upon this, and other considerations, it was not thought a fit time to storm. But such was the unanimous resolution and courage both of our officers and soldiers, that greater could not be (as to outward appearance) in men.

On Thursday the 19th, we returned from thence to Linlithgow, and at night we were informed that at Stirling they shot off their great guns for joy their King was come thither. On Friday the 20th, three Irish soldiers came from them to us, to whom we gave entertainment in the army; they say, great fears possessed the soldiers when they expected us to storm; that they know not whether old Leven be their General or not, the report being various; but that Sir John Brown, a Colonel of their army, was laid aside; that they are endeavouring to raise all the forces they can, in the north; that many of the soldiers, since our victory, are offended at their ministers; that Colonel Gilbert Carr and Colonel Strachan are gone with shattered forces to Glasgow, to levy soldiers there. As yet we hear not of any of the old Cavaliers being entertained as officers among them, which occasions differences betwixt their ministers and the officers of the Army.

The same day, we came to Edinburgh, where we abide without disturbance, saving that about ten at night, and before day in the morning, they sometimes fire three or four great guns at us; and if any of our men come within musket-shot, they fire at them from the Castle. But, blessed be God, they have done us no harm, except one soldier shot (but not to the danger of his life), that I can be informed of. There are some few of the inhabitants of Edinburgh returned home, who, perceiving our civility, and paying for what we receive of them, they repent their departure, open their shops, and bring provisions to the market. It is reported they have in the Castle provisions for fifteen months; some say for a longer time. Generally the people acknowledge that our carriage to them is better than that of their own army, and had they who are gone away known so much, they would have stayed at home.

³⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 30–Oct. 7.

They say one chief reason wherefore so many are gone was, they feared we would have imposed upon them some oath wherewith they could not have dispensed.

I am in great hopes, through God's mercy, we shall be able this winter, to give the people such an understanding of the justness of our cause, and our desires for the just liberties of the people, that the better sort of them will be satisfied therewith; although, I must confess, hitherto they continue obstinate. I thought I should have found in Scotland a conscientious people, and a barren country; about Edinburgh it is as fertile for corn as any part of England, but the people generally given to the most impudent lying, and frequent swearing, as is incredible to be believed.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 25, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁴⁰

While Cromwell was busy organizing his winter campaign and the government of Edinburgh, every effort was made by the English authorities to reinforce him. Colonels Alured and Sexby were ordered to join him with their foot regiments. Parts of the commands of Gibbons, Ingoldsby and Barkstead were sent north and arrived in October. Lieutenant-Colonel Fitch, the governor of Carlisle, was ordered to conduct forces from various regiments in England to Cromwell's assistance; and Cromwell was advised of these orders and told to direct Fitch's detachment to whatever point he saw fit. The depleted regiments were later ordered to be recruited to strength, while a reserve from their ranks, with other forces from Derby, Notts and York, and a considerable body of dragoons, were collected at Carlisle.⁴¹ Besides these, the siege artillery, or "battering guns," requested by Cromwell were despatched, and he was advised that bread and beer were on the way.⁴² Nor was the sword of the spirit neglected, for, in addition to William Good, who had accompanied him to Scotland, John Owen, now minister to the Council of State, Joseph Caryl and the popular Presbyterian, Edward Bowles, with others, were encouraged to join the army in Scotland.⁴³

With the advices that these reinforcements were on the way, and congratulatory letters from St. John and many others, there came a communication from a certain Mr. Webb, sometime Apothecary

⁴⁰ *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 404; Carlyle, CXLIX. Read in Council of State Oct. 2, to be referred to Parliament (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1650), p. 367). Read in Parliament Oct. 4 (*C. J.*, vi, 479; *Sev. Proc.*, Oct. 4). This letter may have had enclosed a warrant to Col. Hewson which the Council on Oct. 2 ordered to be sent by the Irish Committee (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 367).

⁴¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 340, 349, 350, 352, 394; *Perf. Diurn.*, *passim*.

⁴² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 353; Rowe to Cromwell, Sept. 17, in Nickolls, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Cromwell was also to be warned about an Irishman, John Noris, captain of Cumberland dragoons who had served under Sir Thomas Glemham. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 348, *C. J.*, vi, 468; *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 13; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 17.

General of the army under Fairfax and Cromwell when the Royalist forces had surrendered in Cornwall. He had, it would appear, bought an estate in 1648 from one James Leigh, and Leigh's property being sequestered, was having some difficulty in keeping it.⁴⁴ In his behalf, therefore, Cromwell wrote:⁴⁵

*To the Right Honourable the Committee for Sequestration
Sitting at Westminster*

GENTLEMEN,

There is one Abraham Webb, Apothecary general to the Army who hath a suit depending before you; who having approved his good affection to the Parliament by his constant service in their Army, ever since the beginning of the wars; and whose case (according to the representation thereof to me) appearing just and equal, (which will be stated before you, by some agent in his behalf, himself at present attending on the Army in these parts), I have been induced to request of you, that he may have such dispatch therein, as the multitude of your more weighty affairs will permit: whereby you shall (I hope) do an act of justice, and of encouragement to a deserving man, as well as lay an obligation upon

Your humble servant,

Edinburgh

Septemb: 27th, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁴⁶

A few days later he wrote another letter,⁴⁷ this time not to help clear an estate but a reputation. Colonel Gill was charged with padding his bill to the government for losses through plundering; he had been deprived of his command and threatened with imprisonment, and Cromwell interceded in his behalf:

*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the
Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*

SIR,

Col. George Gill had a regiment under my command. I knew nor heard of anything but what was honest and Christian in the man,

⁴⁴ Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 328.

⁴⁵ On Jan. 16 the Committee for Compounding requested a hearing, mentioning Cromwell's recommendation. *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 395.

⁴⁶ Original, with the last three words and the signature autograph, in *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, G., cxxix, 329. Printed in *Royalist Composition Papers*, ed. by J. H. Stanning for the Record Society (1898), iv, 86-87. Summary in Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 62. See *Cal. Comm. for Comp.* pp. 2504, 2564, 2565. The sequestration of the estate was stayed until order of Parliament and on Jan. 5, 1653-4 the claim was allowed and the estate discharged.

⁴⁷ Cromwell seems to have written still another letter about this time, to the Council of State, making some suggestion about Lieut. Gen. Hammond, who had been occupied with supplying ordnance for the various branches of the army. Hammond was "dispatched away," and another suggestion in Cromwell's letter, to send some Scotch prisoners to Ireland, was forwarded to the Irish Committee. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 375.

until the Parliament was pleased to pass a sentence upon him and I commanded to discharge him from his regiment. I did yield present obedience to your commands as became me; since that time the man hath written unto me to desire I would mediate to some friends that he might have liberty to make his innocency to appear. I, persuading myself that nothing would be more welcome to the Parliament than to hear and redress innocency, which is so confidently stood upon by this man, do in all humility desire he may be heard, and if it be found impudency in him he may have his punishment doubled. It is not any importunity in the person occasions this boldness, but because I durst not deny my [con]science. Craving pardon for this trouble, I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Edinburgh,
October 2, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁴⁸

With Edinburgh secured and reinforcements beginning to arrive, Cromwell's plans for crushing Scottish resistance began to take shape. His first objective was Fife, across the Firth of Forth. Though it lay so near, it was not easy to come at. The way to the north by Stirling was closed; the Trossachs and the country about the upper Forth were impassable for his army; and there seemed no way to outflank Leslie or to drive Charles II out of Perth. The first plan was to cross the Firth, and on September 27 all boats in the Firth were commandeered and ordered to be brought to Leith. Some twenty-five hundred men were sent to the waterside and many of them actually embarked, when, for "some generall reasons," probably the weather, possibly the fear that Leslie might attack Edinburgh, the plan was abandoned and the men recalled.⁴⁹ It had not been possible to get the train of artillery from Leith to Linlithgow; the offers to Dundas had been declined; and as the Castle was said to have provisions for fifteen months, it seemed impossible to starve out the garrison. Blocked on three fronts, the Council of War, which had been meeting constantly, determined to spring mines under the Castle. It was a tremendous undertaking, calling for experts, and Cromwell pressed into service all the Scottish colliers in the neighborhood and some from Glasgow.⁵⁰ Thus, protected at first by sheds against the hand grenades thrown by the garrison, the men began to drive galleries into the steep rock on the south side of Castle Hill.

It was an operation which, at best, would last for weeks, but it served, among other things, to occupy some of the troops. Although some two thousand were employed in Leith, most of the men were

⁴⁸ Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 63, from *Portland Mss.* N, viii, 21. Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 13 App. (Portland Mss. at Welbeck Abbey), i, 535.

⁴⁹ Newsletter, Oct. 3, in *Merc. Pol.* Oct. 8; *Perf. Diurn.* Oct. 7.

⁵⁰ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 34; *Merc. Pol.* Oct. 8; *Perf. Diurn.* Oct. 7.

idle,⁵¹ but even Nicoll noticed the perfect order kept among them. Discipline was stern, and he observed that on September 27 Cromwell had three soldiers scourged by the Provost Marshal's men "from Stone Chop to Neddir Bow and back" for plundering, and one, for being drunk, made to "ryde the meir, at the Croce of Edinburgh with ane pynt stop about his neck, his handis bund behind his bak, and musketis hung at his feet" for two hours.⁵² Despite the notions which Wariston had entertained about the Independents' godlessness, on Sundays, both forenoon and afternoon, Cromwell and his officers joined the throngs at the High Church to hear Mr. Stapleton preach, and were pleased to hear the approving groans of the Scotch parishioners⁵³—the Independents themselves using a sort of humming sound for the same purpose.

THE WESTERN COVENANTERS

The preparations for undermining the Castle well begun, and the weather apparently having cleared, Cromwell set out with six regiments of foot and nine of horse for Linlithgow, which he reached on October 9.⁵⁴ Blocked in his efforts to capture or outflank Stirling he turned once more from arms to argument, in a new attack on the principles and policies of his Scottish opponents, directed against the western Covenanters and the Committee of Estates then at Perth. These he still hoped to separate from the King, and to this end he sent another appeal:

*For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates of Scotland,
at Stirling, or elsewhere: These*

MY LORDS,

The grounds and ends of the army's entering Scotland have been heretofore often and clearly made known unto you, and how much we have desired the same might be accomplished without blood. But according to what returns we have received, it is evident your hearts had not that love to us as we can truly say we had towards you; and we are persuaded those difficulties in which you have involved yourselves by espousing your King's interest and taking into your bosom that person, in whom (notwithstanding what hath or may be said to the contrary) that which is openly malignancy and all malignants do center; against whose family the Lord hath so emi-

⁵¹ *Perf. Diurn.* Oct. 28, Nov. 11. At this time Goffe was made colonel of a foot regiment, "lately called his Excellencies, and the Lancashire regiment under Col. Worsley, taken in to be his Lordship's own Regiment." *Ibid.* Oct. 7.

⁵² Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 33.

⁵³ *Merc. Pol.*, Oct. 8; *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 7.

⁵⁴ *Perf. Diurn.* Oct. 30. Cromwell also left Edinburgh on the 9th, for a letter from him written there on that date was referred by the Council of State to the Committee for Irish and Scotch Affairs on Nov. 2. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 410.

nently witnessed for bloodguiltiness, not to be done away with such hypocritical and formal shows of repentance as are expressed in his late *Declaration*; and your strange prejudices against us as men of heretical opinions (which, through the great goodness of God to us, have been unjustly charged upon us), have occasioned your rejecting of those Overtures which with a Christian affection were offered to you before any blood was spilt, or your people had suffered damage by us.

The daily sense we have of the calamity of war lying upon the poor people of this nation, and the sad consequences of blood and famine likely to come upon them; the advantages given to malignant, profane, and popish party by this war; and that reality of affection which we have so often professed to you, and concerning the truth of which we have so solemnly appealed, doth again constrain us to send unto you, to let you know, that if the contending for that person be not by you preferred to the peace and welfare of your country, the blood of your own people, the love of men of the same faith with you, which is above all, the honour of that God we serve; then give the State of England that satisfaction and security for their peaceable and quiet living by you that may in justice be demanded from a nation giving so just a ground for the same from those who have (as you) taken their enemy into their bosom, whilst he was in hostility against them, and it will be made good to you, that you may have a lasting and durable peace with them, and the wish of a blessing upon you in all religious and civil things.

If this be refused by you, we are persuaded that God, who hath once borne His testimony would do it again on the behalf of us His poor servants, who do appeal to Him whether these desired was from sincerity of heart or not. I rest,

Your Lordships' humble servant,

Linlithgow,
9 Octob. 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁵

His appeal was shrewdly timed. In the five weeks since Dunbar the first effect of that disaster in drawing together the Royalists, the Engagers and the Covenanters, had given way to an even wider breach. The extreme Covenanters, led by Wariston, had stubbornly refused to ally themselves with even the more moderate Engagers. Their military leaders, Colonels Strachan and Kerr, had gone to Glasgow and were gathering a Covenanting army in the western counties even more hostile to the King than to the English; and in the north the Highlanders were gathering with renewed enthusiasm to fight for Charles. Between these two extremes stood the Committee of Estates, endeavoring to conciliate Charles and his followers, but still more concerned with humoring the western levies. The King

⁵⁵ *Perf. Diurn.* Oct. 31. Pr. with a few verbal differences in *Sev. Proc.*, Oct. 24-31; thence *Cromwelliana*, p. 93. *Merc. Pol.*, Oct. 30; *Parl. Hist.* xix, 415; and "a copy by Mr. Nicholas" in *Clarendon State Papers*, ii, 550. Carlyle, CL. Received in Westminster on Oct. 28 with a letter to the Council of State. The Council ordered the letter reported to Parliament (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 400) and on Oct. 29 a letter of Cromwell's was read in Parliament. *C. J.*, (vi, 488) speaks of this letter as dated June 24, but it seems likely that this is an error for Oct. 24.

himself demanded the inclusion in the government of all his partisans, including Argyll's enemies, Hamilton and Lauderdale. It was rumored that he had even urged the appointment of the aged Ruthven, Earl of Brentford, sometime general-in-chief to Charles I, to his old post, though that nobleman had been banned from Scotland by the Estates. In this situation Argyll, courting both parties, found his plans for unity go to wreck and his own position all but impossible; while Leslie, opposed by Wariston and his party, almost lost his post. Finally, to complicate the situation still further, in the latter part of September, the Committee of Estates had drawn up a list of courtiers who were to be expelled from Charles' presence.

This step brought matters to a head. Whether Charles feared that he might be seized by the western enthusiasts and handed over to Cromwell, as was reported;⁵⁶ whether he judged that his best chance of victory lay in the support of the Royalists; or whether he was irked by his virtual imprisonment and restrictions laid on him and his little court by those who were, in effect, his jailers; most probably, from a combination of these circumstances, he determined to escape and join what he was informed was a considerable body of Royalists and Engagers prepared to welcome him. The plan was for his regiment of guards under Eglinton and Newburgh to co-operate with this force, seize Perth and secure the Committee of Estates, while Middleton, Huntly and other noblemen raised forces against both Independents and Covenanters. Under pretence of hawking, on the morning of October 4, Charles rode out of Perth with a few attendants southwest into Fife to South Inche, turned and crossed the Tay and hastened to Dundee where he was joined by Lauderdale. Thence he made his way to the house of the Earl of Airlie and so to Clova in the glen of the South Esk, hoping to find Huntly there. In that he was disappointed and after spending the night in a humble cottage was overtaken by two officers, followed by their commander, Colonel Montgomery, with six hundred horse, who found the King "overwearyed and very fearful in a nasty room on an old bolster above a mat of sedge and rushes." To this force the little body of Highlanders who had rallied round him could make no effective resistance. Charles refused to follow them into the hills, and, accompanied and guarded by Montgomery's command, was back in Perth on October 6.⁵⁷

So ended this curious adventure, known to the Scots as "the Start," but despite the failure of the plan, the King's escape was not without effect. He apologized to the Committee for his rash attempt; they were much alarmed at the situation it revealed and admitted him to their meetings; so that by the time Cromwell's letter reached them, there was no prospect of their abandoning their King. Whether or

⁵⁶ Rumor reported by Morosini, Nov. 22. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), pp. 159-60.

⁵⁷ Balfour, *Annals*, iv, 114; *Perf. Diur.*, Oct. 20.

not Cromwell's letter was inspired by news of a breach between Charles and the Committee, he had wasted no time in Linlithgow but had hastened on the second part of his new venture. A copy of his letter was apparently sent to Kerr and Strachan,⁵⁸ and in spite of the cold and snow, Cromwell followed this with his army toward their headquarters in the west. On October 10, fifteen regiments set out to the north, then turned west on the road to Glasgow, stopping at Kilsyth⁵⁹ to capture a fortified house belonging to Sir James Livingstone.⁶⁰ There that evening, Cromwell wrote a letter to announce his coming to Glasgow, sending it by his cousin, Henry Whalley, the brother of the General and the future Judge Advocate of Scotland:

To the Provost, Bailiffs and Citizens of Glasgow

GENTLEMEN,

Being this near you with the army, least you should, upon mistake of my intentions, quit your habitations, I have thought fit, with a trumpeter to send this gentleman, Henry Whalley, a person of quality, and member of the army, who is known to sundry of your city, to give you assurance that if you all remain in your habitations no wrong nor violence shall be offered unto you. He will be able to inform you what accommodation we shall expect for the army. I rest,

Your assured friend,

Kilsyth,
October 10, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁶¹

He did not linger long in Kilsyth. Appointing Major Sydenham to protect the contents of the house; to see that the garrison was allowed to go home peaceably; and that "Mister Livingston" be permitted to remain undisturbed,⁶² he reached Glasgow the next afternoon, October 11, with nine thousand men. These he had charged strictly that morning to behave civilly toward the inhabitants,⁶³ of whom many, including the magistrates and most of the ministers, had fled, not, as Nicoll said, for fear of the English army, for its "carriage was indifferently good," but because they "feared to be branded with the name

⁵⁸ *Merc. Pol.*, Oct. 30.

⁵⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 30, 31; *Merc. Pol.*, Oct. 29, says he marched from Linlithgow to Fife (?) then turned toward Glasgow.

⁶⁰ Created Viscount Newburgh in 1647. Cromwell ordered Sir James Stewart, who was in command, to write a letter signifying his willingness to surrender, which was done. *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 31.

⁶¹ Pr. in the Scotch spelling, in Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 31.

⁶² See obligation signed by F. Sydenham, later governor of Linlithgow, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept. Various Collections*, v, 150 (Edmonstone Mss.).

⁶³ At a rendezvous Cromwell declared "that if any man should plunder, he would make him exemplary, and hang him up at the first proof, and would proceed severely against the officers that connive at or countenance them." *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 31.

of compliers with sectaries."⁶⁴ On their part the soldiers found Glasgow a "much sweeter and more delightful place than Edinburgh," and were sorry not to stay.

It was here apparently on the night of Saturday, October 12, that there was held a council of officers to consider the case of a Captain Covell of Cromwell's horse regiment, a "Ranter" who had greatly irritated his superiors not only by preaching his "desperate opinions," declaring "sin was no sin" and denying "the humanity of Christ," but by his lack of subordination and discipline. Though the discussion of his doctrines was to be the occasion of a later meeting and his severance from the army, for the moment the question of his conduct as an officer was of equal or superior importance, and the case of Covell gives another glimpse of Cromwell and, what is rarer and more important, a glimpse into his mind. A newsletter from Glasgow, dated October 12th, records the details of the preliminary discussion in vivid form:

"This night his Excellency with the Major Generall, Lieut. Generall, Com-missary-Generall Whalley, Col. Thomlinson, Col. Monck, Col. Twisleton, Col. Okey, Major Knight and some other officers had a longe and serious discourse about the businesse of cashiering Capt. Covell. His Excellency related how that hee observed upon his coming into Scotland, that the said troope was one of the worst in all that regiment, nay the thinnest in all the army, that hee then feared there was some ill or miscarriage in the captaine, that afterwards at Dunbarre upon the day of Humiliation Major Knight and some others were complayning of the great profaneness and blasphemies that were in some troopes, that Lieut. Empson did hint something in relation to Capt. Covell, notwithstanding which hee tooke no notice of it, till afterwards Capt. Packer came to him and told him of the desperate opinions broached by Capt. Covell, that thereupon his Excellency sent for the said captaine and at Musleborough admonished him to walke more cautiously, told him that hee was sensible of his pride and his self-conceitednesse, which hee feared did him much hurt. That Captain Covell denied all the said tenents, and made a cleare confession of his faith, which gave the Generall that satisfaction that hee bid him goe to his charge, and that hee should bee willing to shew him any favour or respect that lay in his power. After this Capt. Packer acquainted his Excellency that the said Capt. Covell had asserted his vaine opinions to the troope with more confidence then before, and that openly, which was attested alsoe by Major Browne and others, whereupon hee told Capt. Covell that hee should not any longer command the troope; that notwithstanding hee found him at the last randevvous at the head of the troope, whereupon hee cashiered [him] himselfe for a terrour unto others from holding out blasphemous tenents. That hee would at any time have that liberty to cashier anyone out of his regiment as longe as hee was Generall, and that hee would make that condition with his officers. That hee had done it when hee was in lesse power. That

⁶⁴ Nicoll, p. 31. Baillie, who fled, says the soldiers behaved better in Glasgow than in London.

hee would do it in opposition to the Levellers who complained that thinges were done arbitrarily, and that they should see hee had that power."⁶⁵

The stay of the English army in Glasgow was brief, but it was improved by the General and his officers in an effort to convert its inhabitants to his point of view. The townsfolk were not disturbed in their usual activities. On Sunday, the 13th, Zachary Boyd, who had remained, preached in the High Church, while in another part of the same edifice Cromwell and his companions listened to Haselrig's chaplain, Hammond. Boyd railed at the English but the General refused to allow him to be silenced, "and having afterwards sought an interview, is said to have overwhelmed Boyd . . . by a prayer of two or three hours' duration."⁶⁶ This demonstration in force had been made partly for military, partly for diplomatic reasons; and though he had not gone to Glasgow solely to argue or even to pray with Covenanting ministers, it was not the least of his purposes to win their party to his side, and of this he had great and not unfounded hopes. For Strachan, much less hostile to Cromwell than to Charles, had already made overtures to the English commander, who had seized the opportunity to wean the leaders of the western Covenanters from the King and so simplify his task of conquering Scotland.

That task was as yet far from accomplished. Despite the victory of Dunbar and the occupation of Edinburgh, the English hold on southern Scotland was still precarious. The north was wholly against them, and while Strachan and Kerr controlled Dumfries and the west, it was not only impossible to bring up the forces gathered at Carlisle by the western roads, but Cromwell's position was threatened on the flank. Strachan and Kerr were prepared to negotiate, but they sent word to Cromwell by his trumpeter Bret that, though they were willing to confer with him, Wariston and Chiesly, who were with them, would not consent, and the project fell through.⁶⁷

There was now nothing to keep him in the west, for his negotiations had failed to win the Covenanters over and he was apparently unwilling to attack such friendly enemies as Strachan and Kerr. Moreover he was advised that Leslie planned to raise the siege of Edinburgh Castle; the weather was uncertain; supplies scanty; and on October 14 he set his army in motion toward Edinburgh. To learn more about the country, he led his men along a more southerly route than that by which he came. Following the Clyde a few miles, he quartered the first night in a "small, smoakie and poor cottage" near the village of More Head, some fourteen miles from Glasgow. The

⁶⁵ *Clarke Mss.*, quoted in Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, pp. 347-8.

⁶⁶ *Sev. Proc.*, Oct. 24-31; *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 31. Baillie, *Diary*. See also Coutts, *History of the University of Glasgow*, p. 131.

⁶⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 31.

weather was foul, the road boggy and craggy by turns, but the next night the army had reached Blackburn, with Cromwell some five miles in advance at Livingston House. Leaving a garrison there, by the 16th he was back in Edinburgh, to find that the mine under the Castle was within fifteen yards of completion.⁶⁸

His journey had not been wholly fruitless, for if he had not gained the support of Strachan and Kerr, they were not at least for the King, as their next move proved. The day after Cromwell reached Edinburgh, in conjunction with Gillespie and other advanced Covenanters, they issued a Remonstrance renouncing any intention of fighting for Charles until he repented and abandoned the "malignants." They denounced the hypocrisy of those who had accepted Charles' signature of the Covenant, and declared they would not help to force on England a government which Scotland itself ought not to tolerate.⁶⁹ To such a position, it seems apparent, Cromwell's negotiations had helped to contribute and this much, at least, he had accomplished by his expedition. To this may be added the occupation of "some six great houses" south and southwest of Edinburgh by the army on its return from Glasgow. So, having listened to Mr. Caryl, who had arrived from London to preach before the General and his officers, on the morning of the 20th, and to Stapleton in the afternoon,⁷⁰ the next day he issued an order which seems to indicate that one of these houses was that of the Earl of Lothian, Newbattle Abbey:

To all Officers and Souldiers under My Command

These are to require you not to offer any injury or violence to the Right Honourable the Lady Lothian, her family, or servants, nor to take away, spoil, or destroy any of her household stuff, cattle, corn, or other goods whatsoever, nor to quarter any officers or soldiers within her Ladyship's house at Newbottle, nor to kill or destroy any of the deer in the park there. Given under my hand and seal the 21st of October 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁷¹

Cromwell had hoped to receive an answer from the Committee of Estates in reply to his letter of October 9;⁷² but though he was disappointed in this, on October 22, a trumpeter brought a message from Strachan in answer to Cromwell's previous communication to the commanders of the western army. Strachan's letter propounded "six queries" as to what satisfaction Cromwell expected to receive

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; *Merc. Pol.*, Oct. 29; Nicoll; *Diary*, p. 31.

⁶⁹ Balfour, *Annales*, iv, 141-160; pr. in *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 4.

⁷⁰ *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 31.

⁷¹ Pr. in *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancrum and his Son William, Third Earl of Lothian*, ii, 316.

⁷² A dispatch in *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 31, mentions that has been received.

from the Covenanters,⁷³ and seemed to indicate that some hope remained of securing southwestern Scotland by negotiation and treaty. In consequence, on October 23, the Council of War discussed the matter⁷⁴ and two days later Cromwell replied to the queries:

To Colonel Strahan

SIR,

I have considered of the letter and the queries; and, having advised with some Christian friends about the same, think fit to return an answer as followeth:

We bear unto the godly of Scotland the same Christian affection we have all along professed in our papers; being ready, through the grace of God, upon all occasions, to give such proof and testimony thereof as the Divine Providence shall minister opportunity to us to do. That nothing would be more acceptable to us to see than the Lord removing offences, and inclining the hearts of His people in Scotland to meet us with the same affection. That we do verily apprehend, with much comfort, that there is some stirring of your bowels by the Lord, giving some hope of His good pleasure tending hereunto; which we are most willing to comply with, and not to be wanting in anything on our part which may further the same.

And having seen the heads of two Remonstrances, the one of the ministers of Glasgow, and the other of the officers and gentlemen of the West we do from thence hope that the Lord hath cleared unto you some things which were formerly hidden, and which we hope may lead to a better understanding. Nevertheless, we cannot but take notice, that from some expressions in the same papers, we have too much cause to note that there is still so great a difference betwixt us as we are looked upon and accounted as enemies.

And although we hope that the six queries sent by you to us to be answered were intended to clear doubts and remove the remaining obstructions, which we shall be most ready to do; yet, considering the many misconstructions which may arise from the clearest pen (where men are not all of one mind), and the difficulties at this distance to resolve doubts and rectify mistakes, we conceive our answer in writing may not so effectually reach that end, as a friendly and Christian conference by equal persons.

And we doubt not we can with ingenuity and clearness give a satisfactory account of those general things held forth in the letter sent by us to the Committee of Estates, and in our former declarations and papers; which we shall be ready to do by a friendly debate, when and where our answer to these particulars may probably tend to the better and more clear understanding betwixt the godly party of both nations.

To speak plainly in a few words: If those who sincerely love and fear the Lord amongst you are sensible that matters have been and are carried by your State so as that therewith God is not well pleased, but the interest of His people hazarded in Scotland and England to malignants, to papists, and to the profane, we can (through Grace) be willing to lay our bones in the dust for

⁷³ *Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 2; *Sev. Proc.*, Nov. 1; *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 1, 4.

⁷⁴ *Sev. Proc.*, Nov. 1.

your sakes; and can, as heretofore we have, still continue to say, that, not to impose upon you in religious or civil interests, not dominion nor any worldly advantage, but securing ourselves, were the motives and satisfactions to our consciences in this undertaking; which we believe by this time you may think we had cause to be sensible was more than endangered by the carriage of affairs with your King. And it is not success and more visible clearness to our consciences arising out of the discoveries God hath made of the hypocrisies of men, which hath altered our principles or demands, but we take from thence humble encouragement to follow the Lord's providence in serving His cause and people; not doubting but He will give such an issue to this business as will be to His glory and your comfort.

I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Edinburgh,
25 Oct. 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁷⁵

The officers believed that the conference suggested in Cromwell's letter was one of two alternatives he was offering to Strachan and Kerr, but as only the "three great ones" knew the whole design, they could only guess the other. Its purport was suggested by the fact that a few days earlier Commissary General Whalley and Colonel Hacker had been sent with two regiments to Carlisle, where Whalley was given command of them for the time being.⁷⁶ Unless the western army of the "Remonstrants," as they were now called, were to be attacked, there seemed no reason for the rendezvous at Carlisle, for the forces already there, though reported as "most lively, well and cheerefull," had little to do, and for the moment Cromwell seems to have had no work for them. These arrangements having been made, he busied himself with routine matters. On Saturday, the 26th, the officers kept a day of humiliation, and on the following Wednesday assembled to court-martial Captain Covell, whose principles found as little acceptance in the minds of Cromwells' officers as they did in those of New England divines at the same time, and Covell was found guilty of blasphemy and cashiered.⁷⁷

Apart from such incidents and looking after the condition and the disposition of his forces, this interval in military operations was spent by Cromwell in attending to matters elsewhere. The Council of State had ordered him to return part of the fleet and asked him to

⁷⁵ Carlyle, CLI, from "a copy by Mr. Nicholas" in *Clarendon State Papers*, ii, 551-2. In the Routh Collection in Durham Univ. Library is an apparently contemporary manuscript copy of this letter with minor changes in the text. *Bull. Institute of Hist. Research*, June 1932, p. 66.

⁷⁶ *Merc. Pol.*, no. 21. On Oct. 28 the Council of State, having just learned of Whalley's arrival in Carlisle, ordered Cromwell, Haselrig and Whalley to keep in constant communication. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 400, 402.

⁷⁷ *Merc. Pol.*, Oct. 29, Nov. 1, 5, 7; *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 31, Nov. 4. At another court martial on Nov. 1 a captain, a lieutenant and some others were cashiered. *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 17.

send a commission to a Colonel George Crompton as governor of Tilbury Fort.⁷⁸ Meanwhile his representative, John Thurloe, appeared before the Admiralty Committee in behalf of the General's interest in the ship *Angel Gabriel*, alias *Raphael*, out of Waterford, which had been taken into Swansea as a prize by one Matthew Franklin, who petitioned for a share in her.⁷⁹ In whatever capacity Cromwell was concerned in this incident, the fact that Thurloe, who had acted as a sponsor for Richard Cromwell on his admission to Lincoln's Inn,⁸⁰ appeared in behalf of Cromwell in a private dispute some three months later, seems to indicate that the future genius of the Intelligence service was at this time in charge of Cromwell's personal affairs.

Besides these matters of public and private business, also demanding Cromwell's attention were the problems of supplies and revenue for Ireland;⁸¹ supplies for his army, which had a way of going astray or falling into the hands of pirates;⁸² as well as occasional special requests for certain exchanges of prisoners. One of these⁸³ was a petition which came to Cromwell's notice and was forwarded by him to the Scotch headquarters with a letter:

For the right honourable the Lord Lothian Kerr, Secretary to his Majesty

MY LORD,

I am importuned by this poor English woman to offer to your Lordship an exchange for her husband. I shall leave it to your Lordship's election which of these two persons, either Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Leslie, or Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Melvill. This inequality I am willing to, to answer her distress, rather than for any worth I know in the person, or that I am at all concerned in him. This is all from

Your Lordship's humble servant,

Edinburgh,

30th October 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Sept. 28, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 361, 371.

⁷⁹ Order of Oct. 7, *ibid.*, p. 374.

⁸⁰ See vol. i, p. 452.

⁸¹ See Scot's long letter to Cromwell, Nov. 2, 1650, in Nickoll, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁸² Concerning which he wrote to Rushworth. See Rowe to Cromwell, Oct. 15, *ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸³ Another was made by Scoutmaster Rowe (*loc. cit.*) for one Thomas Redgill.

⁸⁴ Pr. in *Correspondence of Ancrum and Lothian*, ii, 319, with the additional address: "Major Bickerton, or other officer of such quality". Who the woman was that thus won Cromwell's sympathy does not appear, but on Jan. 1 William Clarke, secretary to the army, drafted a petition to Charles II from E. Mosse, wife of John Mosse which indicates that Charles had agreed to exchange him for Sir James Lumsden but Cromwell had refused, offering instead another Scotch prisoner. The petition ends by promising, if the exchange were made, that it would "engage her and her poor babes for ever to pray for your Majesty's long and glorious reign over us." *Cal. in Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* (Leyborne-Popham Mss.) p. 81. Cp. below p. 383.

Amid such activities the mining of the Castle had gone on until by the end of October the shaft had penetrated some sixty yards into the rock, and a platform had been erected for a new battery.⁸⁵ But the maneuvers of the Scottish parties had meanwhile provided even more interest for the English commander than his siege operations. The controversy between the Scottish factions had risen to white heat. The Remonstrance of the western Covenanters had been answered by a Declaration of the "noblemen in arms" about Charles II. The Covenanters had quarrelled violently among themselves, and Strachan, finding it impossible to maintain his position between Charles and Cromwell, presently retired. Kerr, equally opposed to the Independents and the Malignants, refused to take orders from the Committee of Estates. The Covenanting commander at Newtyle, Sir John Brown, threatened to hang any messenger from the Royalists, whose leader, Middleton, promptly attacked Brown's quarters.⁸⁶ The situation was growing impossible, and to prevent open war between the Scottish factions, the Committee of Estates passed an act of indemnity for all Malignants who would disband at once. Seconded by Charles, who urged his Royalist followers to comply, and by Leslie, who advanced with a show of force to support the Committee, the Royalists finally dispersed about the time that Strachan resigned, and for the moment there seemed some hope of peace and unity.

With the Cavaliers eliminated, there were now only two Scottish armies in the field, that of the Estates under Leslie and that of the Covenanters under Kerr; but there had been projected into the situation another disturbing element, the so-called "moss troopers,"⁸⁷ who, reviving the methods of the old Border wars, the English Clubmen and the Irish Tories, began to cut off small parties of English and harass communications. They were supported and encouraged in this by the owners of various fortified houses; and in consequence Cromwell now issued a proclamation against such gentry, holding the parishes and towns responsible for any outrages committed within their borders.

PROCLAMATION

I FINDING that divers of the army under my command are not only spoiled and robbed, but also sometimes barbarously and inhumanly butchered and slain, by a sort of outlaws and robbers, not under the discipline of any army; and finding that all our tenderness to the country produceth no other effect

⁸⁵ *Merc. Pol.* Nov. 5; *Sev. Proc.*, Nov. 1; *Perf. Diurn.* Nov. 4.

⁸⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 4, 11, 18. The King's coronation was deferred by this incident and Middleton was excommunicated according to *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 11.

⁸⁷ In the middle of October a party of Dutchmen under Captain Augustine and another under "Sandy Kar" were particularly obnoxious. *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 31.

than their compliance with, and protection of, such persons; and considering that it is in the power of the country to detect and discover them (many of them being inhabitants of those places where commonly the outrage is committed); and perceiving that their motion is ordinarily by the invitation, and according to intelligence given them by countrymen:

I do therefore declare, that wheresoever any under my command shall be hereafter robbed or spoiled by such parties, I will require life for life, and a plenary satisfaction for their goods, of those parishes and places where the fact shall be committed; unless they shall discover and produce the offender. And this I wish all persons to take notice of, that none may plead ignorance.

Given under my hand at Edinburgh, the 5 of November 1650.

O. CROMWELL.⁸⁸

On the same day, among these various minutiae of his office, Cromwell took occasion to write in support of the petition of a Berkshire yeoman, who had three sons in the English army in Scotland, and who had lost his property by command of Charles I on account of his Parliamentary sympathies:

[*To the Council of State?*]

Recommending the petition of John White of Reading, co. Berks, Yeoman. Edinburgh, November 5, 1650.⁸⁹

It was apparently about this time, too, that he sent to the Council some 'papers of intelligence,' probably intercepted letters, for on November 12, Vane, Bradshaw and Scot were ordered to "view" them and have them translated, and on December 21, Sir Gilbert Pickering was added to the committee to consider them.⁹⁰ It would seem from this that they came from the Continent and were, perhaps, part of a design to support Charles II by foreign aid, which his mother was then industriously seeking.

All this was suddenly interrupted by a serious accident. On November 11 the Council of Officers had kept a fast,⁹¹ and two days later there broke out a great fire in the abbey of Holyrood Palace which was used as barracks for part of the foot. As Nicoll records, the "haill

⁸⁸ Pr. in *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 18-25; *Merc. Pol.* Nov. 21; *Perf. Passages*, Nov. 22-29; *Sev. Proc.* Nov. 26. *Cromwelliana*, p. 94; Russell, *Life of Cromwell*, ii, 95; Carrington, *Life of the Protector* (1659), pp. 58-9; Carlyle, ii, 146-7. Cal. in Waylen, *House of Cromwell*, p. 275. Evidently influenced by this proclamation which was not sent from Edinburgh until the 16th Parliament ordered Cromwell on Nov. 22 to take special care to keep all officers and men with their charges. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 437.

⁸⁹ Read in Parliament Nov. 29, *C. J.*, vi, 502. See *Cal. Comm. for Advance of Money*, p. 1284 for account of White. A Major White "made the narration" to Parliament of the battle of Dunbar, and Lieut. Col. White, possibly the same, promoted, was a commissioner, with Monk, for the surrender of Edinburgh Castle. Cp. pp. 592-3.

⁹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 425, 476.

⁹¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 22.

royall pairt of that palace was put in a flame, and brint to the ground . . . except a lytill."⁹² This was but one of a number of such fires, which destroyed three churches, the high school and part of the college of Edinburgh.⁹³ They were, perhaps, all accidental, due, possibly, to the carelessness of the soldiers, but other motives were assigned to them. Not only was there suspicion that they had been set to deprive the English of quarters, but Wariston attributed the Holyrood fire to God's displeasure with the Stuart family, citing as further evidence the recent deaths of the young Princess Elizabeth and her sister Mary's husband, the Prince of Orange.⁹⁴ Meanwhile he consoled himself with reading the lofty prophecies of Habbakuk, which were such a comfort to the Covenanters who were prone to identify the English invaders with the Chaldeans and invoke on them the same fate that overtook that ancient people.

Those invaders, meanwhile, were less concerned with spiritual than with carnal difficulties. Edinburgh itself was quiet; the army supplies that came by sea were relatively undisturbed; the blockade against the Scottish shipping was fairly successful; but the activities of the moss-troopers and their friends in the Lothians were increasingly annoying. They might, indeed, become dangerous to the English forces. They were beginning to form an organized resistance, using various strongholds as refuges whence their attacking parties sallied forth to harry the invaders; and they were on the way to becoming a formidable hindrance to the English who had begun to seize these strongholds in the neighborhood of Edinburgh. First Dalhousie had been taken,⁹⁵ then Dirleton, near Haddington, where one of the most notorious guerilla leaders, Captain Watt, had been captured and shot,⁹⁶ and finally Roslin.⁹⁷ On November 9 Lambert advanced to view Tantallon Castle whither Monk was presently sent; and on the 18th Cromwell himself took a hand in the suppression of these marauders, sending a stern summons to Lord Borthwick, owner and commander of Borthwick Castle:

For the Governor of Borthwick Castle: These

SIR,

I thought fit to send this trumpet to you, to let you know, that if you please to walk away with your company, and deliver the house to such as I shall send to receive it, you shall have liberty to carry off your arms and goods, and such other necessities as you have.

⁹² Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 35. Cp. *Perf. Diurn.* Nov. 23.

⁹³ Nicoll's diary, quoted in Fyfe, *Diaries of Scotland* (Stirling, 1927), p. 178.

⁹⁴ Wariston, *Diary*, pp. 28-29. Elizabeth died on Sept. 8 and the Prince on Oct. 27.

⁹⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 4.

⁹⁶ On Nov. 8. *Ibid.*, Nov. 18-25.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 28.

You have harboured such parties in your house as have basely and inhumanly murdered our men; if you necessitate me to bend my cannon against you, you may expect what I doubt you will not be pleased with. I expect your present answer, and rest,

Edinburgh,
18th Nov. 1650.

Your servant,
O. CROMWELL⁹⁸

This movement was accompanied by other efforts against the west. About the time Cromwell sent his summons, the Earl of Lothian ordered his kinsman, Colonel Kerr, then at Glasgow, to relieve Borthwick, and his refusal⁹⁹ brought on another schism in the Scotch ranks, for, despite a recent warning sent by him to Whalley to expect no "further overtures tending to an accommodation," Kerr's forces were openly accused of being "compliers with the enemy."¹⁰⁰ Hopeless of relief, Borthwick Castle was compelled to surrender upon Cromwell's summons, and Lambert moved southwards to Peebles. Before the surrender, however, Cromwell wrote to Parliament. In a letter said to be dated November 21, he asked for a supply of backs, breasts and pots, and to have Colonel Okey's four troops of dragoons and two of cavalry, already commissioned, formally established as a regiment of horse.¹⁰¹ Although apparently of different date, this may have been part of a letter printed in *Several Proceedings*:

[To a member of the Council of State?]

SIR,

Colonel Monk hath taken Roslan Castle, who surrendered all upon mercy. The enemy hath received lately a ship of arms from Holland into Fife. The Kirk and States great meeting is now at St. Johnstons. The Kirk was hardly drawn thither from Sterling and as I am informed, the States sent them word that if they would not come to their meeting, they should take less heed to them for time to come, whereupon divers ministers (as I hear) are gone away in discontent.

I trust Borthwick Castle will be delivered to us tomorrow, which is a very strong place.

22 Novemb. 1650.

[O CROMWELL.]¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Pr. in *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845), i, 167; Russell, *Life of Cromwell*, ii, 95; *Monthly Review*, new ser. lxxxii, 442; Carlyle, Letter CLII.

⁹⁹ Kerr to Lothian, Nov. 22, *Ancrum and Lothian Correspondence*, ii, 319.

¹⁰⁰ Douglas, p. 170, from Maidment's *Historical Fragments*.

¹⁰¹ Read in Parliament Nov. 29, *C. J.*, vi, 503; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 447. On Nov. 30 the Council ordered two thousand backs, breasts and pots to be sent to Cromwell and voted to write to him to continue Captain Lawson in command of his foot company notwithstanding his employment at sea. *Ibid.*, 448.

¹⁰² Entitled "An extract of a letter from his Excellency the Lord Generall Cromwell in Scotland," in *Several Proceedings*, Nov. 29.

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By this time Cromwell had apparently lost patience with the western Covenanters, and, his arguments having failed, he turned once more to arms. On November 27, leaving his miners, now reinforced by colliers from Derbyshire, still at work,¹⁰³ he led eight cavalry regiments out of Edinburgh toward the west, arranging to meet Lambert at Hamilton on the south bank of the Clyde, where the western army was quartered. Stopping that night at Livingston House, he reached Blackburn at daybreak the next morning; was joined at Kirk of Shotts by another regiment; and so advanced to a point across the river from Hamilton. The position of the Covenanters was protected by Bothwell Brig which was strongly fortified, and the stream not being fordable, the English went into quarters for the night, with Cromwell himself at Windy Hedge. By midnight the Scots had abandoned their position; Lambert failed to appear; and the next morning Cromwell's army began a "sad, cold and very tedious march" back to Edinburgh.¹⁰⁴ This, however, was not the end of the matter. Lambert and Whalley arrived a little later to find Cromwell gone and Hamilton evacuated by Kerr and the five regiments under his command. On his part, Kerr, knowing that Cromwell had retired, determined to attack the English in their quarters in Hamilton, and on the night of November 30-31 he led his men against them; but the moonlight and the frozen ground enabled the English to see and hear their enemies, and the surprise failed. In and out of the streets and closes the fight raged, until morning found the Scots in flight with a hundred dead and another hundred prisoners, among them Kerr himself, wounded in the head and with his right hand shattered.¹⁰⁵

Meanwhile Cromwell had reached Edinburgh, where, in the process of organizing a new regiment under Okey, he signed a commission on December 1 for a certain Francis Cruse as quartermaster in Captain Richard Coombe's troop of horse.¹⁰⁶ There the news of Lambert's victory reached him, and was promptly communicated to Parliament. Despite his expression of sympathy with the "religious people" of Scotland, in such sharp contrast to his earlier observations on the Irish "papists," his relief at the destruction of the western army was apparent and his satisfaction in having now to deal only with the Malignants no less obvious. These, at least, he could destroy with a clear conscience, as he had the papists, and he was scarcely less encouraged by the dissensions among the Scots themselves, for that gave him at once a certain confirmation of his opinion of the justice of his cause, and greater hope for the success of his military opera-

¹⁰³ *Perf. Diurn.*; *Merc. Pol.*

¹⁰⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 13; *Merc. Pol.* Dec. 17.

¹⁰⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 14.

¹⁰⁶ Parchment, signed and sealed, in *S. P. Dom. Interr.*, xi, 109; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 451.

tions. At the same time, his observation concerning Colonel Montgomery who, under the direction of the Committee of Estates, had left Stirling with three thousand horse too late to help Kerr, reveals that only what other men might have called bad luck or bad management, prevented a disaster to the English, and relieved them of the threat of the western army:

*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

SIR,

I have now sent you the results of some treaties amongst the enemy, which came to my hand this day.

The Major-General and Commissary-General Whalley marched a few days ago towards Glasgow, and the enemy attempted his quarters in Hamilton; were entered the town, but by the blessing of God, by a very gracious hand of Providence, without the loss of six men as I hear of, he beat them out; killed about 100; took also about the same number, amongst which are some prisoners of quality, and near 400 horse, (as I am informed), the Major-General being in the chase of them, to whom also I have since sent the addition of a fresh party. Colonel Ker (as my messenger, this night, tells me) is taken; his lieutenant-colonel and one that was sometimes major to Colonel Straughan and Ker's captain-lieutenant. The whole party is shattered, and give me leave to say it, if God had not brought them upon us, we might have marched 3000 horse to death, and not have lighted on them. And truly it was a strange Providence brought them upon him.

For I marched from Edinburgh on the north side of Clyde; appointed the Major-General to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the south side of Clyde. I came thither by the time expected; tarried the remainder of the day, and until near seven o'clock the next morning, apprehending the Major-General would not come by reason of the waters. I being retreated, the enemy took encouragement; marched all that night, and came upon the Major-General's quarters about two hours before day; where it pleased the Lord to order as you have heard.

The Major-General and Commissary-General (as he sent me word) were still gone on in the prosecution of them; and saith that, except 150 horse in one body, he hears they are fled, by 16 or 18 in a company, all the country over. Robin Montgomery was come out of Stirling, with four or five regiments of horse and dragoons, but was put to a stand when he heard of the issue of this business. Straughan and some other officers had quitted some three weeks or a month before this business, so that Ker commanded this whole party in chief.

It is given out that the malignants will be all (almost) received, and rise unanimously and expeditiously. I can assure you, that those that serve you here find more satisfaction in having to deal with men of that stamp than others; and it is our comfort that the Lord hath hitherto made it the matter of our prayers, and of our endeavours (if it might have been the will of God), to have had a Christian understanding between those that fear God in this land and ourselves. And yet we hope it hath not been carried on with a willing

failing of our duty to those that trust us, and I am persuaded the Lord hath looked favourably upon our sincerity herein, and will still do so; and upon you also, whilst you make the interest of God's people yours.

Those religious people of Scotland that fall in this cause, we cannot but pity and mourn for them, and we pray that all good men may do so too. Indeed there is at this time a very great distraction, and mighty workings of God upon the hearts of divers, both ministers and people, much of it tending to the justification of your cause. And although some are as bitter and as bad as ever, making it their business to shuffle hypocritically with their consciences and the Covenant, to make it lawful to join with Malignants, which now they do, (as well as they might long before) having taken in the head of them; yet truly others are startled at it, and some have been constrained by the work of God upon their consciences, to make sad and solemn accusations of themselves, and lamentations in the face of their supreme authority, charging themselves as guilty of the blood shed in this war, by having a hand in the Treaty at Breda, and by bringing the King in amongst them. This lately did a Lord of the Session, and withdrew [from the Committee of Estates].¹⁰⁷ And lately Mr. James Leviston,¹⁰⁸ a man as highly esteemed as any for piety and learning, who was a Commissioner for the Kirk at the said Treaty, charged himself with the guilt of the blood of this war, before their Assembly, and withdrew from them, and is retired to his own house.

It will be very necessary, to encourage victuallers to come to us, that you take off customs and excise from all things brought hither for the use of the army.

I beg your prayers, and rest,
Edinburgh,
4 Decemb. 1650.

Your humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.¹⁰⁹

With the overthrow of Kerr's forces and the capture of their leader, Cromwell's position was far more secure than it had been a fortnight earlier and his problem greatly simplified. It seems from various documents of this period that he was being reinforced in preparation for his next campaign. Six days after his report to Parliament of the destruction of the western army, he sent another letter to that body,

¹⁰⁷ Sir James Hope of Hopetoun. See his letter to Lothian asking for a pass out of Scotland. *Ancrem and Lothian Corresp.*, ii, 325-6. Soon after this the Laird of Swinton went still further and allied himself with Cromwell.

¹⁰⁸ This should be Rev. John Livingston.

¹⁰⁹ Pr. in *Sev. Proc.*, Dec. 13; *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 16; *Merc. Pol.*, Dec. 12; *A True Relation of a Second Victory*; *Parl. Hist., Cromwelliana*, pp. 94, 95. Carlyle CLIII, Apparently enclosed, and pr. in *Perf. Diurn.*, is a Declaration of the Committee of Estates and Charles concerning the Remonstrance of the Western Army. It apparently contained also a request to have Colonel Syler sent immediately, but when the Committee for Scotch Affairs censored the letter for the newspapers that part was deleted. The same day this letter was read in Parliament (Dec. 10) a letter was read in Council which contained not only the request for Syler but the material in the last paragraph of the pr. letter, and the Com. for Scotch Affairs with the help of Sec. Frost was to consider what parts were "fit to be printed." *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), pp. 465-6; *C. J.*, vi, 507.

with a "paper of intelligence,"¹¹⁰ and probably shortly thereafter two more letters. Their dates are unknown but they had to do, in part at least, with the "recruiting of the captain's companies, which marched with Major Audley into Scotland, and concerning 100 l. to be repaid him, which he advanced to the troop of Surrey gone to Scotland."¹¹¹ To this reinforcement was soon added another of a different character. From Hamilton, Lambert had gone to Glasgow¹¹² and thence returned to Edinburgh, taking with him Strachan, who having failed to rally the fugitives of Kerr's army, had given himself up. Thus, with the leaders of the western Covenanters in his hands, their army destroyed, and the guerilla war of the moss-troopers coming under control, with the exception of Edinburgh Castle and a few moss-trooping strongholds, all of Scotland south of the Forth and Clyde was in Cromwell's power.¹¹³

EDINBURGH CASTLE

It was, therefore, against Edinburgh Castle that his whole strength was now turned. Despite the aid of the Derbyshire miners, the project of blowing up that great stumbling-block to his further military operations had failed of its object,¹¹⁴ and he resorted to siege-artillery. Two large mortars brought by sea from London,¹¹⁵ with other ordnance, were set in place on the north side of the hill; and when, on December 12, the guns were all in place, Cromwell sent a summons to Dundas:

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These

SIR,

We being now resolved (by God's assistance) to make use of such means as He hath put into our hands towards the reducing of Edinburgh Castle, I thought fit to send you this summons.

What [are] the grounds of our relation to the glory of God and the common interest of His people, we have often expressed in our papers tendered to public view, to which though credit hath not been given by men, yet the Lord hath been pleased to bear a gracious and favourable testimony; and hath not only kept us constant to our professions, and in our affections to such as fear

¹¹⁰ Read in Parliament Dec. 18, C. J., vi, 511.

¹¹¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 475. Letters referred to the Scotch Committee.

¹¹² Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 36.

¹¹³ *Merc. Pol.* Lambert arrived in Edinburgh on the 17th. *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 16-23, 23-30.

¹¹⁴ "Battray . . . will be a probabler course than mining in regard to the rock." Letter, Dec. 4, in *Merc. Pol.* On Jan. 25 the Council of State issued a warrant to Captain Peter Cornelius for £25 to defray his and eight gunners' expenses in special services for Cromwell, to be deducted from Cromwell's incidental expenses. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 538.

¹¹⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 9-16.

the Lord in this nation, but hath unmasked others of their pretences, as appears by the present transactions at St. Johnstons. Let the Lord dispose your resolutions as seemeth good to Him; my sense of duty presseth me, for the ends aforesaid, and to avoid the effusion of more blood, to demand the rendering of this place to me upon fit conditions.

To which expecting your answer this day, I rest,

Edinburgh,

December 12, 1650.

Sir, your servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁶

Dundas replied in a form long familiar to Cromwell, that he must first consult with his superiors, under whose orders he held the castle, and asked for ten days' time.¹¹⁷ Since the Castle had been so closely blockaded that its defenders had not heard the news of recent happenings, Cromwell refused Dundas' request to communicate with the Estates, but referred him to "them you dare trust, at a nearer distance than St. Johnstons." This doubtless refers to men like Strachan whose political and religious principles were not unlike those of Dundas; and Cromwell may have hoped that the recent leader of the Covenanters, or some of his colleagues, might win over the commander of the Castle. It seems fairly apparent that, behind the scenes, Cromwell's maneuvers and negotiations among the Scottish parties, especially with the Covenanters, were even more important than his military operations. There were many of these now in Edinburgh, some taken at Dunbar, others since, and Cromwell had evidently been in close touch with them. He had already won over Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, and possibly others, and with this had driven a wedge between the Scottish parties.

Nor was this surprising. Both religiously and politically such men were nearer the position of the Independents than that of the Cavaliers, and it only remained to convince them that the claims of religion and even politics were superior to allegiance to a "malignant" king and his supporters. If Cromwell could gain these men by diplomacy, his victory was half won; and in consequence his letters to Dundas, unlike his usual correspondence with the commander of a besieged fortress, were more religious than military, more persuasive than peremptory:

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These

SIR,

It concerns not me to know your obligations to those that trust you. I make no question the apprehensions you have of your abilities

¹¹⁶ The original of this and following letters are in Welbeck Abbey; copies amongst Baker Mss., vol. 35. Pr. in *A Letter from the Lord General . . . Together with Passages between his Excellency and the Governors, etc.*; *Sev. Proc.* Dec. 24; *Cromwelliana*, p. 97, Carlyle, CLIV. The "present transactions" was the readmission of the Malignants.

¹¹⁷ Pr. in *A Letter to the Lord General*; also with all the succeeding letters in *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 23-30; *Sev. Proc.* Dec. 24.

to resist those impressions which shall be made upon you, are the natural and equitable rules of all men's judgments and consciences in your condition; except you had taken an oath beyond a possibility. I leave that to your consideration, and shall not seek to contest with your thoughts; only I think it may become me to let you know, you may have honourable terms for yourself and those with you, and both yourself and the soldiers have satisfaction to all your reasonable desires; and those that have other employments, liberty and protection in the exercise of them. But to deal plainly with you, I will not give liberty to you to consult your Committee of Estates, because I hear those that are honest amongst them enjoy not satisfaction, and the rest are now discovered to seek another interest than they have formerly pretended to. And if you desire to be informed of this, you may, by them you dare trust, at a nearer distance than St. Johnstons.

Expecting your present answer, I rest, Sir,

Edinburgh,

12 December 1650.

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁸

To this Dundas replied, asking once more for permission to communicate with the Estates, but consenting to "hear information of late proceedings from such as he dare trust."¹¹⁹ Though two or three shots came from the Castle that evening, and he hung out a flag of defiance,¹²⁰ the next morning he accepted Cromwell's proposal. To his note of acceptance Cromwell replied, making much of the betrayal of the Covenanters by the Estates under the influence of the Malig-nants.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These

SIR,

Because of your strict and solemn adjuration of me, in the fear and name of the living God, that I give you time to send to the Committee of Estates¹²¹ to whom you undertook the keeping of this place under the obligation of an oath, as you affirm, I cannot but hope that it is your conscience, and not policy, carrying you to that desire, the granting of which, if it be prejudicial to our affairs, I am as much obliged in conscience not to do, as you can pretend cause for your conscience' sake to desire it

Now considering our merciful and wise God binds not His people to actions so cross one to another; but that our bands may be,¹²² as I am persuaded they are, through our mistakes and darkness, not only in the question about the surrendering this Castle, but also in all the present differences. I have so much reason to believe that, by a Conference, you may be so well satisfied, in point of fact, of your estates¹²¹ (to whom you say you are obliged) carrying on an interest destructive and contrary to what they professed when they

¹¹⁸ Pr. in *A Letter from the Lord General; Perf. Diurn.; Sev. Proc.*; Carlyle, CLV, from original at Welbeck

¹¹⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 23-30; *Sev. Proc.* Dec. 24.

¹²⁰ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 23, 26; *Merc. Pol.*, Dec. 23, 25.

¹²¹ "States" in orig.

¹²² our restrictions are caused.

committed that trust to you; having made to depart from them many honest men through fear of their own safety,¹²³ and making way for the reception of professed malignants, both into their Parliament and Army; also [that you] may have laid before you such grounds of our ends and aims to the preservation of the interest of honest men in Scotland as well as England, as will (if God vouchsafe to appear in them) give your conscience satisfaction, which if you refuse, I hope you will not have cause to say that we are either unmindful of the great Name of the Lord which you have mentioned, nor that we are wanting to answer our profession of affection to those that fear the Lord; I am willing to cease hostility, for some hours, or convenient time to so good an end as information of judgment, and satisfaction of conscience;¹²⁵ although I may not give liberty for the time desired, to send to the Committee of Estates and at all stay the prosecution of my attempt.

Expecting your sudden answer, I rest,

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹²⁶

Edinburgh, Decemb. 13, 1650.

It was highly necessary for Cromwell's purposes to keep Dundas from communicating with the Committee of Estates, partly because that body would almost certainly have forbidden the surrender of the Castle, and partly, perhaps, because they would have been able to convince Dundas that there was no such breach as Cromwell intimated, as was evidenced by the disbanding of the Malignants. Of this Dundas was probably ignorant. But the exchange of letters and what the modern world would call "propaganda" did not interrupt military operations. The English guns began to play upon the Castle,¹²⁷ and on the morning of December 14, a "High German" officer, one Captain Augustine, who had been "purged" out of the army before Dunbar and had since been leading raids of moss-troopers on the English posts, headed a desperate attempt at relief. Coming from Fife with a hundred and twenty horse, he forced Cromwell's guards, killed, according to Balfour, some eighty men, captured some others and their horses, and managed to enter the Castle with thirty-six men, bringing with them "all sorts of spices and some other things"¹²⁸ in one of the most daring exploits of the war.

Despite this, early that morning Dundas asked for permission to name the informants to be sent in to advise him, and Cromwell consented to his request:

¹²³ Swinton, Strachan, Hope of Hopetoun, &c.

¹²⁴ "but" *in orig.*

¹²⁵ Signed only by Cromwell.

¹²⁶ See footnote of Dec. 12 letter.

¹²⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 23, 26; *Merc. Pol.*, Dec. 23, 25.

¹²⁸ Balfour, iv, 209, 210.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These

SIR,

You will give me leave to be sensible of delays out of conscience of duty.

If you please to name any you would speak with now in town, they shall have liberty to come and speak with you for one hour, if they will, provided you send presently. I expect there be no loss of time. I rest,

Edinburgh,

Your servant,

14 Decemb. 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹²⁹

Dundas asked for Alexander Jaffray, the Provost of Aberdeen, and the Reverend John Carstairs of Glasgow.¹³⁰ The first was a Quaker who had been wounded and captured at Dunbar and had since then had many conversations with Cromwell; the other was the minister of Cathcart near Glasgow and had, like Jaffray, been taken prisoner at Dunbar, and like him was later exchanged. Both men were then in Edinburgh, and their letters¹³¹ declining the mission to Dundas were enclosed with Cromwell's next communication, written the same day:

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These

SIR,

Having acquainted the gentlemen with your desire to speak with them, and they making some difficulty of it, have desired me to send you this enclosed. I rest, Sir,

Edinburgh,

Your servant,

14 December, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹³²

Negotiations thus at a stand, with Dundas' red flag flying, bombardment with mortars and great guns began in earnest. At the first or second volley the defenders' most effectively placed gun was dislodged, leaving them only two in a position to use, while burning timbers thrown over the walls showed the English that their well-directed fire was doing great damage in the castle itself.¹³³ The next day was Sunday, with apparently little activity on either side, and on Monday a snow-storm hid the Castle from view. Cromwell took that opportunity to write a letter to Westminster of whose contents we know nothing,¹³⁴ and on the day following, in his capacity as Lord

¹²⁹ See footnote, letter of Dec. 12.

¹³⁰ These two prisoners had been sent by Cromwell to the Western Army to try to win over Kerr and Strachan. Jaffray was, during the Protectorate, a loyal and important Cromwellian. See also Cromwell's letter, Jan. 17, 1650-1.

¹³¹ Pr. with the rest of the correspondence.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 26; *Sev. Proc.*, Dec. 24.

¹³⁴ Read in Parliament Dec. 24, C. J., vi, 514. Probably addressed to Scot, as "Mr. Scot's letter" was to be read in Parliament that day by Mr. Bond. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 479.

Lieutenant of Ireland, he wrote another concerning the inhabitants of Cork in reference to a letter directed to him from that city.¹³⁵ On the 17th the bombardment was resumed with such effect that on the next day Dundas begged for a cessation for a given period, at the end of which, if he had not been relieved, he agreed to surrender. Ignoring the plea for a cessation, Cromwell offered to treat immediately:

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These

SIR,

All that I have to say is shortly this: that if you will send out commissioners by eleven o'clock this night, thoroughly instructed and authorised to treat and conclude, you may have terms, honourable and safe to you, and those whose interests are concerned in the things that are with you. I shall give a safe-conduct to such whose names you shall send within the time limited, and order to forbear shooting at their coming forth and going in.

To this I expect your answer within one hour, and rest, Sir,

Edinburgh,

December 18th, 1650.

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁶

The governor agreed at once, asking for a safe conduct for his two commissioners, Major Andrew Abernathie, his second in command, and Captain Robert Henderson, which request Cromwell granted:

To all Officers and Soldiers under my Command

You are on sight hereof to suffer Major Andrew Abernathie and Captain Robert Henderson to come forth of Edinburgh Castle, to the house of Mr. — Wallace in Edinburgh, and to return back into the said Castle, without any trouble or molestation.

Given under my hand, the 18th December 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹³⁷

The safe-conduct was enclosed in a letter from the General:

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These

SIR,

I have, here enclosed, sent you a safe conduct for the coming forth and return of the gentlemen you desire; and have appointed and

¹³⁵ Enclosing a letter from Cork directed to him. Read in Parliament Dec. 31, and referred by the Council to a committee. *C. J.*, vi, 517; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650) p. 489.

¹³⁶ See footnote, letter of Dec. 12.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* The pamphlet "A Letter from the Lord Generall" says this pass is directed to Col. Monk and Lieut. Col. White, who were Cromwell's commissioners for the treaty.

authorised Colonel Monk and Lieutenant-Colonel White to meet with your Commissioners, at the house in the safe-conduct mentioned: there to treat and conclude of the capitulation on my part. I rest, Sir,
 Edinburgh,
 December 18th, 1650.

Your servant,
 O. CROMWELL.¹³⁸

After an all night session in the house of a Mr. Wallace, the commissioners came to an agreement and signed articles for the surrender of the Castle, the garrison to march out on December 24, eight miles, and there lay down their arms.

Articles treated of, concluded and agreed upon by Major Andrew Abbernethe, and Capt. Robert Henderson of the one party, on the behalf of Walter Dundasse, Esquire, Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh: and by Colonel George Monk, and L. Col. Francis White on the other party, on the behalf of the said Castle, according to the Articles ensuing.

1. That the Castle of Edinburgh, with cannon, arms, ammunition, and magazines, and furniture of war (except what shall be excepted in the ensuing Articles, be rendered to his Excellency the Lord Gen. Cromwell, or whom he shall appoint, on Tuesday next being the 24 of this present December, by 12 of the clock, without wilful spoil or embezzlement.

2. That the Public Registers, public movables, private evidences, and writs be transported to Fife or Sterling; and that waggons and ships be provided for the transporting of them.

3. That for all the goods in the Castle, belonging to any person whatsoever, an edict may be proclaimed to the people of Edinburgh, to come [and] own and receive their own; and if any be at a farther distance or dead, a place may be provided in the Town of Edinburgh for keeping the same until they be owned, and after owning they have liberty to carry them where they please.

4. That all persons whatsoever not belonging to the garrison, as men, women and children, may have liberty to go whither they will without trouble, and there have the free exercise of their callings and employment with safety, both to themselves and goods.

5. That the Governor of the said Castle, and all military officers, commanders and souldiers, of whatsoever condition (none excepted) may depart without any molestation with their arms and baggage, with drums beating, and colours flying, matches lighted at both ends, and ball in their mouths, as they usually are wont to march, and all their goods with a free conduct, to Brunt Island in Fife; or if any of the foresaid persons desire to transport themselves and goods any where else for their greater conveniency, it may be with freedom granted.

6. That all officers, and souldiers, as well sick as hurt, shall have free liberty to remain in Edinburgh till they recover, and to enjoy the benefit of these articles.

¹³⁸ See footnote, letter of Dec. 12.

7. That the number of horse and wagons, as many as the Governor shall need for his own particular use, as also for the officers and souldiers, shall be sent them for the carrying of the aforesaid baggage to the aforesaid places.

8. That Capt Lieut. Car, Lieut. Stretton, Thomas Brindy Gunner, and Patrick Summerall Gunner be sent to his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell this present Thursday, by 12 of the clock for hostages, for the performance of the aforewritten Articles and that the General shall keep sentinels about the Castle under the Rock.

ANDREW ABBERNETHE,
R. HENDERSON.

I do approve, ratify, and confirm the Articles above written.

W. DUNDASSE.¹³⁹

An identical document was probably signed by Cromwell and his two representatives, one of whom, incidentally, seems to have been that Francis White, who, as a Major and Agitator, had been expelled from the Army Council in 1647 for declaring that the only visible authority in the kingdom was the power of the sword.

The natural and inevitable result of the surrender of Edinburgh Castle was the violent denunciation of Dundas by his fellow-countrymen, nor were grounds lacking for the feeling that he had betrayed his trust. The supplies of food and ammunition in the Castle were far from exhausted and the defence was at best half-hearted. Nicoll observes that the place was given up against the advice of all the ministers, and, what is more important, that of many soldiers.¹⁴⁰ It is apparent that it was a triumph of argument even more than of arms. Dundas' known leanings toward the extreme Covenanters and the belief that Strachan, on his arrival in Edinburgh, undertook to "agent the rendering of the Castle with his dear comrade, young Dundas,"¹⁴¹ were alleged as the reasons for the tame surrender of a fortress which, if not impregnable, should have occupied Cromwell for many months longer. It has been suggested that Augustine's exploit contributed to this result by bringing in news of an alliance between the King and the enemies of the Kirk,¹⁴² but in view of the real situation and of Augustine's previous record this seems less probable than that the influence of Strachan and his kind was at work.

Considering the enormous advantage he gained, Cromwell could well afford the generous terms he granted. Not only were the Scots per-

¹³⁹ Printed in *The Articles of the rendition of Edinburgh Castle to the Lord Generall Cromwel, and the manner of the enemies marching out*, in *Perfect Diurnall*, Dec. 30-Jan. 6; in *Several Proceedings*, Dec. 31; and *Mercurius Politicus*, Dec. 26.

¹⁴⁰ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 38.

¹⁴¹ Baillie, iii, 125.

¹⁴² Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, i, 382.

mitted to remove the public records, but the townspeople of Edinburgh were allowed to take away great stores of silver and other valuables which had been deposited in the Castle for safe-keeping and would have made rich booty for the English soldiers. These stipulations were carried out with the greatest care and to ensure their performance a proclamation was issued making plundering or the countenancing of plundering a capital offence:

PROCLAMATION

To be proclaimed by the Marshal-General, by beat of drum, in Edinburgh or Leith

WHEREAS there is an agreement of articles by treaty concluded betwixt myself and Colonel Walter Dundas, Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, which doth give free liberty to all inhabitants adjacent, and all other persons who have any goods in the said Castle, to fetch forth the same from thence:

These are therefore to declare, that all such people before mentioned who have any goods in the Castle, as is before expressed, shall have free liberty between this present Thursday the 19 instant and Tuesday the 24, To repair to the Castle, and to fetch away their goods, without let or molestation. And I do hereby further declare and require all officers and soldiers of this army, That they take strict care, that no violation be done to any person or persons fetching away their goods, and carrying them to such place or places as to them seemeth fit. And if it shall so fall out that any soldier shall be found willingly or wilfully to do anything contrary hereunto, he shall suffer death for the same. And if it shall appear that any officer shall, either through connivance or otherwise, do or suffer anything contrary to and against the said Proclamation, wherein it might lie in his power to prevent or hinder the same, he the said officer shall likewise suffer death.

Given under my hand the 19 of Decemb. 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁴³

Two days before the issue of this proclamation, on December 17, Haselrig and Scot, the head of the Intelligence service, had arrived;¹⁴⁴ and while Cromwell waited for the rendition of the Castle, he discussed the situation of affairs with them, wrote letters and issued warrants¹⁴⁵ for the pay of his men from the £60,000 which the frigate *President* had just brought. Of these warrants, one, for Monk's regiment, has survived:

¹⁴³ Pr. in *The Articles of Agreement*, etc.; *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 23-30. Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, *Leyborne-Popham Mss.*, p. 79. On the back of the copy in the Leyborne-Popham Mss. is the draft of Mrs. Moss' petition to Charles written by William Clarke. See p. 383.

¹⁴⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 23-30. See Haselrig's report to Parliament, Jan. 23, (*C. J.*, vi, 527) recommending the appointment of commissioners to Scotland to handle taxation etc.

¹⁴⁵ Council of State's warrant to the Treasurers-at-War to send £35,000 besides £25,000 before ordered to Yarmouth. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 566.

[To the Treasurers at War?]

These are to desire you forthwith out of the money remaining in your hands, ordered to be sent down for payment of the forces under my command in Scotland to pay unto Major Holmes the sum of one thousand, one hundred and ten pounds fourteen shillings and sixpence upon account, being for 28 days pay for the officers and soldiers in Colonel Monk's regiment of foot, according to the muster of the ninth of September last with the allowance of two pence per diem for each non-commissioned officer and private soldier for billett money and additional pay according to the resolves of parliament of the 12th of May last. And for so doing this warrant together with the said Major Holmes receipt shall be your sufficient discharge.

Given under my hand the 21st of December 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁴⁶

The Parliamentary commissioners came at a fortunate moment. Their chief business was to inform themselves of the conditions in Scotland, and especially to discover whether there was any hope of extracting revenue from that part of the kingdom held by the English troops. On the strength of Cromwell's suggestion they presently recommended to Parliament the appointment of commissioners to handle the question of taxation and like matters,¹⁴⁷ and on December 20 took their leave, escorted three miles out of the city by the General.¹⁴⁸ Thence he turned back to Edinburgh to catch up with his correspondence and to make the final preparations for the rendition of the Castle.

The letters which he wrote at this time have not survived but replies to two of them give an idea of part of their contents. One was apparently to his wife complaining that she wrote too infrequently, which brought a reply—the only letter of hers extant—assuring him that she wrote three to his one and telling him that he should “think to writ sometimes to your deare frend me Lord Chef Justes [St. John] of whom I have oftune put you in mind,” and adding, with wifely prerogative, “And truly, my deare, if you would think of what I put you in mind of sune, it might be to ase much purpos ase others, writting sumetims a letter to the Presidnt, and sumetime to the Speikeir. Indeid, my dear, you canenot think the rong you doue yourself in the whant of a letter, though it were but seldume.”¹⁴⁹

The second was to the Scoutmaster General asking him to report on the character and activities of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Dolman, of the Dutch army. Rowe made various inquiries about this officer whose reputation was indifferently good. Although he was said

¹⁴⁶ Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, 73. Printed in Godfrey Davies, *Early History of the Coldstream Guards*, App. III, p. 120. (1924).

¹⁴⁷ On Mar. 5, Col. John Hobart, Col. Vincent Potter and Richard Saltonstall were appointed commissioners in accordance with Cromwell's suggestion. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 71.

¹⁴⁸ *Merc. Pol.*, Jan. 4; *Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 6.

¹⁴⁹ Mrs. Cromwell's letter is in Nickolls, *Original Letters*, p. 40.

to have been consorting with a group of "witts"—Tom Challoner,¹⁵⁰ Harry Nevill "and that gangue"—he was considered by many to be a sober and able man, and seemed willing to go to Ireland on some mission concerning the Intelligence service. He was, however, an officer in Colonel John Cromwell's regiment in the Netherlands and would require some assurance that his promotion there would not be prejudiced.¹⁵¹

Still another letter written at this time was to Sir Henry Vane, telling of the rendition of Edinburgh Castle and of supplies needed. In Vane's reply he mentioned some reports, apparently reflecting on Cromwell, which, he remarked, "I make account you will laugh att sufficiently when you reade them, but your good successe will settle all right againe, and cause your temporizing freinds to hold faire with you; and your reall freinds will participate with you in all your changes. Whatever the thoughts or jealousys of men bee."¹⁵²

While Cromwell's real and "temporizing" friends discussed him, the Castle was handed over to him at eleven o'clock on the day set, and he reported it immediately, enclosing the correspondence that had passed between him and Dundas:

[For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These]

SIR,

It hath pleased God to cause the Castle of Edinburgh to be surrendered into our hands, this day about eleven o'clock. I thought fit to give you such account thereof as I could, and the shortness of time would permit.

I sent a summons to the Castle upon the 12th instant; which occasioned several exchanges of returns and replies, which, for their unusualness, I also thought fit humbly to present to you. Indeed the mercy is very great and

¹⁵⁰ Challoner was a member of the Council of State and was re-elected in February. See his letter of intelligence, perhaps to Scot, in which he sends messages to Cromwell and Haselrige, who with Scot was in Edinburgh at this time. Nickolls, *op. cit.*, p. 42-43.

¹⁵¹ Dolman was employed by the Dutch in negotiating peace early in 1653. He later received a pension from Cromwell for intelligence but was probably instead of being a supporter of Cromwell's, opposed to him. Thurloe, *State Papers, passim*. Colonel Cromwell was also in London at this time trying to clear his estate of his "vicious" abandoned wife's interest in it, and on Jan. 1 he wrote to Cromwell asking him to put in a word in his behalf. Letter in Nickoll's *Original Letters*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁵² Vane to Cromwell, Dec. 28, Nickoll's, *op. cit.*, p. 40. A month earlier a scandal had been passing around: "Yesterday Col. Barkstead was busy examining of a business of scandal upon his Excellency the Lord G. C. and himself. A woman of ill report gave out that [Cromwell] had been often with her, and bragged up and down of it, and that he used to give her 20 s. a time." Col. Barkstead gave her 40 s. a time. The story was sent to Clarke, Cromwell's secretary, by Thomas Margetts, Judge Advocate, stationed in London. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.* (Leyborne-Popham MSS.), p. 79.

seasonable. I think, I need say little of the strength of the place, which, if it had not come as it did, would have cost very much blood to have attained, if at all to be attained, and did tie up your army to that inconvenience, that little or nothing could have been attempted whilst this was in design, or little fruit had of anything brought into your power by your army hitherto, without it. I must needs say, not any skill or wisdom of ours, but the good hand of God hath given you this place

I believe all Scotland hath not in it so much brass ordnance as this place. I send you here enclosed a list thereof, and of the arms and ammunition, so well as they could be taken on a sudden. Not having more at present to trouble you with, I take leave, and rest,

Sir,

Edinburgh, the 24
of Decemb. 1650

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.

A List of Ordnance &c. in the Castle

Brass pieces. 5 French cannons, or cannons of 7, 9 Dutch half cannon, or 24; two culverins, two demi-culverins, two minions, three half cannons, or 31; two falcons, 28 brass drakes, called monkeys.

Iron guns. The great Iron Murderer called Muckle Megg, 4 iron ordnance, ten iron drakes called monkeys, two petards.

About 7 or 8000 arms, between 3 and fourscore barrells of powder, great store of cannon shot.¹⁵³

Led by its governor, the garrison marched out of the Castle on December 24. Dundas, according to one account moved by "Cromwell's nobleness," but according to another fearing to face his superiors, turned back after seeing his men safely out of the city and took supper with the Lord General in Moray House.¹⁵⁴ With his surrender the Covenanting resistance was, in effect, at an end. The soldiers of the garrison were imprisoned as soon as they arrived in Fife by the infuriated King and Committee. At the same time Wariston and Cassilis were reported to have deserted the royal cause, and Cromwell gave Wariston a pass to enter the English lines in his capacity as Keeper of the Scottish Records, which he did two days after Christmas.¹⁵⁵ That festival, though not celebrated as such by the sectaries, was held as a Day of Thanksgiving,¹⁵⁶ and Cromwell wrote to Colonel Hacker, who was endeavoring from his headquarters at Peebles to put down the remaining moss-troopers:

¹⁵³ Pr. in *Perf. Diurn.* Dec. 30; *Merc. Pol.* Jan. 1; *Sev. Proc.*, Dec. 26-Jan. 2; *Cromwelliana*, p. 99; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xix, 449-50; cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 13, Portland Mss. i, 546. Read in Parliament on Dec. 31 and the messenger was given £50. *C. J.*, vi, 516.

¹⁵⁴ *Perf. Diurn.* Jan. 13, *Merc. Pol.* Dec. 28.

¹⁵⁵ *Merc. Pol.* Dec. 28; *Per. Diurn.* Jan. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 40.

For Francis Hacker, at Peebles or elsewhere: These

SIR,

I have [made *erased*] the best consideration I can, for the present, in this business; and although I believe Captain Hubbert is a worthy man, and here so much, yet, as the case stands, I cannot, with satisfaction to myself and some others, revoke the commission I had given to Captain Empson, without offence to them, and reflection upon my own judgment.

I pray let Captain Hubbert know I shall not be unmindful of him, and that no disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to me about Empson, That he was a better preacher than a fighter or soldier, or words to that effect. Truly I think he that prays and preaches best will fight best. I know nothing [that] will give like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ will; and I bless God to see any in this army able and willing to impart the knowledge they have, for the good of others. And I expect it be encouraged, by all chief officers in this army especially; and I hope you will do so. I pray receive Captain Empson lovingly; I dare assure he is a good man and a good officer; I would we had no worse. I rest,

Your loving friend,

O. CROMWELL.¹⁵⁷

December 25, 1650.

On that day, too, he issued an order—still in existence somewhere—to the Governor of the garrison of Dunse, a town not far from Berwick,¹⁵⁸ and possibly in the same connection, on December 28 he signed a pass for Christian Hamilton, Lady Polwarth, to go to her house near Dunse:

To all Officers and Soldiers under my Command

Suffer the bearer hereof, the Lady Polwarth, with her servants and horses, quietly to pass from Edinburgh with seven trunks to her own house at Redbrease in the Mars, without any let or molestation. Given under my hand and seal the 28th day of December 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁵⁹

On the same day he also wrote a letter reporting the death of Colonel Mauleverer and asking financial assistance for his family:

[For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These]

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

It having pleased God to take away by death Colonel John Mauleverer, a very useful member of this army, I thought it requisite to move you on the behalf of his sad widow and seven small children.

¹⁵⁷ Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, ser. 2, iii, 365; from the original in the *Lansdowne Mss.*, 1236, f. 105. A copy is in *Add. Mss.* 6015, f. 24. Pr. in Harris, p. 536; Thomas Cromwell, *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 468. Carlyle, CLXII.

¹⁵⁸ Property of Bryan Palmer, sold by Sotheby in July 1923, catalogue item no. 465.

¹⁵⁹ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.* 14 App. 3, (Marchmont Mss.), p. 96.

I need not say much. His faithfulness in your service, and his cheerfulness to be spent in the same, is very well known. And truly, he had a spirit very much beyond his natural strength of body, having undergone many fits of sickness during his hard service in the field, where he was constant and diligent in his charge; and, notwithstanding the weakness of his body, thought himself bound in conscience to continue to the utmost, preferring the public service before his private relations. And (as I have been credibly informed) his losses by the royal and malignant party have been very great; being occasioned by his appearing with the first in his country for the Parliament.

I have therefore made bold to represent these things before you, that you may timely consider of those that he hath left behind him, and bestow some mark of favour and respect upon them towards their comfortable subsistence. I rest, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Edinburgh, Dec. 28, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁶⁰

This is the last glimpse of Cromwell in this fateful year of 1650; and if he looked back on the events of the preceding twelvemonth, he must have been gratified with its results. He had broken the power of the Irish and at almost the same moment that the General was writing to Lenthall on behalf of Mauleverer, his old antagonist Ormonde was landing in Brittany. Meanwhile as the Royalist Anglo-Irish party withdrew from hostilities, Cromwell had not merely won the battle of Dunbar but he had effectually divided the Covenanters from the King and the Estates and taken the chief stronghold of Scotland. His task there was, as he must have known, more than half accomplished, and, as he had written Lenthall, he was enormously relieved at the success of his arms and arguments in securing Edinburgh Castle at so cheap a price. It is not, perhaps, without significance that the surrender was set for the day before Christmas, and whether as a heathen holiday or a Day of Thanksgiving, it was celebrated by the English invaders as a great step in their journey toward the subjugation of Scotland. There now remained only the King and the Estates, with what aid they could summon from the north, and to the overthrow of these foes Cromwell and his followers now turned their attention.

¹⁶⁰ Carlyle, App. 20 (1) from *Tanner Mss.*, lvi, 241; pr. in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 243, and mentioned in Waylen, *House of Cromwell*, p. 275. Probably written immediately after Mauleverer's death, for on Dec. 24 the Committee at York listed him as a late county commissioner still living. *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 380. Read in Parliament May 21, 1651. *C. J.*, vi, 576. Two letters, one dated Dec. 31, were read in Parliament, referred to the Council of State and by them referred to the Irish and Scotch Committee on Jan. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 520; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 5-6. On Jan. 2 there is an order by the Council of State about two ministers, Lockyer and Strong, going to Scotland according to Cromwell's desire. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3. Among others of the Scotch expedition who died at this time was Cromwell's cook, one Chapman, whose widow and children were voted a sum of £20 by the Council of State on Jan. 24.

CHAPTER IX

THE SPRING CAMPAIGN OF 1651

With the surrender of Edinburgh Castle on December 24, 1650, for the moment military operations in Scotland were at an end save for the efforts of the English to suppress the moss-troopers and occupy the fortified houses and castles which afforded them bases for their operations. It was a welcome respite for the troops and their commander. The weather was bad, the roads were worse, and operations on a large scale, especially those involving the use of artillery, were extremely difficult. Moreover there was some hope that with the main Scots army destroyed and the capital in the hands of the invaders, negotiation might be more effective than war in the disturbed situation of Scotch politics. None the less, it was apparent that military activities were not at an end, nor Scotch resistance broken. The gateway to the north, Stirling, had yet to be taken. The King, the Estates and their General, Leslie, now being reinforced with levies from the north, had yet to be overcome. Moreover Dunbar had not been a wholly unmixed evil for the Royalists. As Clarendon wrote later:

"the King . . . was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; . . . after this defeat they all looked upon the King as one they might stand in need of; . . . and began to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a time for the King's coronation. . . . Some ministers began to preach obedience to the King; the officers who had been cashiered for their malignity talked aloud of the miscarriages in the government, and that the kingdom was betrayed to the enemy for want of confidence in the King, who alone could preserve the nation. . . . So that the King did in a good degree enjoy the fruit of this victory as well as Cromwell"¹

In spite of this optimistic view of the results of Dunbar, the fact remained that the Scots had lost a great part of their man-power and war materials and their resistance was correspondingly weakened by Cromwell's victory. Abroad the position of the Commonwealth was meanwhile correspondingly strengthened. The "sea-Royalists" had been virtually eliminated from the conflict. Driven from Kinsale, where he had been blockaded by Blake until October, Prince Rupert's squadron had taken refuge in Lisbon. He had finally escaped to harry English commerce in the Mediterranean until Blake had all

¹ Clarendon, *History*, xiii, 23.

but destroyed his little fleet. With his two remaining vessels he had found refuge in Toulon, where, at the moment of the surrender of Edinburgh, he was endeavoring to equip another marauding expedition. From him and from Charles II's mother, Henrietta Maria, once such a threat to the revolutionary party but now living in retirement and poverty in Paris, there was nothing to be feared.²

There was little more to be feared from Ireland. Scarcely had Cromwell left that island, when the only considerable force left in the field against the English, that of Owen Roe O'Neill, now led by Emer MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, had been annihilated on June 21 by Coote at Scarrieffhollis. The task of the new Lord Deputy, Ireton, was thus reduced to the capture of various strongholds still in Irish hands and the suppression of scattered bands hardly to be dignified with the name of armies. Within three months five of these strongholds—Tecroghan, Carlow, Waterford, Charlemont and Duncannon Fort had surrendered, and only three—Limerick, Galway and Athlone—remained to be taken. Encouraged by these successes and the dissensions among his enemies, Ireton had advanced to what he anticipated would be an easy victory; but, repulsed from Limerick in October, he had presently gone into winter-quarters at Kilkenny. Yet, though he had not approved himself as a commander in the field, events in the camp of his enemies had worked for him. With their quarrels among themselves and the departure of Ormonde in December, it seemed that Ireton had only to crush the disunited native Irish and drive Ormonde's successor, Clanricarde, from Ireland to reduce the island to subjection.³

Nor was the danger from foreign powers any longer formidable. The death of William II of Orange in November, 1650, relieved the Commonwealth of its most dangerous enemy; for he had been planning with Mazarin an attack first on the Spanish Netherlands, then on England, for the following year. The triumph of the enemies of the Orange party and the accession of John de Witt to the post of Grand Pensionary of the Republic of the United Netherlands, for the time being at least, removed any possibility of aid to the Stuart cause from its most ardent supporter. There was, as it proved, no hope of such an alliance between the two republics as the Commonwealth authorities had dreamed; but in the face of the Franco-Dutch threat, Spain recognized the Commonwealth in December in the hope of using it against the French; so that it now had two potential allies on the Continent. On the other hand, though Mazarin endeavored to come to an arrangement with the Parliament, his emissaries were refused passports and his representatives dismissed.⁴

² See Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*; and Haynes, *Henrietta Maria*.

³ See Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, ch. xxxiii.

⁴ Jusserand, "Angleterre" in *Recueil des Instructions* . . . i, 81 ff.

For the moment there was, however, no danger from France. Disturbed and disrupted by the war of the Fronde, invaded by the Spaniards under Turenne, Mazarin had all he could do to fend off anarchy. At the moment of Cromwell's capture of Edinburgh Castle, he had succeeded in defeating the Spaniards and preserved the monarchy, though within three months he was to be a fugitive. From Sweden, though Christina was crowned in October, 1650, there was nothing to be anticipated, for whatever her own fickle inclinations may have been, the unrest in her kingdom made foreign adventures improbable. As for the other European powers, they were still engaged in binding up the wounds of the Thirty Years' War, and as unprepared as they were disinclined to take part in the restoration of the Stuarts.

Thus, for the time being, the Commonwealth and its General were able to pursue their course undisturbed by threat of foreign aid to their enemies. At home, however, things were not so peaceful. The unreconciled and irreconcilable Royalists were at this moment busy plotting an insurrection while Cromwell was away, and sporadic outbursts had kept the revolutionary government in a state of alarm. The Presbyterians were equally unreconciled, especially to the attack on their Scottish co-religionists; and it seemed not improbable that a reverse to Cromwell's arms, or an invasion of England by the Scots, might well fan the embers of discontent into a flame of resistance which would, conceivably, consume the Commonwealth. In consequence, every effort was made by the government to keep itself informed of the activities of the discontented elements and to keep close watch against the possibility of disturbance while its chief commander and its principal forces were engaged in Scotland.

EDINBURGH

DECEMBER 24, 1650—FEB. 7, 1651

There, meanwhile, all military operations for the time being were at an end. The English commanders found a certain amount of employment for their men in completing the fortifications of Leith and Linlithgow and in repairing and extending those of Edinburgh Castle. Not only were the breaches in the Castle walls made by the siege rebuilt, but the Wayhouse and other buildings were torn down to give the artillery a clear field of fire. Iron guns replaced the six brass pieces known as the "Six Sisters,"⁵ which were sent to England to be recast, and the whole English line was put in a posture of defence. This was the more necessary in that Leslie was strengthening the Scottish position. He had come to an accommodation with the Royalists, for whom indemnity had been proclaimed at Perth. They had laid down

⁵ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 40; *Sen. Proc.*, Jan. 16-23; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* (1651), p. 14.

their arms on November 4 and entered into a treaty with him at Strathbogie. From the north new levies were coming into his army, now no longer in fear of being "purged." He had been training his recruits and little by little had even been pushing his lines southward. Nor were the arms of the spirit neglected. On the day before the English invaders held a day of thanksgiving in Edinburgh, the Scots were called on for a day of fasting; and two days later, on December 26, Charles subjected himself once more to what was becoming the familiar and tiresome ceremony of public humiliation for his sins and those of his father.

With these went the usual incidents and rumors of such a situation. Three Scots were captured for furnishing Cromwell with intelligence,⁶ and it was reported that the General was distributing not a little gold to have Charles murdered. One John Mosse, whom he disowned as a member of his army, was taken in Perth and found guilty of having come as Cromwell's agent to poison the King. Whatever the truth of that charge, though Cromwell disavowed him, that disavowal, while perhaps technically true, was not entirely ingenuous; for Mosse, whether he was actually in the army or not, was the step-father⁷ of its Secretary, Clarke, who drafted the petition for his pardon presented to Charles by Mrs. Mosse. Thanks to that, apparently, his execution was stayed and he was offered in exchange for Sir James Lumsden, formerly lieutenant-general of foot,⁸ who had been taken at Dunbar. The unequal exchange was, however, refused, and Mosse was only freed when the English army finally entered Perth.⁹

As each side thus girded itself for the coming campaign, Cromwell improved the interval by turning once more to argument. Under the circumstances it was obviously futile to address himself again to the Committee of Estates or to Leslie; and though it is impossible to trace all his conversations at this time, enough evidence remains of his activities to indicate his methods and his aims. They were, in effect, to approach the Kirk leaders one by one and, wherever possible, by spoken rather than by written word. He had thus won over Strachan, Kerr, Jaffray¹⁰ and Carstairs; and it is at least possible that he had

⁶ Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 48.

⁷ Elizabeth Mosse to Clarke, Mar. 5, 1652-3, begins "Dear Heart," which explains Clarke's action in drafting the petition. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept. Leyborne-Popham Mss.*, p. 81, 106.

⁸ See list of prisoners in *Ancrum and Lothian Corresp.*, II, 493. On Jan. 11, 1650-1, the Commissioners of Customs were ordered to observe Cromwell's directions concerning Lumsden's goods. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* (1651), p. 10.

⁹ Petition in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Leyborne-Popham Mss.*, p. 81. Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 48.

¹⁰ See *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, pp. 58-9. His frequent conferences with Cromwell, Fleetwood and Owen during his six months in Edinburgh made him see "the sinful mistake of the good men of this nation."

won Dundas by such means. He now looked about for another subject, and found him in the Reverend John Livingston, minister in Ancram, who had been one of the three delegates sent by the Commissioners of the Kirk, with representatives of the boroughs, the barons and the peers, to negotiate with Charles in the preceding March. About the beginning of December, 1650, Livingston had gone to Charles again and declared that all the blood spilt at Dunbar had been the result of that earlier negotiation with the King and it lay so heavily on his conscience that he wished to retire and mourn out the rest of his days.¹¹ Advised of this, Cromwell invited Livingston to come to Edinburgh, enclosing a pass to come and go in safety. Though he gave no definite reason for his invitation, its purpose was evident; but Livingston was too wary to accept. The greatest hazard to which he could expose himself, he wrote Cromwell, was not on the journey, but after his return to those who were not under Cromwell's command, and thus this promising negotiation broke down on the natural fear of the revenge of his fellow-countrymen on those who dealt with the invader.¹² Nor is that surprising; for within a fortnight Strachan had been excommunicated; presently was declared a traitor and had his goods forfeited; and within two years was dead, it was alleged, as a result of this expression of his countrymen's displeasure.

While Cromwell was engaged in seducing men from their allegiance to the King, that King was being crowned. The ceremony had been postponed from time to time, but there seemed no reason for further delay and it was set for January 1, 1651, at the old crowning place for Scottish kings at Scone. Meanwhile the laity had asserted itself over the long clerical dominance. The Scottish Parliament had met on November 26, and though the Kirk had tried to render its decisions invalid by announcing that its own Commission would not meet until a month later, the Parliament replied that in that case it "would be forced to act without their desired advice and concurrence," and with this declaration of independence went on to legislate.¹³ The royal ranks were now enlarged by the readmission of a flood of Royalists and Engagers, and while the Kirk waived its objections to the Acts of Parliament that body now felt strong enough to make sweeping acknowledgments of its sins, and Charles admitted so many sins committed by himself and his father that after it was over he is reported to have said, "I think I must repent too that ever I was born."¹⁴

Thus with all parties united at least in lip-service to King and

¹¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 9-16.

¹² Livingston to Cromwell, Jan. 4, Nickoll, *Orig. Letters*, p. 46. Livingston was minister in Ancram from 1648 to 1662, when he was banished from Scotland.

¹³ Balfour, *Hist. Works*, iv, 179.

¹⁴ Letter from Edinburgh, Dec. 30, *Merc. Pol.*

Covenant, the coronation ceremony took place with what splendor the Scottish treasury could afford. Its proceedings were begun by an interminable sermon from Robert Douglas, the moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly, and said to be the least objectionable to Charles of the ministers. Incongruously enough, as it seemed to many, he spent his time in warning the King to avoid the sins of his ancestors and arguing the right of subjects to resist tyranny. Then, kneeling for prayer, and swearing to uphold the Covenant, while Douglas prayed and exhorted, Argyll placed the crown "made of silver and double gilt"¹⁵ on the King's head; the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay put the sceptre in his hand; all swore fidelity; and after a dignified speech from her new sovereign and another hour of prayer, Scotland had a crowned, but as yet an anointed King.¹⁶ That evening, resplendent in their coronation attire, the company rode back to Perth while the great guns boomed, carrying the news, it is said, as far as Edinburgh, that a king had been crowned. And, hearing them, Cromwell is reported to have said, "They are now crowning the Black boy, but I may get crown and head yet."¹⁷ Thus with the chief "malignants," like Middleton, doing penance in sackcloth, and the chief "protestors," like Strachan, excommunicated, Charles made a further bid for English Presbyterian support by sending Colonel Titus to ask Jermyn and Holles to be his secretaries of state, and to ask his mother's approval of his marriage with Argyll's daughter. Both requests were refused in time, but meanwhile Charles turned to the more congenial task of recruiting his forces to which he devoted himself with tireless energy and no small success. All this naturally came to Cromwell's ears through spies, and he and Lambert passed on their news to the Council of State, which, in turn, transmitted their letters of January 4 and 8 to Parliament:

"On the 1st of January Charles Stuart was crown'd King of Scotland at Scoone. He had great ceremonies of honour from the guns, but less than others from the Kirk and State. He is tied to a stricter Covenant than any of his Predecessors, and is now gone to raise his Standard at Aberdeen. All the Train'd Bands are summoned to be in readiness, and recruits are raising to complete him, if possible, 20,000 Horse and Foot. The Scots now with him lay down religion and make it not a religious war, but a national quarrel. Malignants are the only men now swaying, and a mere Presbyterian cannot be trusted, no not Argyle himself. The new King is to be in the Head of the Army Generalissimo; and under him Duke Hamilton, Lieutenant-General of the Scots whole Army; David Lesley, Major-General; and Middleton,

¹⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 13.

¹⁶ The details of the coronation are all in *Coronation of Charles the Second, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland* (Aberdeen, 1651); repr. *Somers Tracts*, vi, 117-143.

¹⁷ *Chronicles of the Frasers*, edited by Wm. MacKay for the Scottish Hist. Soc. (1905), p. 374.

Lieutenant-General of the Scots Horse. Massey is to have commission to be Major-General of the English. They have chosen all their new colonels, being the most popular and beloved men, with whom we hear the people rise very willingly; so that I think we may certainly conclude they will have a numerous army before long. It is confidently reported they have encouragement, and do intend to send a party for England; which though we shall endeavour to prevent, yet it will be our duty not to be too secure; at least in preventing insurrections and risings in our own bowels, which I conceive is most to be feared.

"We have had great Thoughts how to prevent these new levies, and, if possible, to have contrived a way for our getting over the water; but Providence denying that all this time, makes us wait the Lord's leisure, who will bring it about at a better opportunity."¹⁸

While the events of Coronation Week in Scone and Perth went on, Cromwell was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, with only one dissenting vote, to succeed the Earl of Pembroke who had died a year before.¹⁹ As his duties were thus increased and their scopewidened, William Malyn, the personal secretary who was to serve him throughout the Protectorate, first appears, as the recipient of a letter asking for passports and certificates under Cromwell's hand, for allowing maimed soldiers to pass unmolested from the Savoy Hospital to their homes.²⁰ Besides these duties was the necessity of keeping abreast of the political situation at home and abroad. One of his informants on these matters was Captain George Bishop, who had organized an intelligence service with agents planted in Royalist circles; and presently the Council voted to keep Cromwell advised of matters relating to the preservation of the peace and safety of the Commonwealth. Thus, little by little, in his various capacities, he came more and more to be the center and directing force in the three kingdoms.²¹

Through these and other sources he was advised of the threats to the Commonwealth. Early in December the Royalists had planned an insurrection in Norfolk, but it had been suppressed and its leaders were condemned by a High Court of Justice erected at Norwich for

¹⁸ Reported on Jan. 14 and extract pr. in *Parl. Hist.*, xix, 455-60. See also *Perf. Diurn.* Jan. 14. Lambert's letters in *Portland Mss.* and quoted in W. H. Dawson *Cromwell's Understudy: Life and Times of General John Lambert* (1938), pp. 121-2.

¹⁹ Letter, Jan. 6 in *Merc. Pol.*, Jan. 9. The following November Chief Justice St. John was made Chancellor of Cambridge to replace the ejected Earl of Manchester.

²⁰ Governor of the Hospital to William Malyn, Secretary to Cromwell, Jan. 2, in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 10, App. IV (Essex Mss.), p. 510. Malyn was in Edinburgh in April, *Perf. Diurn.* Apr. 26.

²¹ See Bishop's letters to Cromwell, Dec. 3, 1650 to July 1651, in Nickolls, *Orig. Letters*, p. 33ff. On Jan. 24 the Council of State voted to acquaint Cromwell with intelligence relating to the preservation of peace and the safety of the Commonwealth. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 22-23.

the eastern counties, and were promptly hanged.²² Further rumors of a revolt to be supported by the landing in Kent of Newcastle and von Karpfen with an army of Germans, and of other plots, came to Bishop. These matters were kept quiet, but all large gatherings were prohibited, and on February 4 Captain Nathaniel Rich was ordered into the north of England with "considerable forces of horse and dragoons" to guard against a possible invasion from Scotland.²³

Meanwhile the man who was later to be so successful in this field of intelligence was still, apparently, acting for Cromwell in a private capacity, for on January 14 John Thurloe presented to the Committee for Compounding a petition to recover rents paid to the Monmouth committee on property known as "Crym land," which had been settled on Cromwell by Parliament.²⁴ These were presently repaid;²⁵ but there was little opportunity for Cromwell to attend to his private affairs or to the troubles of the Council of State. Despite the intermission in large military operations, there was much to occupy his time. He had, apparently, been holding conversations with men like Johnston of Wariston, then in Edinburgh, and on January 13 signed a safe conduct for that Covenanter, who as Lord Register, or Keeper of the public records of Scotland, was very busy in preparing to transport those records to Fife under the terms of the surrender of Edinburgh Castle.²⁶ He was still more concerned with the activities of the moss-troopers, among whom that Captain Augustine who had thrown himself into Edinburgh Castle was conspicuous. At the head of some five hundred horse,²⁷ he had been harassing the English outposts, and Cromwell's appeals to Leslie to stop these outrages bringing no relief, he now wrote to Leslie's superiors:

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland: These

MY LORDS,

Having been informed of divers barbarous murders and inhumane acts, perpetrated upon our men by one Augustine, a German in employment under you, and one Rosse, a Lieutenant, I did sent to Lieut.-General David Leslie, desiring justice against the said persons. And to the

²² See Bradshaw's letter, Dec. 24, enclosing proceedings of the trial. Nicholls, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39.

²³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 34, 35.

²⁴ *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 395.

²⁵ On Sept. 15, 1651 the county committee agreed to repay the rentals. *Ibid.*, p. 481. On Aug. 12, 1652, Brereton made a report on a petition of Thurloe's that Chepstow and numerous other lands belonged to Cromwell and his heirs. *Ibid.*, p. 603. Cp. below, p. 406.

²⁶ Balfour, *Historical Works*, iv, 266-7. A safe-conduct signed by Cromwell on Jan. 13 was sold by Sotheby to Maggs in 1916 for £8/5. *Autog. Prices Current*, I. Judging by the price, however, it could hardly be the one to Johnston.

²⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 17.

end I might make good the fact upon them, I was either willing by commissioners on both parts, or in any other equal way, to have the charge proved.

The Lieut.-General was pleased to allege a want of power from public authority to enable him herein, which occasions me to desire your Lordships that this business may be put into such a way as may give satisfaction; whereby I may understand what rules your Lordships will hold during this sad contest between the two nations, which may evidence the war to stand upon other pretences at least than the allowing of such actions will suppose.

Desiring your Lordships' answer, I rest,

My Lords,

Edinburgh,

January 17, 1650[-1].

Your humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.²⁸

With this was enclosed a letter to Leslie in regard to the exchange of three ministers, Carstairs, Jaffray and John Waugh, who were presently exchanged for a captain and seaman of an English ship:²⁹

For the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General David Lesley: These

SIR,

I perceive by your last letter you had not met with Mr. Custaires and Mr. Wauch, who were to apply themselves to you about Provost Jaffray's and their release, for the seamen and officers. But I understood, by a paper since showed me by them under your hand, that you were contented to release the said seamen and officers for those three persons, who have had their discharges accordingly.

I am contented also to discharge the lieutenant, for the four troopers at Stirling, who hath solicited me to that purpose.

I have, here enclosed, sent you a letter which I desire you to cause to be conveyed to the Committee of Estates; and that such return be sent back to me as they shall please to give.

I remain, Sir,

Edinburgh,

January 17, 1650[-1].

Your humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.³⁰

With these negotiations went more active measures against the moss-troopers, Leslie's outposts, and strongholds in the west. A force from Carlisle occupied Dumfries and reduced Kenmure Castle in New Galloway. Colonel Hacker took Kirkcudbright in the same county, a place of the more importance in that it was but six hours' sail from Ireland and had a good harbor.³¹ Finally Colonel Fenwick and Colonel Syler were sent to reduce Hume Castle near the Tweed,

²⁸ Thurloe, *State Papers*, i, 171, from the original in Laigh Parliament House. Carlyle, CLXIV. Augustine was never apprehended and escaped to the Continent after Worcester.

²⁹ *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, p. 58.

³⁰ From the original in the Register House in Edinburgh, *State Papers*, no. 232. Pr. in Thurloe, i, 172; Carlyle, CLXIII.

³¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 30-Jan. 6.

which, with its garrison of three hundred men, Fenwick summoned in Cromwell's name. "I never saw your General, nor knew your General," replied the governor, Colonel Cockburne, "as for Hum Castle it stands upon a rock . . ." This was accompanied, in 'the old spirit of Border war,' with what Fenwick described as a "frivolous thing . . . spread abroad to be returned by him," in the form of a rhyme of a children's play, which, thanks to its absurdity, took its place in Cromwellian chronicles from that day.

"I, William of the Wastle
Am now in my castle,
And awe the dogs in the towne
Shan'd garre me gang downe."³²

But this was not Border war nor child's play. Fenwick was not amused, and despite his brave words, Cockburne was forced to surrender on February 3, as the English commanders by these exploits cleared the way and secured their rear in preparation for the spring campaign. Meanwhile Cromwell occupied himself with such details as fill in a period of comparative inaction. About this time he wrote two letters to Westminster. The subject matter of the first is unknown, though it may have been in regard to the increase in his life-guard from twenty to forty.³³ The other was a recommendation:

[*To the Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of Parliament?*]

Recommending a petition, enclosed, from the Justices of the Peace of Cumberland, signed by Jeremiah Mayo, Jan. 10, 1651, to him asking for a warrant to them for a pension.
Edinburgh, January 28, 1650[-1].

O. CROMWELL.³⁴

On the same day he found it necessary to renew his orders against plundering:

A Declaration, touching the buying of cattle, corn, plate and other merchandizes of soldiers:

Whereas I am informed, that complaints are daily made, that divers people, both English and Scots, and especially Sea-men and mariners, do continue to buy of soldiers, stolen and plundered corn, cattle, household goods, plate, wares, and merchandizes of all sorts, and thereby the lewd and

³² Both letters are in *Merc. Polit.*, Feb. 13; in *Perf. Diurn.*, Feb. 7; and in Carrington, *Hist. of Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 55-6. Cp. *Perf. Pass.*, Jan. 24-31. The rhyme is quoted in *Perf. Diurn.*, Feb. 7, and elsewhere.

³³ On Jan. 31 the Council of State ordered a committee to meet with the army officers and prepare an answer. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651), p. 30. See order for the life-guard of Feb. 5. *Ibid.*, (1651), p. 33; *C. J.*, vi, 530.

³⁴ Letter and petition, with a note of passport, calendared in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Repts.* 10, App. (Essex Mss.), p. 511. Read in Parl. Feb. 18. *C. J.*, vi, 535.

ill disposed part of the Army are encouraged, and do persevere in plundering and stealing, notwithstanding the laws and ordinances of war, (my Proclamation in that case made and provided to the contrary) daily put in execution.

These are therefore to require all manner of persons (as well Scotch as English) that they presume not to buy any cattle, corn, plate, or other merchandizes whatsoever of any soldiers, unless they first have the sale thereof warranted under the hand of a Commission Officer.

And the particulars thereof certified to the Judge Advocate of the Army, who is to cause the same to be registered, without paying any fee.

And if any person shall be found offending contrary hereunto, such person or persons so offending shall be dealt withal, proceeded against, and adjudged equally guilty, and as high punishable, as the persons of whom he or they shall buy any such stolen or plundered goods, and merchandizes as aforesaid.

Given under my hand and seal at Edinburgh, the 28 day of January 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

I appoint this be proclaimed by beat of drum and sound of trumpet in Edinburgh, Leith and elsewhere.

O. CROMWELL.³⁵

To these may be added two other documents of this period; the one a safe-conduct, the other a warrant:

To all Officers and Soldiers under my Command

Suffer the bearers hereof, Mr. Alexander Drake and John Monrow, quietly to pass from Fife to Edinburgh and to return without any let or molestation. Given under my hand the 29th of January, 1650[-1].³⁶

O. CROMWELL.³⁶

To Sir John Wollaston and the other Treasurers-at-War

Desiring them to pay 1000 l. to Mr. William Clarke out of the money in their hands for payment of the forces under his command in Scotland. February 3, 1650[-1].³⁷

It was at this moment, too, that Cromwell had two sets of visitors, each of which testified to his increased and increasing importance in affairs. The first was the medallist Thomas Simon, who had lately engraved the Great Seal of the Commonwealth and was now 'sole chief graver to the mint and seals.' He had been commissioned by Parliament to engrave a medal commemorating the victory at Dunbar, which was to have an "effigy" of Cromwell on one side, and he now came to view his subject and make the necessary sketches. Though Cromwell disapproved of the idea and suggested a different design

³⁵ In *Several Proceedings*, 14 Feb. 1650-1; *Perfect Passages*, 123; Crawford, ii, 354.

³⁶ Original in John Rylands Library, Manchester. Cal. in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Repts.*, 6, App. (T. S. Raffles Mss.), p. 473.

³⁷ Original in South African Library, Cape Town, S. A. Cal. in Waylen, *House of Cromwell* (1st ed.), p. 275. Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 64.

which gave the credit to the army rather than to himself, Simon made such a good impression that Cromwell recommended him for promotion:

For the Honourable the Committee for the Army: These

GENTLEMEN,

It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey, about a business importing so little, as far as it relates to me; whereas, if my poor opinion may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that which I think the most noble end, to wit, the commemoration of that great mercy at Dunbar, and the gratuity to the army, which might better be expressed upon the medal, by engraving, as on the one side the Parliament, which I hear was intended and will do singularly well, so on the other side an army, with this inscription over the head of it, *The Lord of Hosts*, which was our Word that day. Wherefore, if I may beg it as a favour from you, I most earnestly beseech you, if I may do it without offence, that it may be so. And if you think not fit to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause; only I do think I may truly say, it will be very thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my effigies in it.

The gentleman's pains and trouble hither have been very great; and I shall make it my second suit unto you that you will please to confer upon him that employment in your service which Nicholas Briot had before him: indeed the man is ingenious, and worthy of encouragement. I may not presume much, but if, at my request, and for my sake, he may obtain this favour, I shall put it upon the account of my obligations, which are not a few; and, I hope, shall be found ready gratefully to acknowledge, and to approve myself,

Gentlemen,

Edinburgh,
4th of Feb. 1650.

Your most real servant,
O. CROMWELL.³⁸

The other visitors were of far different character, for they brought to Cromwell the news of his election as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and the University seal. He accepted both, but in such words that those who read the letter brought back by their messengers observed that he did "so handsomely *tantum non* refuse it that the *Senatus Acad.* could scarce understand whither he hath received the humble tender of his hand maid; but only because they left the seale with him they inferre he doth":³⁹

³⁸ Pr. from the original in Harris, *Life of Cromwell*, pp. 538-9; and Gough's ed. of Vertue, *Works of Thomas Simon* (1780), p. 74; thence Lomas-Carlyle, CLXV. See Henfrey, *Numismata Cromwelliana*, for an explanation of the circumstances and of the medal, upon which is engraved Cromwell's portrait, scenes of the Parliament and of the army, as well as the words, "The Lord of Hosts." The matter of a gratuity for Simon was referred to the Council of State on Dec. 17, 1651, on the day when £300 was voted him for making two Great Seals. C. J., vii, 51.

³⁹ Thos. Harley to Sir Robert Harley, Feb. 24. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 14 App. (Welbeck Abbey), iii, 192.

To the Reverend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and other Members of the Convocation

HONOURED GENTLEMEN,

I have received, by the hands of those worthy persons of your University sent by you into Scotland, a testimony of very high respect and honour, in choosing me to be your Chancellor, which deserves a fuller return, of deep resentment, value and acknowledgment, than I am any ways able to make. Only give me leave a little to expostulate, on your and my own behalf. I confess it was in your freedom to elect, and it would be very uningenious in me to reflect upon your action; only (though somewhat late) let me advise you of my unfitness to answer the ends of so great a service and obligation, with some thing very obvious.

I suppose a principal aim in such elections hath not only respected abilities and interest to serve you, but freedom to opportunities of time and place. As the first may not be well supposed, so the want of the latter may well become me to represent to you. You know where Providence hath placed me for the present; and to what I am related if this call were off,⁴⁰ I being tied to attendance in another land as much out of the way of serving you as this, for some certain time yet to come appointed by the Parliament. The known esteem and honour of this place is such, that I should wrong it and your favour very much, and your freedom in choosing me, if, either by pretended modesty or in any unbenign way, I should dispute the acceptance of it. Only I hope it will not be imputed to me as a neglect towards you, that I cannot serve you in the measure I desire.

I offer these exceptions with all candour and clearness to you, as most free to mend your choice in case you think them reasonable; and shall not reckon myself the less obliged to do all good offices for the University. But if these prevail not, and that I must continue this honour, until I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers that that seed and stock of piety and learning, so marvellously springing up amongst you, may be useful to that great and glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which so plentiful an effusion of the Spirit upon those hopeful plants is one of the best presages. And in all other things I shall, by the Divine assistance, improve my poor abilities and interests in manifesting myself, to the University and yourselves,

Your most cordial friend and servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.⁴¹

Edinburgh,
Feb. 4, 1650[-1]

With these and a request for two battering-guns which he apparently sent to London about this time,⁴² he turned to prepare for his spring campaign. It was early for such an enterprise, but he was impatient for action. Southern Scotland was now largely cleared of moss-troopers. He had gained much in the preceding year by taking the field while the Irish were still in winter quarters; and circum-

⁴⁰ Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 'for three years to come' (*C. J.*, vi, 239), 22 June 1649

⁴¹ Carlyle, CLXVI, from the Archives of Oxford University.

⁴² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 39.

stances seemed to make a campaign at this time advisable. An attack on Linlithgow on January 11, aided by "tempestuous" weather, had been all but successful and seemed to demand reprisal. On the other hand, as early as December 22 a Scottish captain had brought information to Cromwell that the Presbyterians had deserted the royal cause.⁴³ That seemed confirmed by a report that the Scots in Stirling had mutinied, and their Remonstrance to the Kirk that they preferred to join Cromwell rather than the Malignants was so pro-English that the ministers thought Cromwell must have advised its authors.⁴⁴ Moved by these various considerations, therefore, he planned an advance against the center of Scottish government, operations and supplies, the shire or "kingdom" of Fife.

The way thither was not easy. Stirling still barred the gate to the north and there remained only the passage over the Firth of Forth and the fords over the Forth above Stirling. Hoping to gain Burntisland, opposite Leith, by treachery, Monk led a detachment to within firing distance of that place on January 18, but it held out against him and he was compelled to retire. A naval unit, led by the *President* frigate met with no more success; and, disappointed here, Cromwell turned to the fords above Stirling. On February 4 the army set out for Linlithgow, while Cromwell, first visiting Leith, met them the next day at Falkirk. The weather had been "so tempestuous with wind, hail, snow and rain" that they hardly knew "whether to goe backwards or forwards" but next morning being fair they went on toward Kilsyth, and Cromwell "quartered at the late garrison house" where he had left a garrison in October. But the weather grew worse than ever and on Friday the 7th they faced about and marched back to Linlithgow, and so to Edinburgh, which they reached on Saturday. A detachment of the enemy hurrying back to Stirling had been sighted but the expedition accomplished nothing of military consequence.⁴⁵

CROMWELL'S ILLNESS AND THE ROYALIST PLOT

This had one disastrous and almost fatal result, for Cromwell fell seriously ill from exposure. He took to his bed at once on his return, his ailment being first described as "a little spice of the Countries disease."⁴⁶ On the 11th he was said to be "pretty well," but three successive relapses within the next few weeks sent him to bed. His own report on the 18th, that he was recovering from an attack of

⁴³ *See. Proc.*, Dec. 27.

⁴⁴ Remonstrance, dated Dec. 31, in *Merc. Pol.* Feb. 1.

⁴⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Feb. 15; *Merc. Pol.* Feb. 14; Nicoll, *Diary*, p. 49.

⁴⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, Feb. 17.

intermittent fever,⁴⁷ or ague, which had so troubled him in his youth and was later to prove fatal, was over-optimistic. But his illness did not completely interrupt his work. In the interval between attacks he went on with his correspondence and his plans. A sycophantic communication from Bradshaw which noted the election of a new Council of State, of which he was again president, and Cromwell one of the twenty-one members of the old Council retaining their places, reveals that Cromwell must have written him.⁴⁸ Sick as the General was, he managed to get through a certain amount of correspondence at this time. In these early days of his illness he wrote his first letter to Oxford in his capacity of Chancellor:

*To my very worthy Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the
University of Oxford*

SIR,

This gentleman, Mr. Waterhouse, went over into Ireland as physician to the army there; of whose diligence, fidelity and abilities I had much experience. Whilst I was there, he constantly attended the army; and having, to my own knowledge, done very much good to the officers and soldiers, by his skill and industry; and being upon urgent occasion lately come into England, [he] hath desired me to recommend him for the obtaining of the degree of Doctor in that science. Wherefore I earnestly desire you that, when he shall repair to you, you will give him your best assistance for the obtaining of the said degree; he being shortly to return back to his charge in Ireland.

By doing whereof, as you will encourage one who is willing and ready to serve the public, so you will also lay a very great obligation upon,
Edinburgh, Sir, your affectionate servant,
Feb. 14, 1650[-1]. OLIVER CROMWELL.⁴⁹

Then for some days he was apparently too ill to attend to business but by the 23rd he was able to write a letter:

⁴⁷ A letter of which nothing beyond this can be learned. It was sold by Sotheby's for £25 according to the *Times*, June 1, 1912.

⁴⁸ Bradshaw to Cromwell, Feb. 18, in Nickolls, *op. cit.*, p. 65. The elections on February 7 excluded Fairfax and Marten. *C. J.*, vi, 532-3; Act in *ibid.*, p. 534; *Sev. Proc.*, Feb. 13; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 44. The old members re-elected: Ch. Justice Rolle, St. John, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Haselrig, Sir James Harrington, Sir William Masham, Whitelocke, Sir Henry Vane, Jr., Dennis Bond, Sir Wm. Armin, Col. Valentine Walton, Sir H. Mildmay, Col. Purefoy, Commissioner Lisle, Tho. Scott, John Gurdon, Lord Grey, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Thos. Challoner. The new members: Richard Salwey, Alderman Allen, Robert Goodwin, Wm. Lemman, Maj. Gen. Harrison, Att. Gen. Edm. Prideaux, Widdrington, Serj. John Carew, Sir John Bouchier, Sir John Trevor, Lt. Gen. Fleetwood, Henry Darley, Maj. Tho. Lister, Wm. Cawley, Walter Strickland, Nicholas Love, Wm. Say, John Fielder, Geo. Thompson, Sir Wm. Brereton.

⁴⁹ Carlyle, CLXVII, from the Archives of Oxford University. Dr. Jo. Waterhouse, not to be confused with Cromwell's steward, Nathaniel Waterhouse.

For the Honorable the Justices of Peace for the County of Wilts: These

GENTLEMEN:

Being informed by some officers of the army that the widow Jackman of the Devizes in the County of Wilts (late wife of John Jackman who was a Chirurgeon in my regiment in Ireland and died in that service) is, through loss of her said husband, reduced to a very low condition having a great charge of children. I desire you therefore that you will allow some pension to the said widow for the relief and maintenance of herself and children, which as it will be an act of much charity to the widow and fatherless, so it will also much oblige

Gentlemen,

Your very loving friend,

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁰

Edinburgh, February
the 23rd 1650.

He seems to have rallied somewhat, for two days later he signed a pass for Thomas Stringer, the younger, of Charleston in Yorkshire,⁵¹ and about the same time wrote to Westminster to ask that Colonel Fenwick's regiment be recruited to a strength of sixteen hundred men.⁵² Meanwhile he was drawing more forces into Edinburgh, a hundred horse from Berwick,⁵³ others who had been engaged in suppressing the moss-troopers, and fresh troops from England. Meanwhile, too, Tantallon Castle near Dunbar, which Monk had been besieging for some time, surrendered on February 23,⁵⁴ and Fast Castle a few days later. By the 25th Cromwell's health, though it was reported that he "still continues a little crazy," had improved sufficiently for him to consult with his officers on plans for an advance.⁵⁵ Those plans were aided by the arrival of supplies from London. Though the garrison of Tantallon had succeeded in taking at least one of the supply ships—the *John*, which carried some of Cromwell's personal belongings—and one or two others had gone astray,⁵⁶ some

⁵⁰ Original in the Records of the Quarter Sessions in co. Wilts, *Registers*. Pr. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts. Various Collections*, vol. 1. Below the address is written "Leave this with Mrs. Parker at Fulham." Of like character, possibly, was a petition from one Isabel Brandon sent by the Council of State to Cromwell on February 1 to do with as he pleased. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 32. See also *ibid.*, p. 561, warrant to Isabel Broad for £4/0/0 for her husband's services in Cromwell's barge.

⁵¹ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 10, App. IV, p. 30 (Earl of Westmorland Mss.). Stringer's daughter later married the 6th Earl of Westmorland.

⁵² *C. J.*, vi, 542, 545, 548; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 64. The recruits were sent from Yarmouth, arriving in Leith Apr. 10.

⁵³ *Sev. Proc.*, Mar. 4.

⁵⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, Feb. 29.

⁵⁵ *Sev. Proc.*, Mar. 4; *Merc. Pol.*, Mar. 5. On that day was kept by the officers a day of humiliation for the sins of the army. *Perf. Diurn.*, Mar. 3.

⁵⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, Mar. 3; *Sev. Proc.*, Mar. 4; Balfour, iv, 241-6, 276. Early in January the *John* out of London was taken with its cargo of "10,000 pairs of shoes, 6,000 pairs of boots, 5,000 saddles, 10 tons of London beerie," which included Canary wine and strong waters, and a month's supply of bisquit, as well as hams, tongues, and two

thirty had reached Leith. Somewhat recovered, Cromwell ventured to inspect them and the new fortifications at the seaport, but the expedition proved too much for him and he came back to go to bed again. Although cheerful, he dared not leave the house for some time for fear of catching cold, but thanks to a course of physic under Dr. Goddard and an almost complete rest for the next ten days, by March 4 his health had begun to improve, and he took up his work again.⁵⁷ On that day he signed a warrant for army expenses:

To Sir John Wollaston, Treasurer-at-War

Out of the money for payment of the army under his command in Scotland Wollaston is to pay unto William Clarke the sum of £2,000 for the costs and charges of the army.

Mar. 4, 1650[-1].

(signed) O. CROMWELL.⁵⁸

Four days later he wrote in behalf of Colonel Robert Lilburne's petition to be allowed to purchase Bear Park in lieu of the £1,000 he had been voted for his services against Hamilton three years before, but had never been able to collect:

To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

SIR,

I am informed that Colonel Robert Lilburne is like to be damnified very much, in relation to his purchase of the manor of Beare Park in the county of Durham, by being employed in the service of the Commonwealth in⁵⁹ Scotland; which business (as I understand), upon his petition to the Parliament, was referred to the Committee of Obstructions, and a report thereof hath lain ready in the hands of Mr. John Corbet, a long time, unreported.

I do therefore humbly desire that the House may be moved to take the said report into speedy consideration, that so Colonel Lilburne may have redress therein, according as you shall think fit; and that his readiness and willingness to return to his charge here, and leave his own affairs to serve the public, may not turn to his disadvantage I doubt not but those services he hath done in

of Cromwell's personal trunks (Lord Angus etc. to the Earl of Loudon, from Anstruther, Jan. 17, Thurloe, i, 171.) The Hague had news that two ships of 350 tons had been taken by the Scots. Carte, *Orig. Letters*, i, 409. Cromwell's steward, Nathaniel Waterhouse, was reimbursed £85 in June for refurnishing Cromwell with things taken in the *John*, captured "by those in Tantallon Castle." *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 571.

⁵⁷ *Sev. Proc.* Mar. 10; *Perf. Diurn.* Mar. 10. Letter to Mrs. Cromwell in *Perf. Pass.* Mar. 7-14; *Merc. Pol.* Mar. 12, and in *Cromwelliana*, p. 100. See also *Perf. Diurn.* Mar. 14.

⁵⁸ With Clarke's receipt at the foot. Listed for sale in Maggs catalogue, no. 421 and 472 (1922, 1926). On March 1, he signed a pass for Col. Charles Fairfax to go into England. See appendix.

⁵⁹ 'of' in orig.

England and here will be a sufficient motive to gratify him herein; which shall be acknowledged by,

Sir,

Edinburgh,
March 8, 1650.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.⁶⁰

A report from Edinburgh in *Mercurius Politicus* said that on March 11 Cromwell was so ill the doctor had kept his letters from him,⁶¹ but it was probably exaggerated for on that day he signed another letter, urging upon Parliament the advisability of establishing a college in the vacated houses of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, first suggested to Parliament ten months earlier by the sheriff and other local men.⁶²

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

SIR,

Having received information from the Mayor and citizens of Durham, and some gentlemen of the Northern Counties, that upon their petition to the Parliament, that the Houses of the late Dean and Chapter of the City of Durham might be converted into a college or school of literature, the Parliament was pleased in May last to refer the same to the Committee for removing obstructions in the sale of Dean-and-Chapter Lands, to consider thereof, and to report their opinion therein to the House: Which said Committee (as I am also informed) have so far approved thereof as that they are of an opinion That the said Houses will be a fit place to erect a college or school for all the sciences and literature, and that it will be a pious and laudable work and of great use to the Northern parts, and have ordered Sir Arthur Haselrig to make report thereof to the House accordingly: And the said citizens and gentlemen having made some address to me to contribute my assistance to them therein: to which, in so good and pious a work, I could not but willingly and heartily concur; and not knowing wherein I might better serve them, or answer their desires, than by recommending of the same to the Parliament by, Sir, yourself their Speaker, I do make it my humble and earnest request that the House may be moved, as speedily as conveniently may be, to hear the Report of the said Committee concerning the said business, from Sir Arthur Haselrig; that so the House, taking the same into consideration, may do therein what shall seem meet for the good of those poor Countries.

Truly it seems to me a matter of great concernment and importance, as that which, by the blessing of God, may much conduce to the promoting of learning and piety in those poor rude and ignorant parts; there being also many concurring advantages to this place, as pleasantness and aptness of situation, healthful air, and plenty of provisions, which seem to favour and

⁶⁰ Lomas-Carlyle, CLXVIII, from the original at Welbeck. Copy in *Baker Mss.* (Cambridge), xxxv, 79.

⁶¹ *Merc. Pol.*, Mar. 21.

⁶² *C. J.*, vi, 410.

plead for their desires therein. And besides the good (so obvious to us) those Northern Counties may reap thereby, who knows but the setting on foot of this work at this time may suit with God's present dispensations; and may (if due care and circumspection be used in the right constituting and carrying on the same) tend to, and (by the blessing of God) produce, such happy and glorious fruits as are scarce thought on or foreseen!

Sir, not doubting of your readiness and zeal to promote so good and public a work, I crave pardon for this boldness; and rest, Sir,
Edinburgh, Your most humble servant,
March 11, 1650. O. CROMWELL.⁶³

He seems to have been improving steadily, for two days later he signed a commission to fill a vacancy in Lambert's regiment, which had spent a cold, frosty night a month before lying in the fields near Kilsyth,⁶⁴ and had, no doubt, like Cromwell himself, suffered from that exposure:

Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieut. General of England and Captain General of all the Land Forces of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,

To Charles Stoddert, Quartermaster

By virtue of the power and authority to me derived from this Parliament of England, I do hereby constitute and appoint you Quartermaster of that troop of horse whereof Captain Amar Stodderd is the Captain within the regiment whereof Major General John Lambert is colonel . . . taking charge thereof . . . duty to other the inferior officers and soldiers of the said troop . . . and to use your best endeavour.
March 13, 1650 [-1]. O. CROMWELL.⁶⁵

Apart from such details, while the army waited for Cromwell's health and the weather to improve, there was little activity on the Scottish front. "For newes we are barren," wrote a correspondent from Edinburgh, "and must either be silent or invent untruths."⁶⁶ But there was news enough elsewhere. The Royalists were plotting the overthrow of the Commonwealth; their counsels were promptly transmitted to the government by its informers, and so came to Cromwell's ears. Late in January his correspondent, Bishop, sent a woman messenger to him with a letter in cipher which she had been commis-

⁶³ Lomas-Carlyle, CLXIX, from the contemporary copies at Welbeck and in the *Baker Mss.* xxviii, 455. Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 13 App. I, p. 560; pr. in Hutchinson, *History of Durham*.

⁶⁴ *Letters from Roundhead Officers*.

⁶⁵ Original, signed and sealed, in the Scottish Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, catalogue O. A. 14, no. 387. Copied by R. T. Young, Esq. He also signed a commission to Col. Richard Ashfield, later sheriff and governor of Aberdeen, on Mar. 20, 1650-1, sold for Rodney by Henkel's for \$77.50 in 1920. *Am. Bk. Prices Current*.

⁶⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, Mar. 5.

sioned to deliver to Charles.⁶⁷ By early March the situation seemed so serious that Cromwell was appealed to for aid. He was requested to send power of martial law to Colonel Rich, who was ready to march with a brigade of horse and dragoons to Lancashire. On March 10 Secretary Frost of the Council of State was ordered to send "a packet of great consequence" to the General by post express which was "to run with all speed."⁶⁸ All governors and commanders of forts and garrisons were required to remain at their posts, and it was ordered that the city of Worcester be made untenable. Finally, as a warning to any who contemplated treachery, there was executed on March 25 that Captain Browne Bushell who had betrayed Scarborough, first to the Parliament in 1643, then to the King, had later joined the Parliamentarians, and in 1648 had delivered his ship to the Prince of Wales. He had been condemned by the second High Court of Justice and was now used as an example.⁶⁹

From all of this it appeared that the Commonwealth authorities feared a revival of the plan of three years earlier, an invasion from Scotland, probably by the western roads, supported by a Royalist rising in the northwestern counties. This seemed confirmed by the fact that before the important packet arrived, Cromwell, acting on other information, ordered Colonel Lilburne to seize some Royalists at Greenock on their way to confer with the Earl of Derby in the Isle of Man. Most of them escaped, but a certain Isaac Birkenhead was taken with papers which revealed a design for an insurrection in Lancashire, and Cromwell promptly sent him in a man-of-war to London. At the same time, on receipt of letters from Cromwell and Lambert in regard to a plot in Cheshire, Lancashire and North Wales, the Council of State sent twelve troops of horse and four of dragoons into that district; ordered a regiment to be raised in Yorkshire and commissioned twelve ships to guard the Isle of Man and the Irish coast.⁷⁰

These preparations indicated the seriousness of the design, and the precautions against defection in the English army in Scotland revealed the fears of the authorities. To check this, the General, now rapidly recovering his health,⁷¹ published a proclamation against communication with the enemy:

Proclamation to the Army

Communications between Scots in the army's quarters and the enemy have been detected, and also the transport of horses, arms, money, provi-

⁶⁷ Bishop to Cromwell, Jan. 28, Nickolls, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁶⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 76-78.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77; *C. J.*, vi, 550.

⁷⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 83-4, 88.

⁷¹ *Merc. Pol.* Mar. 24; *Sev. Proc.* Mar. 20-27.

sions, etc. This is forbidden under a double fine and personal punishment. One-half fine to informer. This to be proclaimed.

Edinburgh, 15 March 1650-1.

O. CROMWELL.⁷²

Although deep in the examination of Birkenhead's papers, the Council of State began to be concerned about Cromwell's illness and, possibly, the resulting inactivity of the army. As a gesture of courtesy, or to get first hand information, Mr. Jenkin Lloyd was sent to Scotland with a letter expressing the Council's regrets that his recovery had not been satisfactory.⁷³ The messenger found the General able to eat in his dining room with the officers, and the army impatient for action,⁷⁴ and set out at once on the return journey bearing a letter from Cromwell:

*To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State:
These*

MY LORD,

I do with all humble thankfulness acknowledge your high favour, and tender respect of me, expressed in your letter, and the express sent therewith to inquire after one so unworthy as myself.

Indeed, my Lord, your service needs not me: I am a poor creature, and have been a dry bone, and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness, but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. But truly, my Lord, I desire not to live, unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to Him in more faithfulness and thankfulness, and those I serve with more profitableness and diligence. And I pray God, your Lordship, and all in public trust, may improve all those unparalleled experiences of the Lord's wonderful workings in your sight, with singleness of heart to His glory, and the refreshment of His people, who are to Him as the apple of His eye; and upon whom your enemies, both former and latter, who have fallen before you did split themselves.

This shall be the unfeigned prayer of,

Edinburgh
24th Mar. 1650.

My Lord, your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.⁷⁵

Hurrying back to London, Lloyd reported that in Cromwell's own opinion and that of his physician, his health was "as good as it hath been at any time in his life."⁷⁶ Meanwhile the government had made

⁷² A copy of the original, pr. in Leith by E. Tyler, is in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and noted in Crawford, *op. cit.*, ii, 346.

⁷³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 90-1.

⁷⁴ *Perf. Diurn.* Mar. 24; *Merc. Pol.*, Mar. 29. On Mar. 5 the Ordnance Committee ordered four new tents for Cromwell's use; for his lodging, a buttery, a kitchen, and one for horses. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 71.

⁷⁵ Pr. in *Weekly Intelligencer*, Apr. 1-8; *Cromwelliana*, p. 101; *Parl. Hist.* xix, 471-2; Carlyle, CLXX. Read in Parliament Apr. 1. *C. J.*, vi, 554.

⁷⁶ *S. P. Dom. Interreg.* I, 96, p. 88.

an important capture. The day after Lloyd's arrival, March 29, Harrison arrested in the Strand a certain Tom Coke, son of Charles I's Secretary of State, whose correspondence with Buckingham had been found among Birkenhead's papers. He had been apprehended, escaped and was now rearrested.⁷⁷ For two days he refused to talk, but when offered his life in exchange for full information about the plot, he finally confessed the names of the key men in each county, the financial backers of the scheme, and the details of the plan.⁷⁸ According to his information Argyll had promised the Lancashire Royalists two thousand horse and an equal number of Highlanders. Forces were to be raised in each county, those in the Eastern Association under Buckingham, in the north under Newcastle, in the middle west under Derby. Lincolnshire was to be headed by Willoughby of Parham, and in the west Grenville and Hopton were contending for the honor of command. Coke further reported that a year previously Fairfax had intimated that he would assist the King, and was to be created Earl of Essex for his service. Finally he declared that stores of arms hidden in London were to have been used for a rising there under the lead of certain noblemen and Presbyterian ministers,⁷⁹ who planned to restore the members of Parliament excluded by Pride's Purge.

There was more in Coke's story than is usual in such tales. Charles had been in correspondence with Willoughby, Grenville, the Earl of Derby and others in connection with the design, which was fully as serious as Coke confessed. In consequence, the government took strong measures to suppress it. For a month arrests were made on all sides, including three prominent London ministers—Love, Jenkins and Case—and five laymen. Some four thousand militia men were ordered to report by May 1, chiefly to Harrison to guard the north-west. Meanwhile the Council wrote to Cromwell suggesting a shift in the army. Fleetwood, who had been for some time in London, was to be kept there, leaving Harrison free to take Colonel Rich's place in the north, while Rich took charge of the Eastern counties.⁸⁰ To support these forces as well as the army in Scotland, whose supplies, according to Cromwell, were running low, £2,000 was appropriated for new contracts for arms and ammunition.⁸¹ In addition, steps were taken to quiet the widespread rumors of Cromwell's condition. On March 25 he actually admitted an enemy trumpeter, to allow himself to be

⁷⁷ Act for Apprehension passed Mar. 20, in *Perf. Diurn.*, Mar. 20. Examination published in Gardiner, *Charles II and Scotland* (Scot. Hist. Soc. 1894), p. 154.

⁷⁸ The details of these confessions are printed in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 13 App. I (Portland Mss.) pp. 576-91, 597-604.

⁷⁹ Among these were Calamy, Vines, Jenkins, Cranford, Love, Gouge, Case, and Fuller.

⁸⁰ Council of State to Cromwell, Mar. 22, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 102-3.

⁸¹ Mar. 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8. On Mar. 31, the Council ordered sent to Cromwell 20,000 arms, pack saddles, tarpaulins, crooks, baskets, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 524.

viewed and interviewed to convince the man—and his fellows—that the English general was alive.⁸²

He was, in fact, definitely on the mend, and there seemed no reason for further delay in the campaign against the Scots. On March 26 the officers decided on their first move. It was to seize Blackness Castle on the south bank of the Forth, dangerously near Linlithgow and commanding the passage up the Firth. This Monk had attempted two months earlier with no success. Now four ships were sent past the island of Inchgarvie, the Scots' one guard ship was surprised, the bombardment of the castle was begun, and on the 29th Monk was sent with one company from each regiment to cut off a Scottish relieving force from Stirling.⁸³ The horse was hurried to his assistance the next day, and on the 31st the rest of the foot set out for Blackness. This sudden move was apparently the result of Cromwell's advice that Charles had sent a relieving force. That information was attributed to Johnston of Wariston,⁸⁴ who on the day that Monk set out had arrived in Leith to see to the return of the Scottish Registers, which had been taken out of Edinburgh Castle some weeks before but seized by the English in the Firth.⁸⁵ It was attributed also to an Archibald Hamilton, who had earlier given information and was presently hanged by Charles for treachery.⁸⁶ Whoever brought the news, it seems obvious that the English were warned in time, and, blockaded by their army and cut off from succor, Blackness surrendered the next day⁸⁷ and so left the way clear across the Forth.

Though he "rode abroad" on March 29, Cromwell did not venture as far as Blackness,⁸⁸ but wrote to Vane on that day in regard to draught-horses and hay, of which there was a scarcity, and probably

⁸² *Perf. Diurn.*, Mar. 31. For various rumors, see Morosini to Doge, Sept. 12/22, 1650, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 156; *Merc. Pol.*, Apr. 21; Nicholas to Ormond, Apr. 8, *Carte, Orig. Letters*, i, 446.

⁸³ Letter, Mar. 29, *Sev. Proc.*, Apr. 3-10; *Perf. Diurn.* Mar. 31-Apr. 7.

⁸⁴ "Alas, will any human soul ever again love poor Wariston?" Burnet, *History of My Own Time*.

⁸⁵ Balfour, ii, 266. A letter from Edinburgh, Apr. 1, suggests the same sequence: "I am confident his coming is no disadvantage to us for our horse marched towards Stirling the next day . . ." *Merc. Pol.*

⁸⁶ Johnston notes in his *Diary* for Mar. 31: "At night with difficulty I got on word of the Gen[erall], for the poor men who delayed me because of their alarm, which made them that night to march to Blackness." *Diary*, p. 33. "Archibald Hamilton, brother to Robt. Hamilton, of Milburn, for giving daily intelligence to Oliver Cromwell and the Sectaries army, was arraigned of high treason and condemned to be hanged on a gallows in chains, so long as one bone could hang at another of him: which sentence was put to execution this day April 25, 1651 at Stirling." Masson, iv, 283. Hamilton had given information which led to the surprise and capture of Lord Eglinton and his two sons at Dumbarton. See his widow's petition, *C. J.*, vii, 39.

⁸⁷ *Sev. Proc.*, Apr. 3-10; *Faithful Scout*, Apr. 4-11.

⁸⁸ *Merc. Pol.* Apr. 4; *Perf. Diurn.*, Apr. 7.

about a larger allowance for apothecaries and surgeons for his army.⁸⁹ On April 3 he signed a commission for a John Robinson as captain of a troop of horse,⁹⁰ and two days later wrote again to Vane for supplies.⁹¹ On the 8th he found occasion to send another letter:

[To the Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of Parliament?]

Asking that such goods and merchandise as have already been sold by the Commissioners for the Parliament in Scotland, for the State's use, and for which the said Commissioners, and Cromwell himself, have engaged their words, shall be freed from payment of custom and excise. Concerns also the excise and custom on such salt and other commodities in Scotland, confiscate to the State, and sold for the use of the State, by the Commissioners there, and for coals, cloth, and other commodities, brought out of England, to the army in Scotland. Urges that Commissioners be sent to Scotland. The last part concerns hospitals.
Edinburgh, April 8, 1651. (signed) O. CROMWELL.⁹²

Though not yet fully recovered, on Monday and Tuesday, the 7th and 8th of April,⁹³ the General rode in his coach and began to receive visitors. On Monday he granted an interview to Lady Wariston, who "found from him but a very general answer anent the Registers," in whose fate she and her husband were deeply concerned. He looked at a pass she had and "sayd the going to the West would be shortly dangerous to any; [and] expressed that very shortly this business would be decided on way or uther." The General, she observed, "seemed to her dryer than befor."⁹⁴ To Lady Wariston succeeded Lady Ingliston, who reported that he was "very much changed to

⁸⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 134; *C. J.*, vi, 557. On Apr. 2 the Council had written on recommendations of Haselrig and Scot, that troops should make good horses lost in service out of billet money but that Cromwell's request for horses would that time be granted. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 126. Two ship surgeons received £1,420 for curing 380 sick and maimed soldiers sent by Cromwell to ships in the Firth. *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁹⁰ Listed in Maggs Cat. no. 215, item no. 218 (1905) for eleven guineas. A letter of doubtful authenticity, dated about Mar. 29 to Mrs. Claypole, is printed in Dickenson, *History of Newark*; repr. in *Notes and Queries*, 4, iii, 165 (1869). See Mrs. Lomas' preface and Ramsey in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vii, 38 (1892). Cp. p. 432n.

⁹¹ Irish and Scotch Committee to confer with Navy victuallers, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 140.

⁹² Action taken on various parts of the letter separately, on Apr. 15, in Parliament. *C. J.*, vi, 561. Council of State to present names of persons to be Commissioners. *Ibid.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 147.

⁹³ *Merc. Pol.*, Apr. 15.

⁹⁴ Wariston's *Diary*, pp. 35-37. Wariston heard from others Cromwell's prediction against the West, and from Strachan that the English had "much chaynged their mind thought and way, in relation to the Godly," that Cromwell himself, "after his seaknesse grew mor averse and proud to the Godly."

God's people."⁹⁵ On Thursday Wariston, who had previously talked with Lambert, Whalley, Deane, Fenwick and Hobart, was admitted to speak about the Registers and about Lord Eglinton, who had been betrayed by Hamilton and seized with his son, Colonel James Montgomery, and the minister Baillie, in his house at Dumbarton a little while before.⁹⁶

At another conference on Saturday, Wariston was assured that the captured Registers would be restored,⁹⁷ and was given an authorization for their return, and a pass for his servant, Mungo Murray:

[*To the Hon. Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston*]

MY LORD,

Upon the perusal of the passes formerly given for the safe passing of the public writs and registers of the Kingdom of Scotland, I do think they ought to be restored; and they shall be so, to such persons as you shall appoint to receive them, with passes for persons and vessels, to carry them to such place as shall be appointed, so that it be done within one month next following.

I herewith send you a pass for your servant to go into Fife, and to return with the other clerks; and rest,

Edinburgh, 12 of

April 1651.

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.⁹⁸

Wariston was much disturbed by this letter, fearing that a month might not be sufficient time to regain the Registers, but replied that he would despatch the clerks and that he hoped the leaky ship in which the papers were stored would soon be redelivered.⁹⁹ Finally, at the end of this busy week, on the 12th, Cromwell wrote to his wife to assure her of his recovery and to warn her against the activities of Lord Herbert of Ragland:

For my beloved Wife Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These

MY DEAREST,

I praise the Lord I am increased in strength in my outward man; but that will not satisfy me except I get a heart to love and serve my heavenly Father better; and get more of the light of His countenance, which is better than life, and more power over my corruptions: in these hopes

⁹⁵ This does not seem to agree with a letter sent from Edinburgh at this time that Cromwell contributed £50, and his officers the remainder of £360, toward "the relief of the Godly people of Scotland." List dated Apr. 17. *Perf. Diurn.*, Apr. 26.

⁹⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, Apr. 10; Baillie, *Diary*.

⁹⁷ Wariston, *Diary*, p. 37.

⁹⁸ Thurloe, i, 177, from a copy in the Scotch spelling, in the Records of the Laigh Parliament House. Carlyle, CLXXII.

⁹⁹ Thurloe, i, 177.

I wait, and am not without expectation of a gracious return. Pray for me; truly I do daily for thee, and the dear family; and God Almighty bless you all with His spiritual blessings.

Mind poor Bettie of the Lord's great mercy. Oh, I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to the Lord; and to keep close to Him; and to take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is too subject to. I earnestly and frequently pray for her and for him. Truly they are dear to me, very dear; and I am in fear lest Satan should deceive them—knowing how weak our hearts are, and how subtle the adversary is, and what way the deceitfulness of our hearts and the vain world make for his temptations. The Lord give them truth of heart to Him. Let them seek Him in truth, and they shall find Him.

My love to the dear little ones; I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their Letters; let me have them often.

Beware of my Lord Harbert his resort to your house. If he do so, [it] may occasion scandal, as if I were bargaining with him. Indeed, be wise, you know my meaning. Mind Sir Hen: Vane of the business of my estate. Mr. Floyd knows my whole mind in this matter.

If Dick Cromwell and his wife be with you, my dear love to them. I pray for them; they shall, God willing, hear from me. I love them very dearly. Truly I am not able as yet to write much. I am wearied; and rest,

Thine,

April 12th, 1651.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹⁰⁰

The warning against Lord Herbert revealed another element in Cromwell's varied life. It was concerned with the possession of the estates of Lord Herbert's father, the Marquis of Worcester, which had been settled on Cromwell by Parliament some years earlier. Cromwell was apparently afraid that the young Lord Herbert was endeavoring to recover part or all of it, and that gossip would suggest a design to marry his fourteen-year old daughter Mary. Lord Herbert did not limit his design to visits with the Cromwells, but petitioned Parliament to restore the entailed part of the Worcester property. He had, he stated, never borne arms for the King. Though he had been seen in a troop of Royalist horse, he had been put there as a boy of thirteen by his tutor at his father's command, on the occasion of a royal inspection; and he had been on the Continent from 1644 to 1650. His claim was considered by a Parliamentary committee, ordered to except from sale lands of like value if his claim was allowed. Its report on May 21 listed the property in dispute, specified what

¹⁰⁰ Carlyle, CLXXI, from *Additional Mss.* 5834, one of the many copies which were made and preserved. Mr. Lloyd who was sent by Parliament to Cromwell to inquire after his health is the "Floyd" mentioned. It was this Lord Herbert to whom Charles I promised the Princess Elizabeth in marriage, with a portion of £300,000, in an agreement with his father, then Earl of Glamorgan, now second Marquis of Worcester. See Gardner's article in *E. H. R.*, ii, 689.

part of it had been given to Cromwell, with its value—£1707¹⁰¹—, and recommended that the Committee on Compounding be required to decide the matter.¹⁰² It seems probable that some arrangement was arrived at between Thurloe, who represented Cromwell's interest here as elsewhere, and the Worcester representatives; for by July 10 Lord Herbert had deeded to Cromwell all the Worcester estates which had been assigned to the General by Parliament, and in a debate a few days later these, with the Crymland property, were specifically exempted from the list of forfeited property to be sold.¹⁰³

It was on the same day as the letter to his wife that Cromwell wrote a somewhat mysterious letter to Colonel Bennett in regard to a certain Major Cloberie:

To Colonel Bennett

SIR,

I received several letters from you concerning Major Cloberie, but in regard of my sickness there was nothing done in the business at that time, and now having referred the same to the opinion of some officers, they think fit that Major Cloberie do repair to London there to put in his answer, and accordingly I have given him my pass and sent him to put in his answer that so you might not receive any prejudice through want thereof, whereof I thought fit to give you this notice. I rest,

Edinburgh 12th

Your loving friend,

April 1651.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁰⁴

This was perhaps the last of the correspondence which grew out of, or referred to his illness. At the end of that period he wrote again to his wife to ask her to take into her household the family of his French servant, Duret, who had nursed him through his sickness and had so weakened himself by his devotion that he had died.¹⁰⁵ That devotion

¹⁰¹ Gloucestershire

The Lordship of Tyddenham	£356	3s.	11d
Monmouthshire			
The Lordships of Chepstow Barton and Hardwick	510	1	10
Chepstow Burgus	68	13	8
Frithwood, near Chepstow	100	0	0
Glamorganshire			
The Seigniory of Gower	672	15	9
	<u>£1707</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>2</u>

See a complete list of Cromwell's property which belonged originally to Worcester, in Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 543 (Act for the sale of forfeited estates, July 16, 1651).

¹⁰² *C. J.*, vi, 576-7; see *Cal. Com. for Comp.*, p. 435.

¹⁰³ *C. J.*, vi, 601-2. An Act for the sale of several lands and estates forfeited to the Commonwealth for Treason, July 16, 1651.

¹⁰⁴ Facsimile of the original letter for sale by Maggs Bros., Cat. no. 570 (1932), p. 47, plate V. Signature and last words are Cromwell's.

¹⁰⁵ Letter mentioned in Waylen, *House of Cromwell*, pp. 275, 314-15, but with no further record of it, nor its present location. On Apr. 16 he signed a warrant for the pay of Haselrige's regiment. See appendix.

served, among other things, to help save the Commonwealth. In more ways than one, Cromwell's life stood between it and renewed civil war in which, without his talents and determination, the result might well have been doubtful. It is too much to say, perhaps, that his death would have ended the rule of the revolutionary party, but if one may judge at all from the results of his departure from the scene of his earthly activities as Protector, the effect at this time might not have been very different. It was, then, with profound gratitude that Council, Parliament and army saw his slow recovery and the renewal of his military plans.

THE SPRING CAMPAIGN

APRIL 17-JUNE 20, 1651

With his apparent recovery from his long illness, for the time being Cromwell's every effort was directed to the new campaign. This had, in a sense, already begun with a skirmish at Linlithgow, in which the English had been worsted and the commander there, Major Sydenham, dangerously wounded. Wariston, still troubled and still troubling Cromwell about the Registers, noted in his Diary that Colonel Kerr had told him that "Cromwell had spoken baisly of the ministry of Scotland, and particularly of M. S. Rutherford as a lyer, and that readily som judicial stroak would light upon them, which portended, both in my opinion and his, the Lord's hardning him the mor by his seaknesse and preparing for a stroak." That "stroak" came almost at once, for two days later, on April 16, Wariston wrote that "Near night the drums tooked, and, on a sudainty, I found that the foote of the airmy got away doune to Leyth, with their baggage and airmes, to crosse to Fyfe; and when they went away they raysed such shout, and sung such triumphs afor the victorie, as maid me aprehend that it portended rayther a strok then advantage to them."¹⁰⁶ On Thursday, April 17, as he records, they marched west, and the campaign was at last begun.

The design, it appears from this movement, was to threaten Burntisland with a body of foot and to throw the main army west. On the 16th, some sixteen or eighteen thousand strong, it greeted Cromwell's appearance at Musselburgh with shouts of enthusiasm¹⁰⁷ and started on its westward march. On Thursday, the 17th of April, the General left Edinburgh, still, apparently, a little weak from his illness. "By a good providence for my exoneration," wrote Wariston on that day, "I gott a word of the General in his coach, who assured me that he had given orders to my contentment unto Colonel Fenwick for dispatch of my busines and desyred me to consider the glorious works of God,

¹⁰⁶ Wariston's *Diary*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

which was his worst wish to any godly in Scotland."¹⁰⁸ With this last word Cromwell embarked on his new adventure. He quartered that night, it was reported, again at Livingston House, with his army at Blackburn,¹⁰⁹ but he may have returned to Edinburgh, for there is a letter from him dated there on the 18th, requesting that Nathaniel Mew be appointed postmaster from Berwick to Edinburgh.¹¹⁰ In any event, he rejoined the army in Hamilton on Saturday, the 19th, and went on to Glasgow. There the next day he heard two sermons, one by Robert Ramsay in the "High Inner Kirk," another by James Durham and a lecture in the "High Outer Kirk."¹¹¹

Still endeavoring to gain over his opponents "by love," he listened quietly to further railings against the English and afterwards suggested a conference. In preparation for this event, he and his officers spent Tuesday in prayer. On Wednesday from two in the afternoon until eight or nine o'clock in the evening, in a meeting of officers and ministers in his lodgings, Cromwell and Lambert debated with James Guthry, Patrick Gillespie and that Samuel Rutherford¹¹² whom Cromwell had just been accused of maligning. For ten days the army remained in Glasgow; and thence, at the request of the Council of State, he sent a commission for a new governor of Poole to replace the incumbent, considered unfit for the post, only to learn later that it was not issued to the new nominee, Major Scutt, who was also disqualified.¹¹³

These changes in command were due in large part to the Royalist plot, then being traced out in all its ramifications. Somewhat earlier a Colonel Cox had been dismissed from a command in Scotland, and Cromwell had been asked to fill the vacancy by appointing Captain Harrison, then in Guernsey where the Parliamentary forces had suffered a reverse, and to commission Colonel John Bingham as governor of the Isle.¹¹⁴ Captain William Packer was commissioned to raise and conduct to Scotland a hundred recruits for Cromwell's own regiment;¹¹⁵ and while he was in Glasgow the General was informed that a force of Highlanders was planning to attack the Scottish army and that Ireton was also being so advised.¹¹⁶ With this came a letter from

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Apr. 26, 28.

¹¹⁰ Read in Parliament, Apr. 25, *C. J.*, vi, 568; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 165.

¹¹¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Apr. 28; *Perf. Account*, Apr. 23-30; Baillie, iii, 165.

¹¹² *Perf. Diurn.*, Apr. 28; May 2; *Sev. Proc.* May 1-8; *Merc. Pol.*, May 6; *Letters of Roundhead Officers*, p. 19. Wodrow, *Analecta*, iii, 292, tells of Cromwell sitting down in Professor Porterfield's pew with Mrs. Porterfield, asking Durham's name and remarking to the lady who was "almost not civil" that Durham seemed to be a very great man and fit to be chaplain to any Prince in Europe. Cp. Lyon, *Charles II* (1651), p. 187.

¹¹³ Letters to Cromwell, Apr. 1, May 1, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 149, 173, 264.

¹¹⁴ Letters to Cromwell, Apr. 1, 8, *ibid.*, pp. 124-5, 137.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 558.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

a correspondent in Kilkenny to inform Cromwell not only that Ireton was well but that the writer had found in Lady Ireton's soul "the power of grace" and she was "a woman acquainted with temptations and breathing after Christ . . . and Colonel Cromwell your sonne . . . the word of God takes great effect on him . . . he is much crying to God in secret."¹¹⁷

Still in Glasgow on April 25, Cromwell took occasion to write one of his many letters in behalf of men whose estates had been sequestered in violation of the terms granted by the Parliamentary officers, in this case John Arundel of Trerice, sometime governor of Pendennis Castle.¹¹⁸

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

SIR,

Receiving this enclosed, and finding the contents of it to expostulate for justice and faith-keeping, and the direction of it not improper to myself from the party interested, forasmuch as it is the word and the faith of the Army engaged unto a performance; and understanding by which steps it hath proceeded, which this enclosed letter of the gentleman's will make manifest unto you: I make bold humbly to present the business to the Parliament.

If he desires that which is not just and honourable for you to grant, I shall willingly bear blame for this trouble, and be glad to be denied: but if it be just and honourable, and tends to make good the faith of your servants, I take the boldness then to pray he may stand or fall according to that. And this desire, I hope, is in faithfulness to you; and will be so judged. I take leave; and rest, Sir,

Glasgow,
April 25, 1651.

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.¹¹⁹

It is not easy to account for this march to Glasgow except on the ground that it was connected with the Royalist plot, to overawe the west or prevent communication with England or an invasion from that quarter. Reports from the Scottish headquarters revealed no definite plans for an offensive campaign. Though Charles, now in command, was impatient to slip around the invaders and make a counter-invasion into England, in connection with the proposed Royalist rising, Leslie looked rather to the safety of Scotland than the res-

¹¹⁷ Tho. Patient to Cromwell, Apr. 15, 1650 [sic] in Nickolls, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ See *Cal. Com. for Comp.*, p. 2237, and Lomas-Carlyle, App. 20. Arundel to Cromwell, Apr. 2, 1651, in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 258. Some letters directed to Cromwell were broken open in transit about this time and the Council ordered Cromwell on May 13 to make an inquiry. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 197.

¹¹⁹ Carlyle, App. 20 (2), from the original in the *Tanner Mss.* liv, 48. Signed by Cromwell inside and out and endorsed "Ld. General's letter touching Mr. Arundel's Articles, April 25. To be offered when the debates on the delinquents' bill." Pr. in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 270.

toration of Charles to the English throne. Thus far his strategy of watchful waiting, of recruiting and training his recruits, and holding an impregnable position barring the way to the north had been maintained. So long as that position could not be forced or outflanked, northern Scotland was secure and Cromwell's position difficult. He was dependent on England for supplies and could not operate long or far from his base at Leith and Edinburgh.

Moreover, while orders had been issued at Westminster for contributions to be laid on the conquered territory it was difficult to execute them. Even while Cromwell occupied Glasgow, there was a riot when the magistrates protested the collection of these levies. Though the story which reached Perth that the soldiers had grown disobedient and ready to desert and were so short of provisions that they took meat from Cromwell's own table¹²⁰ was doubtless untrue, food was growing scarce and orders were given to return to Edinburgh when news came that a provision fleet was in the Forth.¹²¹ It is not necessary to accept Balfour's suggestion that this sudden move was due to Cromwell's fear that "his whole army might be charmed away from him by the voice of those subtle Presbyterian charmers,"¹²² but there seems little question that some of the officers at least were beginning to have their doubts of the whole enterprise.

On April 30 the army set out once more for Edinburgh.¹²³ On the way occurred one of those little incidents of which his life—and traditions of him—have been full. Hearing of a short cut through Aughtermuir, he called at Alanton for directions. There he found the family of the Royalist laird, Sir Walter Stewart, whose wife offered the General the hospitalities of the house, including a glass of Canary. First asking a blessing, Cromwell drank a health to the family and told them his mother was a Stewart. "All passed easy," wrote the chronicler, "and our James, being a lad of ten years, came so near as to handle the hilt of one of the swords, upon which Oliver stroked his head, saying 'You are my little captain,' and this was all the commission our Captain of Alertoun ever had." In return for her hospitality, Cromwell called for some of his own wine, expressed concern about the boy's health, and suggested that the south of France might benefit him, after which the lady "abated much of her zeal" for the Royalist cause.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Letter, May 6, in Carte, *Orig. Letters*, ii, 25.

¹²¹ *Weekly Intelligencer*, May 11.

¹²² Balfour, iv, 298.

¹²³ Baillie, iii, 161.

¹²⁴ *Coltness Collections* (Maitland Club), pp. 9-10; quoted in *Quarterly Review*, lxx, 197 (1842). Douglas (p. 148) suggests that this may have taken place after Cromwell's first visit to Glasgow.

He was not always so gracious. Later, possibly the same day, he had Lady Kilsyth's house and goods burned, according to *Mercurius Politicus* because of her efforts to persuade some of his men to desert to the Scots, but according to the *Weekly Intelligencer* in retaliation for the hanging of his spy Hamilton. So, after a skirmish with some Scots horse outside of Stirling,¹²⁵ his army reached Edinburgh on May 2, looking "dejected lyk, and nowayes in the triumphing temper wherin they went out; but in a raging passionat way at som losse or disappoyntment," as Wariston records.¹²⁶ It was reported in London that the Scots intended to slip past the English with twenty thousand men and invade England, and the English were greatly disappointed at not being able to bring them to an engagement.¹²⁷ They had, at any rate, prevented such an enterprise, and the next day after their arrival in Edinburgh, a week's provisions were distributed and Cromwell wrote to Harrison, who had been appointed commander of the north two weeks earlier under Cromwell's orders,¹²⁸ to draw near Carlisle to frustrate any attempt of the Scots to invade the northern counties:

For the Honourable Major-General Harrison: These

DEAR HARRISON,

I received thine of the 23d of April. Thy letters are always very welcome to me.

Although your new militia forces are so bad as you mention, yet I am glad that you are in the head of them; because I believe God will give you a heart to reform them; a principal means whereof will be, by placing good officers over them, and putting out the bad; whereunto you will not want my best furtherance and concurrence. I have had much such stuff to deal withal in those sent to me into Scotland; but, blessed be the Lord, we have [been] and are reforming them daily, finding much encouragement from the Lord therein; only we do yet want some honest men to come to us to make officers. And this is the grief, that this being the cause of God and of His people, so many saints should be in their security and ease, and not come out to the work of the Lord in this great day of the Lord.

I hear nothing of the men you promised me. Truly I think you should do well to write to friends in London and elsewhere, to quicken their sense in this great business. I have written this week to Sir Henry Vane, and given him a full account of your affairs. I hope it will not be in vain.

I think it will be much better for you to draw nigher to Carlisle, where [are] twelve troops of horse, whereof six are old troops, and five or six of dragoons. Besides, the troops you mention upon the borders will be ready upon a day's notice to fall into conjunction with you, so that if any parties should think to break into England (which, through the mercy of God, we hope to

¹²⁵ *Weekly Intelligencer*, May 11.

¹²⁶ Wariston's *Diary*, p. 46.

¹²⁷ *Perf. Diary*, May 9.

¹²⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 157.

have an eye to), you will be, upon that conjunction, in a good posture to obviate.

Truly I think that if you could be at Penrith and those parts, it would do very well. And I do therefore desire you, as soon as you can, to march thither. Whereby also you and we shall have the more frequent and constant correspondence one with another.

And it will be better, if a party of the enemy should happen to make such an attempt, to fight him before he have an opportunity to get far into our country.

I have offered a consideration also to our friend at London, that you might have two regiments of foot sent too, which I am not without hope.

The Lord bless you and keep you, and increase the number of His faithful ones. Pray for us, and for him who assures you he is your affectionate faithful friend,

Edinburgh,
3 May, 1651.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹²⁹

At this moment, besides a request to the Council for an establishment for Edinburgh and Leith, particulars of ordnance and colours, and another to Sir Henry Vane, Cromwell wrote his last letter to his wife which is still extant:

[*For Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit*]

MY DEAREST,

I could not satisfy myself to omit this post, although I have not much to write; yet indeed I love to write to my dear, who is very much in my heart. It joys me to hear they soul prospereth; the Lord increase His favours to thee more and more. The great good thy soul can wish is, That the Lord lift upon thee the light of His countenance, which is better than life. The Lord bless all thy good counsel and example to all those about thee, and hear all thy prayers, and accept thee always.

I am glad to hear thy son and daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunity of good advice to him. Present my duty to my Mother, my love to all the family. Still pray for

Edinburgh,
3d of May 1651.

Thine,
O. CROMWELL.¹³⁰

On Monday, May 5, Wariston went to see Cromwell again, and after being kept waiting two hours was admitted to the room where Cromwell had with him several officers. "When I sought the passe,"

¹²⁹ Carlyle, App. 20 (ed. 1869), from the original then in the possession of B. S. Elcock, Esq. of Prior-Park Buildings, Bath. The letter Cromwell mentions having written to Vane may be the one requesting an establishment for Edinburgh Castle and Leith, with particulars about ordnance, colours, etc., read in the Council of State on May 8 and in Parliament on the 9th (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 184; *C. J.*, vi, 572). Mrs. Lomas (ii, 199) says this was dated "May 3 (probably)" but if it is the one mentioned in this letter to Harrison it would have been at least a day or so earlier.

¹³⁰ Carlyle, CLXXII, from Harris, p. 537. Original in *Harleian Mss.* Pr. in T. Cromwell, *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 465; and Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2, iii, 366.

says Wariston, "he told me of a great chaynge of busines by thes at Stirling taiking the lyfe of Hamilton, notwithstanding his letter shewing that he was a commissionated officer of his and desyring him to be used as any uther officer of his; and therfor he behoooved to taik the lyfe of any uther officer of ours that was as his prisoner, who being innocent and ignorant of it he thought it hard, or els keepe the Registers until they at Stirling gaive him satisfaction."¹³¹ Wariston insisted that such a matter had nothing to do with the delivery of the Registers which had been promised, and Cromwell "fell with som passion upon a debayte of the whol busines, as if their invasion wer justefyed by our declaration (in) 1640 when wee went in" to England. Wariston listed the provocations Scotland had at the time and declared that England had none for the present invasion. "Thereon he called us an hypocritical nation, that he would not turne his foote to gayne the Lord Wayreston or any uther in Scotland, but in sua farre as they wer a Christian." Whereupon Wariston retorted that "he was not worth the gayning, and that wer a real lossing of him to his best Master, and that reflexions on nations was not civil. And I of purpose eshuned heate, least it should wrong my Register busines; and I fand him in great passion making Hamilton's busines the pretence of it, but I heard that it was realy becaus of his great disapoyntments that he could not wine over to Fyfe, and that he could gayne non in the West; and, most of al, the ministers of the West, by their conference and sermons, had (led) many of his officers to beginne to scruple at (the) busines; and that for waunt of provisions and prevention of sturres in England, he behoved to reteire to the English Borders."¹³²

The next day Wariston composed four and a half pages of further arguments to Cromwell in an attempt to get possession of the Registers.¹³³ He sent his wife to headquarters but could get no reply except one relayed through Cromwell's servant, Mr. Rye, and Wariston's man, to the effect that a letter had been written to Stirling; the reputed contents of which Wariston summarized:

To Lieutenant General David Leslie

"To maik them sensible of the wrongs doon to him, but that wee would not be the farther from them after som tyme" and relating "not only to Hamilton's busines, but also to Midleton's, Cranston's, Augustin's, two hundred and fifty officers, a letter anent Cook, slight or no aunswears, acknowledges the Registers ours by right, and that he had given saif-conducts to them, but now stayed them til he got our satisfactory aunsuear to his demands."¹³⁴ c. May 7, 1651.

¹³¹ Wariston's *Diary*, p. 47.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

¹³³ In *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Laing MSS* (i. 260-4).

¹³⁴ Wariston's *Diary*, p. 51.

Wariston spoke again on May 10 with Cromwell and Lambert and asked for a copy of the letter to Leslie. On being refused, he repeated his "former reasons" and Cromwell answered "with litle reason, except in denying his absolut detention of them, but only until he got their satisfactory aunsuear, but he spak with great passion and reflexion that I satisfied myself with notions both in dispute anent the invasion and in this debayte." He refused to determine the matter until he heard from Stirling but "spak of Commonwealth as of God's maiking who would maik uthers stoupe to it, as He had maid our general from necessity for prisoners to acknowledge him general. He was very high for he had got news of taiking in Silly, of Holland's lyk to agree in treaty offensive and defensive, of diverting sturres in Fraunce, of Captain Titus' man carying the Queen's packet, which was for the King, to St. John and so to Parliament; wherupon they had taiken many prisoners, and prevented new plots, and aprehended som worthy ministers, as Messrs. Calami, Jenkins, Caise."¹³⁵ Wariston was disturbed at these things coming to light just then but "urged on General that he did the King a great benefyte, and ruine to the leiges who behooved to give great soumes to gett new rights from the King. He sayd, very hautely, the people er long would be out of his reverence, and necessitat to haive another dependance."¹³⁶

Despite Wariston's account, which seems to indicate that tempers were growing short, there was no hint of this heated interview in the letter Cromwell wrote to Parliament that day:

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

SIR,

I am very desirous to make an humble motion unto you on the behalf of Colonel Randall Clayton, who, being taken prisoner when I was in Ireland, was with some other officers adjudged to die, as those that had formerly served the Parliament, but were then partakers with the Lord Inchiquin in his revolt: and although the rest suffered, according to the sentence passed upon them, yet, with the advice of the chief officers, I thought meet to give him, the said Colonel Randall Clayton, his life, as one that is furnished with large abilities for the service of his country: and indeed there was the appearance of such remorse, and of a work of grace upon his spirit, that I am apt to believe he will hereafter prove an useful member unto the State, upon the best account.

Having thus given him his release, and observing his Christian candour, I then promised him to negotiate with the Parliament for the taking-off the sequestration that is upon his estate, which indeed is but very small. I do therefore humbly entreat you to pass such a special act of favour towards him,

¹³⁵ Wariston, *Diary*, pp. 51-52.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

whereby he will be engaged and enabled to prove his interest the more vigorously, in his place, for the advantage of the public.

I would not address such an overture to you, did I not suppose that the placing of this favour upon this person will be of very good use, and an act of much charity and tenderness. I rest,

Sir,

Edinburgh,
10 May 1651.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.¹³⁷

It was apparently at about this time that another letter, probably to the Council or one of its members, revealed the difficulties of the Scottish expedition which had been so hard on Cromwell's health and that of his army. In it he requested a supply of medicaments and complained of the lack of surgeons in the army. The authorities were quick to respond. On May 15 his request was referred to the Irish and Scotch Committee, which ordered the Committee for the Army to send eight or ten surgeons. But that body, even more alive to the Scottish situation, sent twenty.¹³⁸ With this, Cromwell once more turned to the weapons of the spirit. On Sunday the 11th he and his officers went to hear Lockyer preach in the morning and to hear Good in the afternoon, and later went to Lockyer's lodgings to argue a verse in the Bible.¹³⁹

Nothing seems stranger to us, and surely nothing in history is more remarkable than this curious blending of theology and war which marked the expedition to Scotland. That the commanders of a powerful army of invaders should turn aside to dispute over the meaning of a passage of Scripture with their own preachers is remarkable enough; but that they and their general should spend hours in debating points of theology with the ministers of their opponents passes the bounds of previous experience. Yet, given the character of the men and of the situation in which they found themselves, it is not so surprising. It was their purpose to divide their enemies, to bring as many of them to their side as possible, and what Cromwell's gold had accomplished in Ireland he hoped—and not without some grounds—his persuasion might achieve in Scotland, for his eloquence was as much a part of his equipment for the conquest of Scotland as his artillery, and scarcely less effective.

He had need of both, for at this moment the fate of the Commonwealth hung in the balance. The favorable auspices which accompanied his entry into Scotland had changed for the worse in many ways.

¹³⁷ Carlyle, App. 20 (3), from *Tanner Mss*, liv, 62. Signed and sealed. Pr. in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 272. This young Colonel Clayton married Judith, eldest daughter of Sir Philip Percivale, against the wishes of her family. His estate was small and threatened with sequestration. Her brother John seems to have been a favorite of Henry Cromwell's.

¹³⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 201, 204, 512.

¹³⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, May 19. The verse was *Eccles.* 8:8.

This was reflected in some measure in the attitude of the foreign powers. Spain had, indeed, recognized the Commonwealth in the preceding December, but the English representative, Anthony Ascham, hardly landed before he was assassinated by the Royalist exiles on May 27, and though Philip IV dismissed the Royalist agents, Cottington and Hyde, he did little to avenge the murder of Ascham. It was evident that if Cromwell failed, he was ready to give what aid he could to Charles. The French resident in London, Croullé, had earlier reported that a war between France and England was regarded as inevitable, and advised Mazarin to make terms with the Commonwealth to avoid joint action by England and Spain against the French monarchy. Meanwhile the privateering war between the English and the French went on unchecked, and Rupert, escaping Penn who had been sent to the Mediterranean to destroy him, had made for the West Indies. There, Barbados declared for Charles, who found sympathizers elsewhere, and in the preceding October Parliament had forbidden trade with the Royalist colonies, Barbados, Bermuda, Antigua and Virginia. Thus, save for Cromwell's conquests of Ireland and southern Scotland, the Commonwealth held only England and that by virtue of his army and the terror of his name. It was no wonder, then, that the authorities were alarmed beyond measure at the news of his illness and that his health became a matter of European concern. If he went no one could doubt that it meant the end of the Commonwealth. Vane had been an extraordinarily capable and successful administrator of the fleet; he was the most influential member of the Council in London, but no one could imagine him as the head of the state, and besides him there was no one who could possibly be regarded as filling the place of Cromwell, if he should be removed.

Nor was the Commonwealth popular. Despite the stress laid on its ability to rely on the militia at this time, despite the favorable comments on the members of its government made by the French resident, they had not commended themselves to the people in general. In the preceding November Croullé had written Mazarin that

"not only are they powerful by sea and land, but they live without ostentation, without pomp, without emulation of one another. They are economical in their private expenses and prodigal in their devotion to public affairs, for which each one toils as if for his private interests. They handle large sums of money which they administer honestly, observing a severe discipline. They reward well and punish severely."¹⁴⁰

It was a thorough-going recommendation, not weakened by the fact that, as he wrote further, their design was "to destroy all monarchies, all princes, whose interest it is to destroy them, because their

¹⁴⁰ Quoted in Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, i, 312-13.

crimes oblige all the world in general to contribute to them." This was the view of the French resident; but at this moment another and very different opinion was expressed by the minister to whom Cromwell had just been listening. According to Wariston, Good confided to him that

"the officers and Parliament men had maid great estats up to themselves, that their was litle justice in their Parliament men, but much brybing; that they did al for self preservation at the best; that God's people had but, as it wer, taiken quarter under and from them; that they hung by the threed of successe; the defeate of this army would break them al in peeeces; that wer not the General and Fleetwood, they had resolved on burning; that if their army prevayled they would maik this a conquest, and never suffer it to be a kingdome; that they would keepe the power by the sword; that when the General was [believed to be] dying, a commission was drawn to Haselrig, Lambert, Fleetwood and Whaley to gouverne the army; that many of them in Counsel of State was higher and prouder then kings; that the people was so weary of al warres as to be loath agayn to ingage in any; that the House had maid a wicked act repealing al acts compelling to outward worship."¹⁴¹

This seems a harsh judgment, but it was widely held. Apart from the increasing pressure of assessments, sequestrations and compoundings for delinquency which bore more and more heavily on the people, there were ugly stories of corruption and oppression. At this time there was published the third part of Clement Walker's *History of Independency*, under the title of "The High Court of Justice, or Cromwell's New Slaughter House." This included and extended his charges of corruption in the government that had brought Walker to the Tower where he shortly died. It was at this moment that Haselrig was attacked in print and in the courts for his ruthless abuse of his position to seize collieries and manors and to buy in at low prices the lands of the bishopric of Durham. It was at this moment, too, that John Lilburne entered the fray with his "*Just Reproof to Haberdashers Hall*" to denounce the commissioners for their injustice. There was, then, more ground than love of monarchy and church for the discontent which found expression in the combination of Royalists and Presbyterians in the great plot.

With that, save for his military preparations against a rising, Cromwell was not much concerned. In this interval of inaction he took occasion to reply to a letter from his distant relative, Robert Hammond, who had been granted a pension for his services as Charles I's jailer, but had retired from the army. He had commuted his pension for Irish lands, and, apparently, had written in regard to them and as to the possibility of re-entering the army—of which Cromwell obviously had some doubts:

¹⁴¹ Wariston, *Diary*, pp. 52-53.

To Col. Hammond

DEAR COUSIN,

I received yours, for which I thank you. I understand my cousin, your wife, is under some trouble of mind, but because you are not particular, I can only say my poor prayers shall be for her, that it may be sanctified to you both. I am glad to hear my aunt and you are agreed;¹⁴² I hope it's a mercy to you both. You mention some purposes to come and visit us, which kindness deserves and hath a thankful acknowledgment from your friends here, who retain in some measure their old principles, which are not unknown to you.

You do express in your letter that it's the desire of your soul that you may be led forth in some way wherein you may have more enjoyment of God, and be used to His glory, finding deadness.

Truly Sir, it's a favour from the Lord not to be valued that He vouchsafe to use and own us, of the sweet whereof you have heretofore tasted, and well it becomes you, in remembrance of former experiences, to say and think so. He is a master who owns every servant in the lowest station, and those who are in the highest have nothing to boast of but His favourable countenance and acceptance; the greater the trust the greater the account; there is not rejoicing simply in a low or high estate, in riches nor poverty, but only in the Lord. No, nor can we fetch contentment from the securest, hopefulest condition we can choose for ourselves, nor is the comfort and peace of the spirit annexed to the greatest retirements, but the wind bloweth where it listeth, and if we be found with the Lord in His work, He will dispense what is needful and oftentimes exceed in bounty.

You hint somewhat of a willingness to be again engaged, but with this, that the work in Ireland goes smoother with you than this. You will forgive me if I wonder what makes the difference; is it not one common and complexed interest and cause acted in Ireland and Scotland?

You oppose a call to your being in a good and settled condition to your contentment. Truly if it be the Lord's work now in hand, let it be of choice to leave contentments for it.

¹⁴³ The Lord hath no need of you, yet He hath fitted you with abilities for the present dispensation; your friends here judge so, and will heartily welcome you, but indeed I do not think you fitted for the work until the Lord give you a heart to beg of Him that He will accept you into His service. Indeed I write not this but in dearth of love, truth of heart, and fear of the Lord, to you. The Lord may lay us in the dust when He pleaseth, yet we serve Him—He is our Master, this is our boasting—to receive and welcome you with comfort into the fellowship of His service is not more desired by any than by

Your cousin and very affectionate friend to serve you,

May 13th, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.

My affection to my dear cousin and Aunt Hampden.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Hammond, it will be remembered, had married Hampden's daughter, and Mrs. Hampden, sen., was Eliz. Cromwell, sister to Oliver's father. She was now nearly eighty years of age. [Mrs. Lomas's note]

¹⁴³ The remainder is autograph.

¹⁴⁴ From the MSS. of the Marquis of Lothian. Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, ii., xxvi. Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 65.

It had now been nearly a fortnight since the army had returned to Edinburgh and men were beginning to chafe at the delay and to wonder what the next move would be—their General most of all. Wariston heard that Cromwell “had told his officers that he was never in a greater strate and perplexity wither to goe to Fyfe, Borders, or West, and desyred them to fast, that the Lord who hid His face from them might give them light what to doe; and that perplexity made him grow unweal.”¹⁴⁵ The London newspapers declared that the inactivity was due to lack of forage for the horses, but whatever it was, on May 16 Cromwell was again stricken with a serious attack of ague,¹⁴⁶ and, after his fashion, Wariston attributed this to his correspondence with Cromwell over the Registers, which were still in dispute. “The unjust, unrighteous dealing in that hes doon him ill,” wrote the Keeper, “and it was observed he fell unweal after getting my last letter anent them.”¹⁴⁷ It is true that Wariston’s letters might well have a bad effect on their recipients, but it is not probable that they would bring on such an attack as Cromwell now suffered. In the next three days he had five “fits,” but on the 20th of May his “lips brake out at 6 at night, which is a good sign of recovery,” though, as the correspondent of the *Perfect Diurnall* added, “My Lord is not sensible that he is grown an old man.”¹⁴⁸

The Council of State was genuinely alarmed at the news of his illness. They sent word at once that Dr. Wright and Dr. Bate, Cromwell’s “usual physicians in London,” were being hurried to his side,¹⁴⁹ and with the approval of Parliament requested him to return to England until his health was improved.¹⁵⁰ Before this letter arrived he was better, and was free from the pains which had troubled him since his first illness.¹⁵¹ He seemed cheerful on the 24th,¹⁵² the more so in that news reached him the day before of the success of St. John and Strickland in coming to an agreement with the States General.¹⁵³ That news was, in fact, but partly true. The States General had, indeed, agreed to enter into an alliance with the Commonwealth, but

¹⁴⁵ Wariston, *Diary*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁶ Wariston’s letter in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Laing Mss.*, i, 264–6.

¹⁴⁷ Wariston, *Diary*, p. 55.

¹⁴⁸ *Perf. Diurn.*, May 26–June 5. See also *Sev. Proc.*, May 29–June 5; *Merc. Pol.* May 26.

¹⁴⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 214; Whitelocke, p. 494.

¹⁵⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 218–220; *C. J.*, vi, 579; *Merc. Pol.*, May 28; *Perf. Diurn.*, May 27; *Old Parl. Hist.* notes that Cromwell himself asked that he be allowed to remove himself from the Scottish air which did not agree with him (xix, 477).

¹⁵¹ A letter was sent from Berwick on May 4 saying Cromwell had been “ill of the stone.” *Sev. Proc.*, May 8–15.

¹⁵² *Merc. Pol.*, May 29, 30.

¹⁵³ *Perf. Diurn.*, May 31. On June 5 the Council of State received news from them about a plot against Cromwell and ordered Lambert to watch all news from beyond seas. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 239.

the English ambassadors demanded an agreement for mutual aid against the enemies of either. The Dutch demurred; and St. John, defeated in his grandiose scheme of a union of the two republics, had asked for his recall at the very moment that Cromwell had received the cheering news of his success.

Meanwhile Cromwell continued to improve. On the 27th he was able to take his place in the Council of officers and to commit to the marshal a lieutenant's wife, belonging to the new sect of Ranters, telling her she was too vile to live.¹⁵⁴ By May 30, when the doctors arrived in a coach and six,¹⁵⁵ he was sleeping and eating well and walked a little in the garden of his quarters,¹⁵⁶ probably in Moray House. New appointments in the army at this moment roused speculation as to its movements and its leadership. Lambert was promoted to be acting lieutenant-general in Fleetwood's place; Deane, though still in command of the fleet in the Firth, was made a major-general in the army; and Monk was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance.¹⁵⁷

These changes seemed to portend greater activity on the part of the invaders, and it was none too soon. While they had lain inactive the Scots had seized the opportunity to improve their position. They were now practically in command of the Clydesdale district which had been in English hands but a few months earlier. The whole west country was slipping from the English.¹⁵⁸ The operations of Colonel Robert Montgomery there made it necessary for Whalley to take eight regiments of horse to Hamilton on June 1 to escort its garrison back to headquarters.¹⁵⁹ Alured abandoned Dumfries early in June, and Boghall Castle in Clydesdale was presently reoccupied by the Scots. Such were some of the results of Cromwell's illness; and had not the plans of the English conspirators been disarranged by the Council's intelligence service, the result might well have been disastrous. No one realized this more than Cromwell himself, and, recognizing that his illness was a hindrance to the English cause, he wrote Bradshaw to reassure the Council as to the state of his health:

¹⁵⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, June 2; *Merc. Pol.*, June 2, 3.

¹⁵⁵ *Sev. Proc.* May 29-June 5. The Council thanked Fairfax on June 3 for the use of his coach (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 235). Dr. Bate was George Bate, author of *Elenchus Motuum*.

¹⁵⁶ *Merc. Pol.*, June 6.

¹⁵⁷ Fleetwood retained the title and pay of lieutenant-general. See Cromwell's letter of June 17, 1651. See also *Perf. Diurn.*, June 6. The life guard was commanded by young Lord Howard of Naward, who was later made a major-general and a member of Cromwell's House of Lords. He was created Earl of Carlisle at the Restoration.

¹⁵⁸ Douglas, p. 254, points out, however, that the pamphlet *A Great Fight in Scotland between the Lord Gen. Cromwell and the Scots upon the Advance of L. G. Lesley and Col. Massie from Stirling to Glasgow* is a fabrication. It is supposed to be from a letter of May 16.

¹⁵⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, June 11.

[To the Lord President of the Council of State: These]

MY LORD,

I have received yours of the 27 of May, with an order of Parliament for my liberty to return into England for change of air, that thereby I might the better recover my health; all which came unto me whilst Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, whom your Lordship sent down, were with me.

I shall not need to recite the extremity of my late sickness: it was so violent that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof. But the Lord was pleased to deliver me, beyond expectation, and to give me cause to say once more, "He hath plucked me out of the grave!"¹⁶⁰ Indeed, my Lord, the indulgence of the Parliament expressed by their order is a very high and undeserved favour, of which although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me not to return a particular acknowledgment. I beseech you give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the Council for sending two such worthy persons, so great a journey, to visit me; from whom I have received much encouragement, and good directions for recovery of health and strength, which I find by the goodness of God, growing to such a state as may yet, if it be His good will, render me useful according to my poor ability, in the station wherein He hath set me.

I wish more steadiness in your affairs here than to depend, in the least, upon so frail a thing as I am. Indeed they do not, nor on any instrument. This Cause is God's and his son Jesus Christ's, and it must prosper. Oh, that all that have any hand therein, being so persuaded, would gird up the loins of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord! So prays,

My Lord,

Edinburgh,
June 3, 1651.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.¹⁶¹

It is evident that Cromwell was in a serious condition. It is not necessary to believe Aubrey's story that his fever "made him [so] mad that he pistolled one or two of his commanders that cam to visit him in his rage,"¹⁶² or Wariston—who finally got another pass for his Registers—when he wrote that "Both his weakness and his anger at the abuse of my house and the interest of his nayme has apparently wrought upon him."¹⁶³ But it seems obvious that he was a sick man in a bad temper. Whether or not the doctors had done him any good, he rode in his coach on June 5 until a Scotch mist drove him in again. They had meanwhile departed, to receive on their return £200 apiece, and Goddard was given an additional £100 with recommenda-

¹⁶⁰ Psalm xxx. 3, 'hast brought up my soul from the grave;' or, lxxxvi. 13, 'delivered my soul from:' but 'plucked' is not in any of the texts. [Carlyle's note]

¹⁶¹ Pr. in *Perf. Diurn.*, June 9; *Sev. Proc.*; *Perfect Politician* (1660); [Kimber,] *Life of Oliver Cromwell* (1724), p. 201; Carlyle, CLXXIV. Received June 7 and read in Parliament June 10. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 240; *C. J.*, vi, 585.

¹⁶² John Aubrey, *Letters and Lives of Eminent Men* (London, 1813), in which are published notes made for Anthony à Wood.

¹⁶³ Wariston, *Diary*, pp. 51, 63.

tion to the Universities' Committee to be master of a college, which brought him presently to the headship of Merton.¹⁶⁴

Though he was still unable to take an active part at the head of the army, Cromwell's recovery was a great relief to those who were hard put to it to raise money to keep that army in the field. On May 27 the Council had ordered an additional £100,000 despatched to Leith to pay the men and £43,000 for provisions.¹⁶⁵ With a view to reducing this drain on its resources, early in June it sent a Mr. Desborow to Scotland to work in conjunction with Saltonstall, its representative there, to improve the revenue from the lands under control of the army.¹⁶⁶ Those lands had meanwhile shrunk in size. The two Leslies, commanding under Charles, though avoiding a major engagement, had taken advantage of the inaction of the English invaders during Cromwell's illness to extend their lines. For the moment the invaders had not only lost the advantage of the spring campaign, but had been actually pushed back.

It was high time to repair that loss, and on June 9 Cromwell ordered his tent pitched in Edinburgh fields, mounted his horse once more and set out on that day and the next to review his regiments,¹⁶⁷ which now amounted to fourteen of horse, twelve of foot and six troops of dragoons.¹⁶⁸ Though this did not, as the Scots surmised, presage an immediate advance, it caused a concentration at Stirling of the forces which they reckoned as outnumbering those of their opponents.¹⁶⁹ It seemed that the long delay was at an end, but ten days elapsed before the English army and its general were prepared to march. That interval Cromwell improved by signing various documents, among them a pass, dated June 12, for Captain Edward Moore of the Irish forces to travel to Liverpool, thence to London and return.¹⁷⁰ The next day

¹⁶⁴ They reported to Council on June 12. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 250; see also p. 251, 254.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 221. £80,000 arrived at Leith soon afterward and thirty provision ships. Whitelocke, p. 496.

¹⁶⁶ Council's letter to Cromwell, June 3. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 237. This Desborow is not to be confused with the major-general. Cromwell had been ordered in December to send the latter a commission giving him martial law in the southwest of England. *Ibid.* (1650), p. 471. He was still on duty there at this time.

¹⁶⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, June 13; *Merc. Pol.*, June 18; *The Faithful Scout*, June 13-20, says June 12th.

¹⁶⁸ These, according to *Perf. Diurn.*, July 7-14, were the horse regiments of Cromwell, Lambert, Fleetwood, Whalley, Tomlinson, Twisleton, Hacker, Okey, Lydcot, Berry, Grosvenor, Alured, Lilburne, and six troops under Col. Husbands; and the foot regiments of Cromwell, Lambert, Deane (formerly Mauleverer's), Monk, Fairfax, Pride, Goffe, West, Cooper, Ashfield, Daniel, and Rede. See also *Weekly Intelligencer*.

¹⁶⁹ Daniel O'Neile to Ormonde, Stirling, June 20, *Carte, Orig. Letters*, ii, 31. *Perf. Diurn.*, July 7, says they have 15,000 foot and 6,000 horse. Other authorities say 29,000. See Whitelocke, p. 498.

¹⁷⁰ Original, signed and sealed, calendared in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 10 App. IV, p. 99 (Capt. Stewart's Mss.), was sold at auction in November, 1901.

he wrote a letter in reply to one of March 17 from Thomas Margetts in the name of the Court of War in behalf of a Royalist colonel, one Nicholas Borlace, who had meanwhile come to lay his case before the General:

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

SIR,

Having received the enclosed petition and letter from the Officers of a Court of War at Whitehall, representing unto me that the faith of the Army concerning the Articles of Truro, in the particular case of Colonel Nicholas Borlace, is violated; and the petitioner himself having come hither to Scotland, desiring me to be instrumental that the said Articles may be performed, and that the faith of the Army thereupon given might be made good: I do therefore humbly desire That the Parliament will please to take his case into consideration, and that his business may receive a speedy hearing (he being already almost quite exhausted in the prosecution thereof); that so justice may be done unto him, and that the faith of the Army may be preserved. I crave pardon for this trouble; and rest,

Sir,

Edinburgh,
13th June 1651.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.¹⁷¹

This case reveals the practices of some members of the government which were producing such ill feeling, and those of the government itself. Borlace, a Catholic in Hopton's army which had surrendered on terms at Truro in 1646, had petitioned three years later to compound on those terms. His petition was granted and his fine set by the Committee on Compounding. But a year later the committee for Cornwall declared him incapable of composition as having been a papist in arms, whose wife and children were also of that faith. A Cornish committeeman, one Jago, took possession of his estate and was doing everything in his power to keep it. He was a persistent man. Despite the efforts of the Committee for Relief on Articles of War, Fairfax and Cromwell to wrest it from Jago and from his son, not until Cromwell became Protector was his word given in the articles of surrender finally made good and Borlace's estate restored to him. So strong was the interest of those enterprising supporters of the Commonwealth who took advantage of their position to acquire their opponents' property, as in this case, under guise of "doing their duty."¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Lomas-Carlyle, App. 20 (4), from *Tanner Mss*, liv. f. 85. Private seal V, Henfrey, p. 183.

¹⁷² See Mrs. Lomas' footnote in Lomas-Carlyle, App. 20; and *Cal. Com. for Comp.*, p. 2001-6.

By June 16, when, in preparation for the coming campaign, a fast day was kept and Cromwell expounded a verse of Scripture,¹⁷³ the men were ready to move; and on the day following Cromwell wrote to Bradshaw again to have Fleetwood and Whalley included in the army establishment:

To the Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State

MY LORD,

At my march into Scotland, being destitute of general officers of horse, I commissioned Col. Fleetwood to be Lieut.-General of the Horse, and Col. Whalley to be Commissary-General; and now, understanding that the treasurers make some stop of their pay by reason they are not within the establishment, I thought fit humbly to recommend their case unto your Lordship, desiring they may be put into the establishment. I crave pardon for this trouble, and rest, my Lord,

Your most humble servant,

Edinburgh, June 17, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁷⁴

On June 19, the General was again in the field at the head of his army. Harrison, with five or six thousand men,¹⁷⁵ was left to block the western roads into England, and Cromwell requested the Council to send recruits and provisions to Chester as a base for operations in Scotland, as it had been for Ireland. On the 25th, the English began to take up a position in the Pentland Hills and Cromwell rode out to inspect the camp, though he did not move his headquarters thither until a few days later.¹⁷⁶ There he entertained at dinner in his tent a group of English ladies, including Mrs. Lambert and Mrs. Deane, who had come to visit their husbands;¹⁷⁷ and there he wrote on the same day to Mr. Mayor about Richard Cromwell's extravagance and financial difficulties,¹⁷⁸ which had already begun and were to last throughout his life:

¹⁷³ *Perf. Diurn.*, June 25; *Merc. Pol.*, June 24.

¹⁷⁴ Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 66, from the original at Welbeck. Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, *Portland Mss.* i, 607. Read in Parliament June 26 by Vane, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 264; *C. J.*, vi, 592.

¹⁷⁵ Cromwell wrote to the Council about this time about more recruits and provisions for Chester, which had been a provision base for Ireland, but now was called on also for the army in Scotland. (See *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 584). Cromwell's letter was referred to the Irish and Scotch Committee on June 30. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹⁷⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 5. A letter in *Sev. Proc.* July 3-10, says "the conveniency of warm quarters in *Leith* being so close."

¹⁷⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 5.

¹⁷⁸ Mr. Mayor and Richard Cromwell were two of the three Justices of the Peace for Hants. See Council of State to Justices, July 22, 1651. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 293.

To Richard Mayor

DEAR BROTHER,

I was glad to receive a letter from you, for indeed anything that comes from you is very welcome to me. I believe your expectation of my Son's coming is deferred. I wish he may see a happy delivery of his Wife first,¹⁷⁹ for whom I frequently pray.

I hear my Son hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt. Truly I cannot commend him therein; wisdom requiring his living within compass, and calling for it [at] his hands. And in my judgment, the reputation arising from thence would have been more real honour than what is attained the other way. I believe vain men will speak well of him that does ill.

I desire to be understood that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honourable carriage of himself in them; nor is any matter of charge, like to fall to my share, a stick with me. Truly I can find in my heart to allow him not only a sufficiency but more, for his good. But if pleasure and self-satisfaction be made the business of a man's life, so much cost laid out upon it, so much time spent in it, as rather answers appetite than the will of God, or is comely before His Saints, I scruple to feed this humour; and God forbid that his being my son should be his allowance to live not pleasingly to our Heavenly Father, who hath raised me out of the dust to what I am!

I desire you in faithfulness (he being also your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life; and to search His statutes for a rule to conscience, and to seek grace from Christ to enable [him] to walk therein. This hath life in it, and will come to somewhat: what is a poor creature without this? This will not abridge of lawful pleasures; but teach such an use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience going along with it. Sir, I write what is in my heart; I pray you communicate my mind herein to my Son, and be his remembrancer in these things. Truly I love him, he is dear to me; so is his Wife; and for their sakes do I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor encouragement from me, so far as I may afford it. But indeed I cannot think I do well to feed a voluptuous humour in my Son, if he should make pleasures the business of his life, in a time when some precious Saints are bleeding, and breathing out their last, for the safety of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Urijah to David (2nd Chron., xi, 11).¹⁸⁰

Sir, I beseech you believe I here say not this to save my purse; for I shall willingly do what is convenient to satisfy his occasions, as I have opportunity. But as I pray he may not walk in a course not pleasing to the Lord, so [I] think it lieth upon me to give him (in love) the best counsel I may; and know not how better to convey it to him than by so good a hand as yours. Sir, I pray you acquaint him with these thoughts of mine. And remember my

¹⁷⁹ This refers to the birth of Anne, the second daughter, on July 15. Cp. Noble, *Protectoral House of Cromwell*.

¹⁸⁰ This should be 2nd Samuel: 'And Uriah said unto David, The Ark, and Israel, and Judah abide in tents; and my lord Joab, and the servants of my Lord, are encamped in the open fields: shall I then go into mine house, to eat and to drink, and to lie with my wife? As thou livest, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing.' [Carlyle's note]

love to my daughter; for whose sake I shall be induced to do any reasonable thing. I pray for her happy deliverance, frequently and earnestly.

I am sorry to hear my bailiff in Hantshire should do to my son as is intimated by your Letter. I assure you I shall not allow any such thing. If there be any suspicion of his abuse of the wood, I desire it may be looked after, and inquired into; that so, if things appear true, he may be removed; although indeed I must needs say he had the repute of a godly man, by divers that knew him when I placed him there.

Sir, I desire my hearty affection may be presented to my sister, my Cousin Ann, and her husband though unknown. I praise the Lord I have obtained much mercy in respect of my health; the Lord give me a truly thankful heart. I desire your prayers; and rest,

Your very affectionate brother and servant,

June 28th, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁸¹

The six months which had elapsed since the surrender of Edinburgh Castle had seen the successful completion of the efforts of the English to bring all southern Scotland under their control and to restrict Charles and his followers to the region north of the Forth. They had seen more than that. The Covenanters had been for the most part conquered or converted and were no longer a menace to the invaders or a help to Charles. The moss-troopers had been largely suppressed and many of their strongholds taken. For a time, indeed, these successes had been nullified by Cromwell's illness and it had even seemed for some weeks that he might be removed from the scene of his activities by death or disability. But his health was improving; the Royalist-Presbyterian plot had been discovered and crushed before it burst into rebellion; and, as the summer came on, with Cromwell's recovery and peace restored in England, all was ready for another effort to crush Charles and establish the authority of the Commonwealth in Scotland.

¹⁸¹ Pr. in Harris, pp. 531-3; Noble, i, 328. Lomas-Carlyle, CLXXXVIII, from the original, no. 19 of the Pusey collection, then in the Morrison Collection. Listed for sale in Maggs Bros. Cat. no. 417, item no. 2673 (1921), for £65.

CHAPTER X

INVERKEITHING TO WORCESTER

On the 30th of June, 1651, Cromwell entered on the final and successful stage of his long effort to conquer Scotland. Leading his army toward Stirling, camping at Newbridge on the east bank of Almond Water on the first night, and at Linlithgow the next, the General reached the palace there about four o'clock on the first of July.¹ The next day his forces advanced to Falkirk, where the Scottish horse had been quartered until the approach of the English, when they retired to Torwood. There the rest of the Scottish army occupied a fortified hill with trenches at its base, and there the story of Gogar was repeated. The English drew up a scant mile from the Scots, whose lines, protected by bogs and the River Carron, were too strong to attack, and though Cromwell waited eight hours for them to draw out and fight, the Scots refused to leave their position.² Charles was in active command of their army, and was observed riding about in his "buff-coloured suit," showing himself "too forward to hazard his person," and assuring his anxious followers that he "had but a life to lose."

Despite the King's activity, Leslie's Fabian tactics were still in the ascendant; and each side contented itself with skirmishing, taking prisoners for intelligence, and the use of spies to feel out the position, strength and temper of its opponent. On the first day, twelve Scots were taken, one English soldier killed,³ and Okey brought off with some difficulty a party of skirmishers; while Cromwell, during this feeling out of the enemy's position, stayed at Moorcar, "a poor inconsiderable town,"⁴ and there received a trumpeter of Charles' life-guard, on some errand now unknown.⁵ That night the Scots planted some cannon on the hill to play on the English, of whom two or three were killed, and Cromwell retaliated in kind. But the Scots refused to be drawn from their position; and the next morning about ten o'clock, having listened to the reports of the spies he had sent into the enemy's

¹ *Merc. Pol.*, July 8, 9; *Perf. Diurn.*, July 9.

² *Perf. Diurn.*, July 14; *Merc. Pol.*, July 14. On July 2 Cromwell signed a warrant for Lambert's pay. See appendix.

³ *Perf. Acc.*, July 9-16.

⁴ There is a Carbrook near Torwood.

⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 11; *Perf. Acc.*; *Weekly Intell.* About this time he refused to exchange a deserter from his own army, whom he held prisoner, sending another instead.

camp,⁶ the English commander held a council of war and decided to fall back as far as Callander House, now in Scotch hands.

If he hoped to draw the Scots from their entrenchments by a ruse, he was disappointed, for they did not even attack his rear-guard.⁷ Again his efforts to bring Leslie to an engagement had failed and once more he took up his quarters in Linlithgow.⁸ There he remained until July 5, when the army once more took the road to Edinburgh, then turned west, stopping first at Shotts, then at Shetlstoun, and finally reaching Glasgow.⁹ Its commander's temper had meanwhile not been improved by the Scots' ill treatment of the army's tents which had been left standing in Linlithgow. "Old Nol," wrote Hodgson, "was angry they had been so rough with our tents, and in the morning he appointed two of our field-pieces to be left with the guns," to intimidate the inhabitants, who, without this precaution, would have finished their work of destruction.¹⁰ Before he entered Glasgow, the General issued a proclamation, read at the head of each regiment, forbidding the soldiers under pain of death to stray from their colours, plunder, or do violence to people not in arms;¹¹ but he himself "oversaw" a search for arms and allowed his men to destroy corn to prevent the Scots making use of it.

So for a week he remained in Glasgow, perhaps in perplexity as to his next move, perhaps to bar the way to England and to prevent the western levies from reaching Charles, perhaps to tempt the Scots to make a dash on Edinburgh and so bring on the engagement he had sought so long. Meanwhile he wrote to Vane:

To Sir Henry Vane, Jr.

Assuring him that his health continues and of his having just taken the garrison of Newark, situated on Dumbarton Firth at Port Glasgow, and asking to have provisions sent from Chester, Liverpool, Bristol, etc.; also a small vessel from Chester. Traces are needed immediately.
[July 11, 1651.]¹²

The English were now at a stand and uncertain of their next move,¹³ though from the request for supplies from the western rather

⁶ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 161.

⁷ *Perf. Acc.*, July 9-16.

⁸ *Merc. Pol.*, July 23.

⁹ Baillie, i, cix; *Perf. Diurn.*, July 18, says they stayed the first night at "Pickham" twelve miles from Linlithgow, the second at "Debath" three miles from Glasgow.

¹⁰ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 161.

¹¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 18.

¹² The substance of this letter can be inferred from Vane's reply, pr. in Nickolls, *Original Letters*, p. 84. See also *Perf. Acc.* and *Perf. Diurn.*, July 14-21. Part of the letter was in cipher and related to a matter which Vane and Fleetwood "were not long since propounding" to themselves. Newark was retaken as soon as the English army left Glasgow.

¹³ See Cromwell's letter of July 21: "we knew not what to do."

than the eastern ports, it would appear that Cromwell's thoughts were turning to that quarter, perhaps as the basis of a new design. Color is lent to the suggestion by the fact that Lambert had been sent with three regiments on a reconnoitering expedition across the upper Forth to see if there was any possibility of outflanking the Scottish position by that route. He brought back word that the army, with the exception of the 'carriages,' could easily cross the river at New-bridge, but Cromwell did not venture to take that course. His caution was understandable. "Were it not in reference to England (lest when we attempted over with the body of the army, they should march for England)," wrote a correspondent on July 11, "we should presently go over."¹⁴ The risk was too great and on July 12 the army once more set out for Edinburgh, marching five or six miles toward Hamilton that day and quartering at Monkland "four miles from the enemy" that night.¹⁵ Fearing an attack, the cavalry remained mounted all night, and the next day the army marched to "St. Lawrence Parish," four miles from Linlithgow and three miles from Falkirk, where Cromwell spent the night in a cottage called Somerhouse.¹⁶

The next day, as Cromwell was returning from a scouting expedition with Lambert to Falkirk, the Scots fired on him. His vengeance was swift. A council of war convened that day to determine a policy,¹⁷ and the next morning battering-pieces were planted against Callander House, a captain being killed in the process,¹⁸ and by eleven o'clock they were playing against the walls. At seven that evening the breaches were considered practicable, and ten files from each regiment were sent to throw faggots into the moat and stand by ready to storm. A drummer was sent to ask for a conference between the governor and Cromwell's messenger, Captain Mosse, who was given permission to enter. Quarter was offered to the garrison, but when Lieutenant Galbraith, who was in command, demanded until eight the next morning to see if he would be relieved, Cromwell sent word that the place must be surrendered at once. This was refused and the house was stormed in full view of the Scots army, mounted and watching. Even under such provocation Leslie refused to be drawn into an engagement as Cromwell doubtless hoped, and permitted the governor and sixty-one men of the garrison to be killed and thirteen taken prisoner rather than risk his army in the open field.¹⁹

¹⁴ *Merc. Pol.*

¹⁵ This must be Montgomery.

¹⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 21.

¹⁷ *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 33.

¹⁸ *Perf. Diurn.* This newsletter adds: "I have enclosed a proclamation from his Excellency against Straughan."

¹⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 25. Seventeen civilians were released, although Heath, (*Chronicle*, p. 292) says: "Cromwell put all the defendants except the Governor to the sword."

Every effort on Cromwell's part to induce or compel Leslie to fight had failed. The Scottish position at Stirling was too strong to attack. It had not seemed feasible to try to outflank it on the west. There remained, therefore, only one other course; it was to take up in earnest the plan of cutting Stirling off from its source of supplies by invading Fife, and so force its defenders to fight or starve. This plan, which had been considered many times before, was now adopted. On July 17 a detachment of Colonel Daniel's foot regiment, with four additional companies of foot and four troops of horse, under Colonel Overton, sent from Leith, landed at North Ferry in Fife,²⁰ and so began another chapter in the long and tedious chronicle of the Scotch campaign.

It was a daring maneuver, for it would give Leslie an opportunity to hurry along the north bank of the Forth and crush the English as they landed, or move along the south bank and attack Cromwell's weakened army, and, if successful, make a dash for England. It seemed, none the less, the only possibility of forcing the issue and Cromwell had certain advantages on his side. There was more than an even chance that Overton could defend himself for a time against the whole Scottish army, for North Ferry stood on a narrow, easily fortified peninsula. Moreover Leslie's men had thirty miles to march, part of which, especially over Stirling Bridge, would be slow and difficult for a large army, and Cromwell was but ten miles from Queensferry. As for an attack on his own forces, Cromwell had no fear, for he held Edinburgh and Harrison was on his way with reinforcements.²¹ So, while Overton made his sudden dash across the Firth of Forth, the General remained at Torwood, as a threat to Charles, and to harass his rear if he set out for Stirling.²²

The Scottish leaders were naturally advised of the English move, and while Massey was despatched to recover Newark Castle, Major-General Sir John Browne was sent with four thousand men to dispute the possession of North Ferry.²³ Cromwell may have hoped that a larger force would be despatched against Overton and that he could safely attack Leslie's weakened army. He even considered this project, though he knew that the Scots were still formidable in numbers.²⁴ Finally, however, he decided to reinforce Overton, and, apparently on the night of Thursday, July 17, he ordered Lambert to cross the Forth with two regiments of horse and two of foot, including those of Colonel West and Colonel Okey. It was no easy matter to

²⁰ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 25.

²¹ *Merc. Pol.*, July 17-24. Wariston notes on July 16 that Harrison arrived with 4000 men (*Diary*, p. 81).

²² *Perf. Diurn.*, July 25; *Merc. Pol.*, July 29.

²³ Balfour (*Hist. Works*, iv, 313) says Holborne was commander-in-chief of this force. All the English accounts say Browne was commander.

²⁴ See Cromwell's letter, July 21.

find transportation for such a force, but on Saturday the embarkation of the foot from Queensferry began and by Sunday, the 20th, Lambert was at the head of some five thousand men.

Meanwhile, from Stirling, Browne and his colleague, Holborne, had reached Inverkeithing at the neck of the peninsula, as Lambert successfully defended the passage while his last regiment of horse disembarked. Thus outnumbered, the Scots determined to withdraw, and Lambert, perceiving signs of this movement, sent Okey to attack their rear. Browne realized that he must fight and drew up in order of battle; but for an hour and a half neither side moved. Then Lambert was informed that Browne was being reinforced and that Cromwell was in retreat. That report was based on the drawing off of four more English regiments for Queensferry, but Lambert dared not wait. He at once attacked the Scots who held a position on rising ground, and after a brief engagement completely routed them. Only a thousand escaped to Stirling. Two thousand were killed, and fourteen hundred taken prisoner, including Browne who was fatally wounded.²⁵

This decisive defeat was attributed by many to the treachery of Holborne,²⁶ who had been earlier dismissed as governor of Stirling Castle; and though he was cleared by a court-martial, he was removed from his command. The numbers engaged in the battle of Inverkeithing were not large, but its results were scarcely less important than those of Dunbar. It was the turning-point of the long campaign to drive the Scots into the field; for with the invaders strongly established in Fife, evasion was no longer possible. With Fife in English hands, Charles' position in Stirling was no longer tenable; he had to run or fight; there was now no other choice.

While Cromwell awaited news from Fife, he took occasion to sign various commissions, among them, apparently, one for Lieutenant-Colonel Kelsey as governor of Dover Castle, which Parliament had empowered the Council of State to request on May 15;²⁷ and one to Lieutenant-Colonel Hunkins as governor of the Scillies, in accordance with a letter of the Council of June 26.²⁸ Besides these he issued to a certain William Draper a commission as captain in Sir William Constable's regiment, of which a copy still remains:

Commission to William Draper, Captain.

By virtue of the power and authority to me derived from the Parliament of

²⁵ Lambert's letter, in *Perf. Diurn.*; *More Letters from Scotland*. Among the killed were four hundred Macleans with their laird Hector, who came up at the end of the battle. See also C. E. Lucas Phillips. *Cromwell's Captains* for map of Battle.

²⁶ Balfour, *Hist. Works*, iv, 313; Clarendon, xiii, 51-2. *Chronicles of the Frasers* (p. 384) says, "Hellish Hoborn came not up, which if he had the Scotch had carried it but doubt." Lambert makes no mention of Holborne.

²⁷ C. J., vi, 574; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 201.

²⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 269, 279.

England, I do hereby constitute and appoint you Captain of that Company of Foot whereof Captain Disney was late Captain, raised, and to be raised, under my command, for the service of the Commonwealth, in the regiment whereof Sir William Constable is Colonel. These are therefore to require you to make your present repair unto the said Company, and taking charge thereof as Captain, duly to exercise the inferior officers and soldiers of the said Company in armes, and to use your best care and endeavours to keep them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their Captain. And you are likewise to observe such orders and directions, as you shall, from time to time, receive from myself and your superior officers of the said regiment and army, according to the discipline of war. Given under my hand and seal, the 20th day of July, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.²⁹

By Monday, July 21, Cromwell had received the news of the victory in Fife, and, though the details were lacking, he hastened to inform the Parliament of this "unspeakable mercy." It is evident from his letter and from the comment of the editor of *Mercurius Politicus* that it deserved 'to be written in letters of gold,' what a tremendous relief this success was to the supporters of the Commonwealth:

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These

SIR,

After our waiting upon the Lord, and not knowing what course to take, for indeed we know nothing but what God pleaseth to teach us of His great mercy, we were directed to send a party to get us a landing [on the Fife coast] by our boats, whilst we marched towards Glasgow.

On Thursday morning last, Colonel Overton, with about 1400 foot and some horse and dragoons, landed at the North Ferry in Fife; we with the army lying near to the enemy (a small river parted us and them) and we having consultations to attempt the enemy within his fortifications; but the Lord was not pleased to give way to that counsel, proposing a better way for us. The Major-General marched, on Thursday night, with two regiments of horse and two regiments of foot, for better securing the place; and to attempt upon the enemy as occasion should serve. He getting over, and finding a considerable body of the enemy there (who would probably have beaten our

²⁹ Pr. in *The Antiquarian Repertory*, compiled by Francis Grose and Thomas Astle, (1807) i, 233. In Dickinson, *History of Newark*, p. 119, and repr. in *Notes & Queries*, 4, iii, 165, is pr. a commission in almost the same words, to Nathaniel Dickinson, Lieutenant. Its authenticity has been doubted by Mrs. Lomas and by R. W. Ramsey ("Elizabeth Claypole," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vii, 38n (1893)). Dickinson is appointed in the commission as lieutenant in Capt. Robert Swallow's troop "in the regiment whereof Commissary General John Cleipole is colonel." Swallow was captain of the "Maiden Troop" in Cromwell's first regiment; and it may be noted that on Aug. 11, 1651, a Robert Swallow wrote to Parliament from Yorkshire, and that on the 13th the Council discussed "proposals of Mr. Cleypole," authorizing him the next day to raise a voluntary troop of horse in Northampton or elsewhere. *C. J.*, vi, 622; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 326, 330.

men from the place if he had not come), drew out and fought them; he being 2 regiments of horse, and about 400 of horse and dragoons more, and 3 regiments of foot; the enemy 5 regiments of foot, and about 4 or 5 of horse. They came to a close charge and in the end totally routed the enemy; have taken about 40 or 50 colours, killed near 2000, some say more; have taken Sir John Brown, (their Major-General, who commanded in chief,) and other Colonels and considerable Officers killed and taken, and about 5 or 600 prisoners.³⁰ The enemy is removed from their ground with their whole army; but whither we certainly know not.

This is an unspeakable mercy. I trust the Lord will follow it until He hath perfected peace and truth. We can truly say, we were gone as far as we could in our counsel and action, and we did say one to another, we knew not what to do. Wherefore it is sealed upon our hearts, that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord's goodness, and not from man. I hope it becometh me to pray that we may walk humbly and self-denyingly before the Lord, and believingly also; that you whom we serve, as the authority over us, may do the work committed to you, with uprightness and faithfulness, and thoroughly, as to the Lord; that you may not suffer anything to remain that offends the eyes of His jealousy; that common weal may more and more be sought, and justice done impartially. For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro; and as He finds out His enemies here, to be avenged on them, so will He not spare them for whom He doth good, if by His loving kindness they become not good. I shall take the humble boldness to represent this engagement [in the words] of David in the 119 Psalm, verse 134, *Deliver me from the oppression of man, so will I keep Thy precepts.*

I take leave, and rest,
Lithgow,
July 21, 1651.

Sir, your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.

The carriage of the Major-General, as in all other things so in this, is worthy of your taking notice of; as also the Colonels Okey, Overton, Daniel, West, Lydcot, Syler, and the rest of the officers.³¹

With the victory of Inverkeithing it seemed that the long awaited turn of the tide had come. Lambert pushed forward as far as Dunfermline where his men amused themselves with destroying the seats in the church and stealing Wariston's liquor, while their commander made a call on Lady Wariston, whose husband in Edinburgh was blessing God for his mercies.³² The effect of Lambert's success on the army of Charles and Leslie was staggering, and its leaders were evidently at a loss as to how to meet this sudden turn in their fortunes.

³⁰ Cromwell corrects this statement in a letter written the next day.

³¹ In *Perf. Diurn.*, July 21-28; *Merc. Pol.*, July 25; *A Letter from the Lord General . . . to the Speaker; A Great Victory God hath vouchsafed; Cromwelliana*, p. 106; Carlyle, CLXXV. The Council of State was ordered to draft a letter of thanks to be signed by the Speaker, and ordered Col. Nathaniel Rich to Scotland on the same day, July 25. *C. J.*, vi, 609; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 297.

³² Dunfermline Kirk Session Records, quoted in Lyon, *Charles II*, p. 195n; Wariston, *Diary*, pp. 85, 88.

While Cromwell was writing his report, the Scots could be seen through the English "prospective glasses"³³ hastily abandoning their position at Torwood, leaving their ammunition and their sick behind. It appears that the first thought of the Scottish commanders was to crush Lambert, and they began to push their troops across Stirling Bridge. But Cromwell's army at once started in pursuit, with orders to ford the Forth rather than try to force the defenses at the bridge, and the Scottish leaders perceiving that they stood in danger of being crushed between the two English armies, changed their plans.

They had, in fact, only advanced five or six miles toward Lambert when they were ordered to return to Stirling. By the time they arrived Cromwell and Deane were only a mile away at Bannockburn,³⁴ where they again offered battle but were again refused, and the next day Cromwell returned to Linlithgow. There he was reported "holding out marvelously well, considering his poor health." From there he sent a note to Lenthall to correct his first report of Inverkeithing:

*For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the
Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*

SIR,

I beg your pardon for that I writ by Paine the messenger that there were taken prisoners of the enemy in Fife five or six hundred, whereas, upon fuller information, I find that there were taken prisoners between fifteen and sixteen hundred.

I remain, Sir,

Lithgow,
22 July, 1651.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.³⁵

Lambert's success altered the whole character of the Scotch campaign. Cromwell's plan up to this time had been to keep the army of Charles and Leslie from making a sudden dash into England along the western roads to cooperate with the Royalist rising planned in conjunction with that advance. The discovery of that plot, the numerous arrests, the raising of fresh troops and of militia in England, with the strengthening of places like Chester, had reduced the danger of such a combination to a minimum, and with these preparations and Lambert's victory, Cromwell's plans were changed. He had summoned Major-General Harrison, the commander of the forces in northern England, to discuss the new design. Harrison had arrived on July 19,³⁶ with his own regiment, that of Ingoldsby and a dozen additional troops; and it was apparently as a result of the conferences then

³³ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 162.

³⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 30.

³⁵ *Sev. Proc.*, July 24-31; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, ii, 151; Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 67. Paine was given £50 by Parliament. *C. J.*, vi, 609.

³⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 25.

held and these reinforcements that the new strategy was determined. Four days later Harrison turned south again with three thousand men and Cromwell began a concentration at Queensferry with Perth as his objective.³⁷

On July 23 his troops began to embark for Fife, while he himself took up his quarters at Dundas Castle a mile from Queensferry,³⁸ and Lambert seized the fortified island of Inchgarvie, midway between North Ferry and Queensferry.³⁹ By the next day Cromwell had some fourteen thousand men in Fife,⁴⁰ with eight regiments left to defend southern Scotland. From Dundas he planned to call on Lady Ingliston, three miles away, but was dissuaded by Wariston;⁴¹ and there he wrote his plans to Bradshaw on the day that his troops were finally disposed:

[To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of
State: These]

MY LORD,

It hath pleased God to put your affairs here in some hopeful way, since the last defeat given to the enemy.

I marched with the army very near to Stirling, hoping thereby to get the pass; and went myself with General Deane, and some others, up to Bannockburn, hearing that the enemy were marched on the other side towards our forces in Fife. Indeed they went four or five miles on towards them, but hearing of my advance, in all haste they retreated back, and possessed the Park, and their other works, which we viewed, and finding them not advisable to attempt, resolved to march to Queensferry, and there to ship over so much of the army as might hopefully be master of the field in Fife. Which accordingly we have almost perfected; and have left, on this side, somewhat better than four regiments of horse, and as many of foot.

I hear now the enemy's great expectation is to supply themselves in the West with recruits of men, and what victual they can get; for they may expect none out of the North, when once our army shall interpose between them and St. Johnstons. To prevent their prevalence in the West, and making incursions into the Borders of England, * * *

Dundas [Castle],

O. CROMWELL.⁴²

July 24, 1651.

³⁷ *The Army's Intelligencer*.

³⁸ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 1.

³⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 30; *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 1. Douglas (p. 287) says Cromwell took this "you may say, in person," but all the accounts say it was surrendered to Lambert.

⁴⁰ Cromwell's letter, July 26. *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 1, says 20,000.

⁴¹ "I heard the General mynded to com down heir to see the lady, who was seak, whereof I had no will, and haysted the lard to see him and tell him that shoe had paired with chylde, and was not now for discoursing." Wariston, *Diary*, p. 88.

⁴² In *Sev. Proc.*, July 31-Aug. 7; *Cromwelliana*, p. 107. Carlyle, CLXXVI; *Parl. Hist.*, xix, 497. Read in Parliament by Vane. *C. J.*, vi, 614. The last part of the letter was prudently omitted in the newspaper.

Though for prudential reasons Vane left off reading this letter to the House at the point where it began to outline the plan of the campaign, it is not difficult to guess what that plan was. Cromwell now had the army of Charles and Leslie in a trap. The chief source of its supplies was in his hands and he was in a position to interfere with its communications to the north. There were only three things that the Scots could do, and he was ready for them all. They could retreat to the Highlands; they could stay where they were and be caught between the jaws of the pincers closing on them; or they could go south into England. Any one of these was dangerous, if not disastrous. To go north was not only to run the risk of being intercepted, but to admit their failure, and lose not merely all southern and mid-Scotland but their army, which the Highlands could not possibly support. To stay where they were was to court disaster. They dared not meet Cromwell in the field; and there was, as he and they both knew, but one course which, however desperate, seemed to promise any hope of success. It was to put their fortune to the test and win or lose it all in an attempt on England.

While his plans matured, Cromwell was in no hurry to advance. He went to Leith on the evening of July 26 and was reported as staying there for a week "to take physick and refresh himself,"⁴³ and in the meantime to write again to Bradshaw:

*For the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of
State: These*

MY LORD,

I am able to give you no more account than what you have by my last, only we have now in Fife about thirteen or fourteen thousand horse and foot. The enemy is at his old lock, and lieth in and near Stirling, where we cannot come to fight him, except he please, or we go upon too-too manifest hazards; he having very strongly laid himself, and having a very great advantage there. Whither we hear he hath lately gotten great provisions of meal, and reinforcement of his strength out of the North under Marquis Huntly. It is our business still to wait upon God, to show us our way how to deal with this subtle enemy; which I hope He will.

Our forces on this side the river are not very many; wherefore I have sent for Colonel Rich's, and shall appoint them, with the forces under Colonel Sanders, to embody close upon the Borders, and to be in readiness to join with those left on this side the Frith, or to be for the security of England, as occasion shall offer; there being little use of them where they lie, as we know.

Your soldiers begin to fall sick, through the wet weather which has lately been. It is desired, therefore, that the recruits of foot determined may rather come sooner in time than usually; and may be sure to be full in numbers, according to your appointment, whereof great failing have lately been. For the way of raising them, it is wholly submitted to your pleasure; and we hear-

⁴³ *Merc. Pol.*, July 31.

ing you rather choose to send us volunteers than pressed-men, shall be very glad you go that way.

Our spades are spent to a very small number; we desire, therefore, that of the five-thousand tools we lately sent for, at the least three-thousand of them may be spades, they wearing most away in our works, and being most useful. Our horse-arms, especially our pots, are come to a very small number; it is desired we may have a thousand backs-and-breasts, and fifteen-hundred pots. We have left us in store but four-hundred pair of pistols, two-hundred saddles, six-hundred pikes, two-thousand and thirty muskets, whereof thirty snaphances. These are our present stores, and not knowing what you have sent us by this fleet that is coming, we desire we may be considered therein. Our cheese and butter is our lowest store of victual.

We were necessitated to pay the soldiery moneys now at their going over into Fife, whereby the treasury is much exhausted, although we desire to husband it what we can. This being the principal time of action, we desire your Lordship to take a principal care that money may be supplied us with all possible speed, and these other things herewith mentioned, your affairs so necessarily requiring the same.

The Castle of Ennes-garvy [Inchgarvie], which lieth in the river, almost in the midway between the North and South Ferry, commonly called Queen's Ferry, was delivered to us on Thursday last. They marched away with their swords and baggage only, leaving us sixteen cannon and all their other arms and ammunition. I rest,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

July 26, 1651.⁴⁴

O. CROMWELL.⁴⁵

He was in no haste, for, in spite of his information that the Scots occupied a position at Stirling too strong to attack and that they had been supplied with food, time was on his side. He could afford to wait and to consolidate the new position he had won, leaving to his opponents the difficult choice of their next move. Even while he stayed in Leith, events in England were strengthening his cause, as the authorities of the Commonwealth brought to a head their investigation and arrests in the Royalist-Presbyterian plot, and proceeded to the trial and punishment of such of its leaders as they could apprehend. Of these the chief victim singled out for punishment was the Presbyterian clergyman, Christopher Love, long a thorn in the side of the Independents. On the strength of the confession of Tom Coke he, with Jenkins and Case, had been arrested, though more prominent men like Calamy were unmolested. He was brought to trial on June 20 on a charge that the Presbyterians in league with Charles had held their meetings at his house.

⁴⁴ Carlyle dates this from Linlithgow; Mrs. Lomas from Leith.

⁴⁵ Lomas-Carlyle, CLXXVII, from the original in *Tanner Mss.*, liv. 120. Also in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 288-90. A reply from Vane, Aug. 2, in Nickolls, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9, says supplies asked for will be dispatched as well as some things not asked for. Four thousand additional foot to be sent next week because of Cromwell's army being divided. Vane says Cromwell's family has gone to Hampshire.

Though Love was, at least, an assenting party to those negotiations, it seemed impossible to prove it by the witnesses for the government who were reluctant or refused to testify. All that could be proved was that he had received letters from Massey and the Scots requesting that money be collected to assist an invasion, and that a small sum was raised for the personal expenses of Massey and Colonel Titus, the go-between in the recent Presbyterian negotiations. It was, however, enough to convict him and another man named Gibbons, and both were condemned to death. But the conviction so incensed the Presbyterians that Parliament hesitated to put the sentence into execution. Meanwhile every effort was made to save Love's life. He was reprieved for a month, then for a week, while his friends labored in his behalf. Before Lambert's victory, appeals began to reach Cromwell in Love's behalf. Of these the most impressive was from Colonel Hammond, who begged for mercy from the man in whose hands,⁴⁶ it was generally understood, lay the fate of the Presbyterian plotter. This was reinforced by a petition from the other ministers accused;⁴⁷ and the whole question was laid before the army officers. On the other hand, the more advanced Independents, including John Milton, now the leading spirit in *Mercurius Politicus*, clamored for Love's execution. The council of officers agreed with them and refused to intervene,⁴⁸ though, according to Kennett and Echard, Cromwell himself issued a reprieve, which was intercepted and destroyed by the Royalists, infuriated by Love's last confession of the whole design.

The Presbyterian animosity against the Independent Commonwealth and its leader found another expression at this moment, when a minister and two students came to seek protection from the General for their refusal to answer two questions. The first was "whether Presbyterian government in Scotland be not in all things conformable to the word of God," the second was "whether Cromwell be not anti-Christian?"⁴⁹

Whatever the answers to these questions, or the reception of those who refused to answer them, Cromwell was not turned from his military adventures by them or by the champions of Love. On July 29, Burntisland, on the north bank of the Forth, opposite to Leith and with a better harbor, surrendered to Lambert and its garrison of four hundred marched out with its arms.⁵⁰ Later in the day Cromwell arrived at his new base of operations and there wrote to Lenthall of this fresh success:

⁴⁶ Letter in Nickolls, *Orig. Letters*, p. 75.

⁴⁷ Bishop's letter, July 20, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Letters from Roundhead Officers*.

⁴⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 2; *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 5; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 4.

*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the
Parliament of England: These*

SIR,

The greatest part of the army is in Fife, waiting what way God will further lead us. It hath pleased God to give us in Brunt Island; which is indeed very conducing to the carrying on of our affairs. The town is well seated; pretty strong; but marvellous capable of further improvement in that respect, without great charge. The harbour, at a high spring, is near a fathom deeper than at Leith, and doth not lie commanded by any ground without the town. We took three or four small men-of-war in it, and I believe 30 or 40 guns.

Com. Gen. Whalley marched along the seaside in Fife, having some ships to go along the coast; and hath taken store of great artillery, and divers ships. The enemy's affairs are in some discomposure, as we hear. Surely the Lord will blow upon them.

Brunt Island,
29 July 1651.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.⁵¹

Cromwell's next task was clear. It was to conquer Fife; and in pursuit of that design, leaving Whalley to guard the coast, he set out with Lambert on July 30 for Perth, or St. Johnstons, which had long been the headquarters of the King and the Estates. It was now, as they knew, without a garrison, though Major-General Montgomery, with two thousand men, guarded the bridge across the river Earn, three miles south of the former royal capital. The English reached Kickerness, near Kinross, the first night, and marched past Sir John Browne's house of Fordell the next morning,⁵² without incident save for the execution of two soldiers for plundering. Reaching the Earn, they found that Montgomery had gone to Stirling, leaving some horse to force the country people to destroy the bridge, of which one arch had been nearly wrecked before the report of the arrival of the English put the workmen and their masters to flight.⁵³

Some time that day Cromwell issued a warrant to the secretary of the army:

To William Clarke

For the payment out of contingent moneys remaining in his hands of allowances to Adjutant-Generals Sedascue, Hopton, Merrist and Nelthorp.
July 31, 1651.

(Signed) O. CROMWELL.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 5; *Sev. Proc.*, July 31-Aug. 7; *Protestation of divers well-affected Scots* . . . ; *Cromwelliana*, p. 107; Carlyle, CLXXIX. Dickenson, *History of Newark*, p. 119, prints a letter of dubious authenticity supposed to have been written by Cromwell to his daughter Elizabeth about this time. For a further explanation see footnote to the commission to William Draper, July 20, 1651.

⁵² *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 8. "Fordule." Douglas (p. 488) quotes a tradition from R. R. Stodart, *The Browns of Fordell* (1887), of the English horses being driven through the standing corn.

⁵³ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 4, 9.

⁵⁴ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Leyborne-Popham Mss.*, p. 101.

On August 1 the General arrived before Perth, and at once sent forward a trumpeter with a letter declaring that, being informed the town was without a garrison, its goods would be saved from plunder and its citizens from violence if the place was surrendered to him at once.⁵⁵ The trumpeter was refused admission, and after some exchange of shots, he received an answer to the effect that a governor had been installed and Cromwell could deal with him.⁵⁶ In fact, Lord Sutherland had arrived with thirteen hundred men only a few hours before; and to him, in consequence, Cromwell sent a summons:

For the Governour of St. Johnstons

SIR,

To the end I may receive a positive answer to my summons, I thought fit to direct this to you, understanding by the preceding answer that you command in chief. If to avoid blood you shall come to such terms as be fit for you to have and me to give, [I] shall be glad to have your speedy answer, and rest,

Your servant,

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁷

1 August, 1651.

THE SCOTCH INVASION, AUGUST 1-27

To this demand Cromwell received no reply, and planting batteries, he bombarded the town all night in addition to "breaking down the sluices to empty the graffes of water."⁵⁸ At that moment he learned that the Scottish army had started for England. This news was not unexpected, for by his success in Fife Cromwell had virtually forced such a decision on the Scottish leaders, as he had doubtless foreseen. Cut off from their chief source of supplies, with the English army between them and Middleton who had gone north to bring down the recruits raised by Huntly, their position was becoming difficult and threatened to become impossible. Until Cromwell had established himself across the Forth, Leslie's strategy of purely defensive warfare had been successful; but its continuance was now impossible. There were two alternatives. The one was to throw themselves between Perth and North Ferry in a favorable position and, taking advantage of the fact that much of the English strength was south of the Forth, risk the engagement which Cromwell had long sought. The other was the course Charles had urged and which they now took. Each plan had its dangers and its advantages; but of the two the lat-

⁵⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 9.

⁵⁶ Letter in *ibid.*

⁵⁷ In *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 8; *Weekly Intelligencer*, no. 32; Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 68.

⁵⁸ *Weekly Intelligencer*.

ter seemed less unpromising. It had been strongly pressed by Buckingham and Newcastle, and Derby was favorable;⁵⁹ and there now seemed no other choice.

There were reasons for it which made the plan attractive to an adventurous spirit like that of Charles. The most experienced troops of the Commonwealth and their ablest commander were in Scotland and unable to oppose this advance. The Scots would meet for the most part militia and raw levies no more experienced than their own Highlanders. They might expect to be joined by recruits from southern Scotland and the northern English counties, backed by the sympathy of large elements in England weary of Independent rule. One successful battle might win both kingdoms;⁶⁰ and, ignorant of the elaborate preparations made against this contingency, overestimating their popularity and their capacity for such an enterprise, they set forward on this desperate adventure. Opposed only by Argyll, on the last day of July, Leslie, however reluctantly, agreed that this seemed the lesser of the two evils between which they were compelled to choose, and the Scottish army stole out of Stirling, though, as Clarendon wrote, Leslie told the King that he was "melancholic indeed, for he well knew that army, how well soever it looked, would not fight."⁶¹

Taking the direct way between Glasgow and Edinburgh, the Scottish army reached Cumbernauld that night. At noon the next day it was near Lanark; and on Saturday, August 2, at Moffat,⁶² well on the way to Carlisle. Its numbers were a matter of dispute. Wariston said ten or twelve thousand; Sir James Turner, who was with the army, reckoned some thirteen thousand; Lord Wentworth a week later reported twenty thousand;⁶³ but unless it received an extraordinary accession of recruits, which seems unlikely, the lesser figures are more probable. The quality of Charles' army was not comparable to that of the enemy he was to encounter; nor was its movement unforeseen by Cromwell; nor did it turn him from his purpose. The news of its departure was not long in reaching Leith, whence Harrison with some horse set out immediately for Berwick under Cromwell's orders "to attend the motions of the enemy, and endeavor the keeping of them

⁵⁹ Buckingham wrote to Derby on July 24, expressing the hope of seeing him soon in England (letter in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 283), and the next day Derby told his secretary that he had told the Royalists in Lancashire of his plan to come in with the King (*ibid.*, p. 285).

⁶⁰ See a letter expressing this hope, from Hugh Smith to Derby, July 29, from Stirling (Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 290-1). The exiles on the Continent seemed unanimous in their belief that an army under Charles would meet with almost certain success if brought into England.

⁶¹ Clarendon, *History*, xiii, 62.

⁶² *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 9.

⁶³ Wariston, *Diary*, p. 101; Turner, *Memoirs*, p. 94; Wentworth to Crofts, Penrith, Aug. 8, in Cary, *Memorials*, p. 304-5.

together, as also to impede his advance."⁶⁴ Cromwell himself seems to have known of it almost as quickly, but it did not turn him from his purpose. On August 2, the day that Charles reached Moffat, Sutherland, having, apparently, accomplished his purpose of delaying Cromwell, agreed to surrender the town, and thus, a year after the English had crossed the Tweed, articles were signed for the capitulation of Perth:

Articles granted to the Governour of St. Johnstons for the rendition of the said Garrison to my hands:

1. That all Country Gentlemen and others, which have wives, children, horses, and goods and geer may have free liberty and competent time to remove themselves or stay as they shall think fitting, to wit the space of one month, and such noblemen or gentlemen may enjoy their whole goods and plenishing who are now for the present dwelling in their houses in the town in safety and one month's time for the transporting the same.

2. That all strangers whatsoever with the safety of their persons, whole goods and geer belonging to them, may have liberty to pass to any part of the Kingdom they please.

3. That all inhabitants within the city or suburbs thereof present or absent be safe in their persons, and free to enjoy and possess their whole goods peacefully, and that they may have one month's time for transporting of the same, or stay as they shall think fit.

4. That the said inhabitants be not pressed with any oaths nor troubled in their profession of their religion, and enjoying of the ministry.

5. That the officers march away with their arms and horses, bag and baggage, and the souldiers with their arms and go to their homes, which accordingly shall have passes and protections so to do.

6. That they have convoys to secure them to such place as they shall go to be on the other side of Tay, provided it be not to any garrison, and they giving hostages for the safe return of our convoys.

7. That there be time given till 10 of the clock tomorrow morning to prepare your selves for marching, provided that the possession of the Castle be rendered up this night, we delivering to you two field officers as hostages for the performance of the Articles on our part, who shall be delivered back unto us so soon as you are marched 4 miles from this city.

Lastly, that no utensils of war, arms, ammunition, nor victuals belonging to the garrison be embezzled.

2 August 1651.

O. CROMWELL.⁶⁵

Though Fraser reported in his *Chronicles* that Cromwell repented "loitering at Jonston through a proud humour of not rising without it,"⁶⁶ the General seemed not much disturbed at the news of the royal

⁶⁴ Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 294; Wariston, p. 101. Letter to Cromwell from Harrison, Fenwick and Twisleton, Aug. 2, in Nickolls, *Orig. Letters*, p. 71. Harrison was in Berwick Aug. 3. *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 9.

⁶⁵ In *Perf. Diurn.*, August 4-11. Two troopers were hanged, in view of the army, for plundering at Perth. Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 162.

⁶⁶ *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. 384.

march, and completed his arrangements for the surrender before starting in pursuit of Charles. Of his state of mind there is some evidence. Receiving one Andrew Reid, who presented a bond the King had given him for coronation expenses and asked the General to take over the obligation, Cromwell replied, "I am neither heir nor executor to Charles Stuart." To this Reid retorted, in the picturesque language of Scots law, "Then you are a vicious intromitter," and Cromwell replied, laughing, that "it was the boldest speech ever made to him."⁶⁷ Nor were his arrangements hurried. He left a garrison, including two regiments and some dragoons under Overton in Perth,⁶⁸ commissioning a lieutenant, Edward Cucker, in Captain Richard Shaninge's company,⁶⁹ which was possibly included in that detachment. He sent Monk with five or six thousand of the less experienced men to besiege Stirling Castle; and these matters attended to, he and Lambert finally turned southward with the rest of the forces. By August 4 they were in Leith, where Cromwell, knowing what uneasiness the Scottish invasion would cause in England and how he would be blamed, wrote to reassure the government:

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

SIR,

In pursuance of the Providence of God, and that blessing lately given to your forces in Fife, and finding that the enemy, being masters of the pass at Sterling, could not be gotten out there, without hindering his provisions at St. Johnstons, we, by general advice, thought fit to attempt St. Johnstons; knowing that that would necessitate him to quit his pass. Wherefore, leaving with Major-General Harrison about 3000 horse and dragoons, besides those which are with Colonel Rich, Colonel Sanders, and Colonel Barton upon the borders, we marched to St. Johnstons; and lying one day before it, we had it surrendered to us; during which time we had some intelligence of the enemy's marching southward, though with some contradictions, as if it had not been so. But doubting it might be true, we (leaving a garrison in St. Johnstons, and sending Lieutenant-General Monck with about 5 or 6000 to Stirling to reduce that place, and by it to put your affairs into a good posture in Scotland) we marched, with all possible expedition, back again; and had passed our foot and many of our horse over the Firth this day, resolving to make what speed we can up to the enemy, who, in this desperation and fear, and out of inevitable necessity, is run to try what he can do this way.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose*, ii, 319.

⁶⁸ *Weekly Intelligencer*, Aug. 9; Wariston, *Diary*, p. 105; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 9.

⁶⁹ Commission, dated Aug. 2, listed for sale in Maggs Cat. (1931), p. 47. He signed a pass on Aug. 3, for Mrs. Ann Bruce, George Arnett, Elizabeth Arnett, and Margaret Bruce. See appendix.

⁷⁰ Many of the news letters of this date speak of the demoralization of the Scots forces. "Wheresoever our army marcheth, they find the country full of the Scots run-

I do apprehend that if he goes for England, being some few days march before us, it will trouble some men's thoughts, and may occasion some inconveniences; of which I hope we are as deeply sensible, and have, and I trust shall be, as diligent to prevent, as any; and indeed this is our comfort, that in simplicity of heart as to God, we have done to the best of our judgments, knowing that if some issue were not put to this business, it would occasion another winter's war, to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard in respect of enduring the winter difficulties of this country, and been under the endless expense of the treasure of England in prosecuting this war. It may be supposed we might have kept the enemy from this, by interposing between him and England; which truly I believe we might: but how to remove him out of this place, without doing what we have done, unless we had had a commanding army on both sides of the river of Forth, is not clear to us; or how to answer the inconveniences aforementioned, we understand not.

We pray therefore that (seeing there is a possibility for the enemy to put you to some trouble) you would, with the same courage (grounded upon a confidence in God) wherein you have been supported to the great things God hath used you in heretofore, you would improve, the best you can, such forces as you have in readiness, or may on the sudden be gathered together, to give the enemy some check, until we shall be able to reach up to him, which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavour in. And indeed we have this comfortable experiment from the Lord, that this enemy is heart-smitten by God, and whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperateness of this counsel of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also. When England was much more unsteady than now, and when a much more considerable army of theirs, unfoiled, invaded you, and we had but a weak force to make resistance at Preston,—upon deliberate advice, we chose rather to put ourselves between their army and Scotland: and how God succeeded that, is not well to be forgotten. This is not out of choice on our part, but by some kind of necessity; and, it's to be hoped, will have the like issue, together with a hopeful end of your work; in which it's good to wait upon the Lord, upon the earnest of former experiences, and hope of His presence, which only is the life of your Cause.

Major-General Harrison, with the horse and dragoons under him, and Colonel Rich and the rest in those parts, shall attend the motion of the enemy, and endeavour the keeping of them together, as also to impede his march, and will be ready to be in conjunction with what forces shall gather together for this service: to whom orders have been speeded to that purpose, as this enclosed to Major-Gen. Harrison will show. Major-Gen. Lambert,⁷¹ this day, marched with a very considerable body of horse, up towards the enemy's rear. With the rest of the horse, and nine regiments of foot (most

aways. Argile is gone melancholy from Stirling, and the Lord Roxborough with many other of the Scots nobility, have left the noise and tumult of the war for places of safety and retiredness." *Weekly Intelligencer* (E. 640(4)). "That which this week is most remarkable is the Scots King, with about eleven thousand, desperately abandoning Scotland and distractedly running into England" (*Ibid.*). "Through all the country in Scotland we find their runaways. In a word, nothing was left them but a desperate cure or a desperate ruin." George Downing to the Council. [Mrs. Lomas' note]

⁷¹ In Cromwell's hand. Originally it was "the Major-General."

of them of your old foot and horse), I am hasting up; and shall, by the Lord's help, use utmost diligence. I hope I have left a commanding force under Lieut.-Gen. Monk in Scotland.

This account I thought my duty to speed to you, and rest,
 Leith, Your most humble servant,
 4 August 1651. O. CROMWELL.⁷²

Still he did not hurry, and it seems apparent that he had, in fact, determined to let Charles run his head into a trap whence there was no escape. Meanwhile, though "robbing and plundering being used by the sojers even to admiration and inhumanitie" while on Scotch soil,⁷³ the Scots advanced under discipline which was in notable contrast with that of Hamilton's invasion three years earlier. By August 5, having been strictly forbidden to continue plundering,⁷⁴ they were pouring over the English borders, while the English foot and most of the horse under Cromwell's immediate command were assembling at Leith, though the General had assured Lenthall that Lambert was on his way south with most of the cavalry.⁷⁵ That day Lambert wrote Harrison from Leith reporting that he would leave at once with the horse to harass the enemy's rear and that Cromwell would leave the same day with the foot and part of the train, hoping to cover four or five miles, "and so be jogging on as fast as we can towards England by the way of Jedborough or Kelso"⁷⁶ on the Berwick-Carlisle road. On that day Harrison reached Newcastle and on August 6, as the Scots were approaching Carlisle, he ordered the committees of several counties to have horses, cattle, and provisions removed from the path of the enemy, and not only to raise but to mount foot-soldiers to hinder their march.⁷⁷

The only road open to the Scots was more difficult than that taken by Harrison to intercept them, and this, with the slowness of their foot, delayed them, though they mounted their infantry wherever horses could be found. Near Carlisle, on August 6, Charles issued a declaration promising pardon to any who would join him, excepting

⁷² In *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 11. In Lomas-Carlyle, CLXXX and Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 291, from the original in the *Tanner Mss.*, liv, 130. Also pr. in *Flagellum*, pp. 109-12, and parts quoted in Whitelocke, p. 501. In *Parl. Hist.*, xix, 500; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 107-8. Lenthall being out of town when the letter arrived (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 313) it was read in Parliament Aug. 12. *C. J.*, vi, 619. Cromwell wrote the same day to the Council, referring to this letter (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 312-13).

⁷³ Turner, *Memoirs*, p. 94.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ He may have made the statement in the belief that Lambert would soon be off, for another letter of Aug. 5 says, "Lambert goes after the enemy this night." *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 9.

⁷⁶ Letter in Cary, *Memorials*, p. 295.

⁷⁷ Letter to Yorkshire committee, Aug. 6, in Cary, ii, 296-8. The other counties were Lancaster, Chester, Stafford, Salop, Notts, Derby, and the six in North Wales.

only Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw and Solicitor John Cook,⁷⁸ and was there proclaimed king of England. Though he and his followers were greatly disappointed in their reception by the English and by their own losses from the "purple fever" and the desertions which had begun three weeks earlier,⁷⁹ they must have had enough recruits to fill their ranks, or even more. Wentworth almost certainly exaggerated, but he reckoned them at fourteen or fifteen thousand foot and six thousand horse,⁸⁰ and it seems fairly certain that by the time they reached Worcester they had at least as many men as when they left Stirling if not more. Many of the most influential of the Scotch nobility, including Argyll, Loudoun, Cassilis, and Lothian, had not accompanied Charles; and Leven had been left behind to advise the Committee of Estates in raising a new army against Monk, who had been left as commander-in-chief in Scotland and was then besieging Stirling. Few beside Leslie, Lauderdale and Hamilton followed him to England, but he had with him the group which had gathered about him in exile—Wentworth, Middleton, Wilmot, Buckingham, Cleveland and Massey, with lesser figures like Colonel Wogan, Colonel Titus and others, who joined the expedition as it pushed southward.

But in general the English gentry and nobility showed a notable lack of enthusiasm for the royal cause—or at least a wholesome respect for the strength of the forces of the Commonwealth—and Charles was bitterly disappointed. Nor was the spirit of his followers such as to encourage him. Hamilton's letters reveal the gay desperation with which he and his fellows entered on this great adventure. "We have quit Scotland," he wrote from Penrith, "being scarcely able to maintain it; and yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears are greatest; but we have one stout argument, despair; for we must now either stoutly fight it, or die." All the rogues had left them, he added, "whether for fear or disloyalty, but all now with his majesty are such as will not dispute his commands." He concluded with the observation that all were "laughing at the ridiculousness of our condition," and this letter,⁸¹ with two others intercepted by Harrison, sent to Parliament and made public, added their weight to the disinclination of the English to support the invaders.

Their condition, as many of them realized, was not merely, ridiculous but desperate. With Harrison before them and Lambert in their rear, with Parliamentary forces converging on them from all parts of England, with Fairfax organizing the Yorkshire militia,⁸² and Crom-

⁷⁸ Cp. Crawford, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, i, 355.

⁷⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, July 21–28; July 28–Aug. 4.

⁸⁰ Wentworth to Crofts, Aug. 8, in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 303–5.

⁸¹ Hamilton to Crofts, Aug. 8, Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 305.

⁸² He was now, in Overton's absence, governor of Hull and was on Aug. 12 commanded by Council to take active charge there. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 323–24.

well with nine foot regiments making what haste he could, the trap was almost ready to be sprung. On the 6th Cromwell left Leith, signing on that day a warrant to Clarke, now secretary to Monk, and presently to be Keeper of the Seal of Scotland under that commander:

To William Clarke

Warrant for the payment of — pounds to Captain Morris, being at the rate of 20s. per man for troopers brought up to the army in Scotland.
August 6, 1651. O. CROMWELL.⁸³

The troops which Cromwell led out of Leith on that day had been chosen for their endurance as well as their fighting qualities. They had rested for forty-eight hours since their return from Fife and were prepared for a long and rapid march. It is possible to trace its stages by the letters its commander wrote on the way. One was written on the 8th to a member of the Council of State, probably Vane, and sent with a letter from a certain John Waddesworth,⁸⁴ just before the army took quarters four miles north of Kelso on the Tweed,⁸⁵ some thirty miles from Leith. The next, a request for money, was sent from a point some thirty miles southeast of Kelso, in Northumberland, near Whittingham,⁸⁶ where Cromwell was the guest of Henry Ogle at Eglington Hall on the 9th of August.⁸⁷ The next night he was at Whalton, sixteen miles from Newcastle,⁸⁸ and on the 12th he crossed the Tyne at Newburn. By this time the situation seemed so well in hand that he decided to give his men a day's rest and the tents were pitched near there on Ryton Haugh, while he himself quartered at Stella House.⁸⁹

This extraordinary march was accompanied by the convergence of the other forces on Charles' army. Lambert reached Penrith on August 9, only a day behind the King, and Harrison was that day at Ripon in Yorkshire. On the 11th he was still there waiting for Lambert, while Charles was near Preston, hoping to be joined by the Earl of Derby, who was then in Castle Ruthin in North Wales, trying in vain to raise an army to bring to his sovereign's aid. Meanwhile, in London the Council of State had sprung into feverish activity, send-

⁸³ Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, *Leyborne-Popham Mss.*, p. 101.

⁸⁴ Read in Parliament Aug. 13, *C. J.*, vi, 621. Cp. Council of State to Cromwell acknowledging a letter to Vane. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 328.

⁸⁵ *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 12; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 20.

⁸⁶ *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 13. Cp. Council of State's reply to Cromwell, Aug. 13, in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 328. A commission signed by Cromwell on August 11 was sold at the Anderson Galleries in 1918 and again in Nov. 1923. *Am. Bk. Prices Current*, 1918, and *Cat. Foley Coll.* 1923.

⁸⁷ Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal*, p. 197, quoted in *History of Northumberland*, xiv (ed. by M. H. Dodds, 1935), p. 360.

⁸⁸ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 16, where he is said to be at "Wilton."

⁸⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 18.

ing out hurried orders to nearly every military unit in England. Major-General Desborough was summoned from the west to meet Colonel Heane with two thousand foot at Reading. Eight thousand foot and two thousand horse were hastily ordered to rendezvous at Barnet, just north of London, for the protection of the capital, where Fleetwood was in command. Lord Grey was instructed to organize forces in Northamptonshire and adjacent counties; and Harrison's orders to various parts of northern England to put themselves in a posture of defence were confirmed.⁹⁰ On the 12th, Parliament passed an Act prohibiting correspondence with Charles or his party without its consent or that of Cromwell;⁹¹ and with these measures the government awaited the next move of the King, who was being urged to march directly on London.

If the original plan had been the counsel of despair, that advice revealed the depth of desperation as their enemies gathered to the spoil like eagles to their prey. While Cromwell and his men rested near Newcastle—and the soldiers were so tired that it was said not a loud word was to be heard in their camp—the magistrates of Newcastle visited the General, bringing provisions for the army.⁹² Its stay there was not long. Lilburne had already been sent forward with a regiment, and on the 14th the troops were again on the move. That day Cromwell reached Brancepeth, some four miles southwest of Durham. On that same day Lambert joined Harrison on Haslemoor, their armies together numbering some fourteen thousand men;⁹³ and besides these, three thousand foot from Chester and Stafford came up to hold the pass at Warrington on the Mersey against Charles' advance. On the 15th Lambert and Harrison were at Bolton,⁹⁴ and the next day joined the militia at Warrington. Their forces were nearly, if not quite, equal to those of Charles and might have blocked his way; but before they could break down the bridge, the Royalists were upon them with Charles at the head of their vanguard.

Crying "Oh you Rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes," the Royalists skirmished with the Parliamentarians, hoping to bring on a general engagement, but Lambert and Harrison drew off to Knutsford to wait for their general, while Charles' forces hurried along the London road. Hardly a man joined him, and his enemies' flanking operations made provisions hard to get and progress slow. On August 15 Derby had landed at Wyre Water in Lancashire with 250 foot and sixty horse and on the 17th had an interview with Charles.

⁹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), *passim*.

⁹¹ *Pr. in Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 12.

⁹² *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 18. According to *Victoria County History of Durham*, iii, 40, a report was later circulated that the Mayor had slighted the thanksgiving for Worcester.

⁹³ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 16. Figure given by a messenger to Parliament. Later news (*ibid.*, Aug. 19) gives twelve to thirteen thousand as the number.

⁹⁴ Harrison's letter, Aug. 16, in *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 18.

But Derby's endeavors to raise the Presbyterians for the King broke down on his refusal to take the Covenant, and within ten days he was routed by Lilburne at Wigan.

Under such discouraging circumstances Charles pressed on as Cromwell advanced southward on a parallel line, permitting his men to march in their shirt-sleeves while country horses were pressed into service to carry their doublets and their arms.⁹⁵ Marching at the rate of twenty miles a day, he reached Catterick Bridge August 16, and thence sent a letter to Westminster, enclosing one from "Ger. Benson,"⁹⁶ whoever and whatever he may have been. The next day, marching by the main road, his army reached Ripon, where he wrote a letter the next morning to prepare the way for the arrival of his men in Doncaster:

[*To the Mayor and Corporation of Doncaster*]

GENTLEMEN,

I intend, God willing, to be at Doncaster with the army on Wednesday night or Thursday morning; and forasmuch as the soldiers will need a supply of victual, I desire you to give notice to the country, and to use your best endeavours to cause bread, butter, cheese and flesh to be brought in, and to be in readiness there against our coming; for which the country shall receive ready money. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest,

Ripon, 18th

Your very loving friend,

August, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.⁹⁷

By this time the situation, so far as Cromwell was concerned, was well in hand. Charles was at Stoke, near Nantwich, and apparently had the advantage, if this was a race for London, but the odds, none the less, were against him. He had Lambert and Harrison to harass his march; the country was unfriendly; and his army had grown more and more weary day by day, and more and more discontented with the constant marching. Charles, as distracted as his companions, went about among his men, "cap in hand," begging them to carry on a little longer and promising to put them into garrisons, "if he could catch them."⁹⁸ Massey had gone to enlist Presbyterian aid in Manchester, if he could, and Derby was endeavoring to raise the Cavaliers in Lancashire. Meanwhile the Parliamentary forces were closing in. While Charles urged his men southward to Market Drayton on August 19, Lambert and Harrison, hovering on his flank, were at Uttoxeter. Cromwell was hastening south; Fleetwood was organizing his

⁹⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 21.

⁹⁶ Read in the House Aug. 19. *C. J.*, vii, 2; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 344-45.

⁹⁷ Pr. in *Brit. Archaeol. Journ.*, vi, 344 (1850) with date Aug. 16, 1631. Carlyle, App. 21, from the original then in the possession of Burley Dawson, a descendant of the mayor, William Dawson.

⁹⁸ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 23.

forces to defend the capital; Desborough was on his way to Reading; and there was but one way left open to the King, the way to the west. Along that road, in something of the same fashion that Hamilton had been shepherded by Lambert almost exactly three years earlier, so now the two parliamentary commanders repeated those tactics against Charles.

In consequence, he determined to take refuge somewhere near the Welsh border, or in Wales, to give his weary men a much-needed rest and enable them to recover their spirits and his followers elsewhere to rally to his cause. Gloucestershire was strongly royalist and he planned to send Massey there to persuade it to declare for him; and meanwhile he wrote to London, to Shrewsbury, to Gloucester and other places, to encourage the authorities to rise in his behalf. It was of no avail. His followers were too distrustful or too terrified to respond. The Royalists disliked the prospect of a Covenanted King restored by Scottish arms; the Presbyterians were apathetic or overawed. One of his letters was seized and a copy sent to Cromwell,⁹⁹ while the Council despatched orders to the western counties and South Wales, Monmouth, Hereford and Wilts to rendezvous at Gloucester on August 25 under command of Sir William Constable.¹⁰⁰ Thus surrounded on almost every side, he turned his steps toward Worcester. Though he may or may not have known of the Parliamentary order given five months earlier on the discovery of the Royalist plot, to make that place untenable, "for preventing the danger that may come to the Commonwealth thereby,"¹⁰¹ he knew as well as Parliament its Royalist sympathies, and hoped to find a refuge there. In a sense both his choice and the fears of the Parliament were justified. He reached Worcester on August 22, and because of the "treachery" of the townspeople he was able to drive out the garrison and take possession of the place.¹⁰²

Meanwhile Cromwell had left Ripon, reaching Ferrybridge on August 19, where he met Fairfax and drove three miles with him in his coach.¹⁰³ Like Charles he suffered losses by men unable to keep up with the rapid march, and the commissioners of the counties were ordered to care for these stragglers.¹⁰⁴ He was in close communication with the rest of his army and was aware of the missions of Massey and Derby. At Newburn he detached Colonel Lilburne and his regiment to hinder their operations. At Doncaster he wrote the Council of State a letter which suggests that Bright, like Fairfax, had forgotten his grievance in the face of a Scottish invasion, and notes the end of organized resistance in Scotland with the surrender of Stirling to Monk on the 14th of August:

⁹⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 362.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 348.

¹⁰¹ *C. J.*, vi, 577; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 77.

¹⁰² *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 25.

¹⁰³ *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 21.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

To the Council of State

He needs two thousand additional men for carrying on and finishing the business of Scotland and recruiting the forces there while so many of the army are in England. Suggests that a commission might be sent to Colonel Bright for a regiment of foot, the rest of the officers to be nominated by him and approved by Cromwell. Encloses a letter from Monk and remarks on his good services in Scotland. Doncaster, August 21, 1651.¹⁰⁵

On its part, the Council of State was not idle. Haselrig was ordered to raise twelve hundred men and ship them to Newcastle in accordance with Cromwell's suggestion and a commission was promptly issued to Colonel Bright.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, on the day Charles entered Worcester, Love and Gibbons were beheaded on Tower Hill as a further warning to the Presbyterians.¹⁰⁷ Four days later, on August 26, a proclamation at Westminster, 'with trumpet and drum,' declared Charles and his "abettors" were traitors,¹⁰⁸ and Cromwell was ordered to issue commissions of martial law to officers in Lancashire, Chester, Shropshire and North Wales to try offenders against the proclamation.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile arrests and trials had begun and Cromwell was asked to send a commission to Yorkshire to try men already in restraint.¹¹⁰ In the face of such measures backed by such formidable forces, it is small wonder that, whatever their sympathies, men hesitated to risk their lives on such a slender hope of success as Charles' adventure then offered.

By this time the organization of the Parliamentary forces was virtually complete and Charles was ringed in with enemies. Fleetwood had advanced to Banbury; Heane was at Oxford; Desborough at Reading; Clarke at Bristol; Blake at Plymouth; and Lord Grey was marching with eleven hundred horse toward Worcester. On the morning of the day that Charles entered Worcester, August 22, Cromwell himself was near Mansfield "at Mr. Pierrepont's house," Rufford Abbey, expecting to reach Nottingham by evening.¹¹¹ Thence he sent his own regiment, raised since Dunbar in Lancashire, toward Manchester to assist Lilburne.¹¹² The next day he was apparently in

¹⁰⁵ Read in Parliament Aug. 22. *C. J.*, vii, 5. See Council's reply, Aug. 22, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 355.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79.

¹⁰⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 22.

¹⁰⁸ *Pr. in ibid.*, Aug. 26.

¹⁰⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 372. One Simkys was to be the first tried at Salop (*ibid.*, p. 379).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 384, 390.

¹¹¹ *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 23; Hodgson's *Memoirs*, p. 162. Rufford Abbey had entertained both James and Charles for hunting in Sherwood Forest. Pierrepont had withdrawn from the government since the execution of the King but he and Cromwell continued to be friends.

¹¹² Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 162. Captain Hodgson was given a company in this regiment.

Leicester, where he was waited on by the city authorities and presented with wine, sugar and a blanket, and his men with beer.¹¹³

From Leicester he turned west and on Saturday, August 23, reached Lutterworth, fifteen miles east of Coventry, with all his foot and train.¹¹⁴ On Sunday, in advance of his foot, he and Major-General Deane rode into Warwick, where Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Major-General Desborough and Lord Grey of Groby who had arrived that morning, were awaiting them.¹¹⁵ Cromwell had not seen his brother-in-law Desborough since before the Irish expedition, and Fleetwood had left Scotland eight months before. Having discussed the situation and having apparently decided that the Royalists intended to secure the passes over the Severn while their army was resting,¹¹⁶ Fleetwood returned to his command at Banbury on Monday, while Cromwell and Deane waited in Warwick for their foot to come up. There Cromwell wrote to Westminster:

[*To the Council of State?*]

Wants a supply of five thousand shovels, spades and pickaxes, thirty tons of match and four hundred barrels of powder to be sent to Gloucester by way of Wallingford Castle. Aug. 26.¹¹⁷

He obviously expected to have to besiege Worcester; and even while he was writing this letter his task was simplified, for at that moment Lilburne was engaged in destroying Derby's little force at Wigan. The Parliamentary commander had earlier come in touch with Derby's troops but had contented himself with skirmishing until Cromwell's foot arrived. On August 25, however, he learned that Derby's Royalists were hurrying toward Manchester, where with the aid of five hundred recruits from that town they hoped to crush Cromwell's regiment before it could join Lilburne. That commander, sensing the situation, dashed after Derby, who, seeing himself out-

¹¹³ See Council of State to Cromwell, Aug. 24. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 364. The Chamberlain's accounts (*Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 8 App. p. 429) includes an itemized account amounting to £3/4/11.

¹¹⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 25.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Fleetwood to Parliament, Aug. 26, pr. in *ibid.*, *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 26, and in *Parl. Hist.*, xx, 25. "The Lord General the Major Generall the Lieut. Generall" have been taken to mean Harrison and Lambert, but from other dispatches (*Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 25-6) we know Deane and Fleetwood are meant. Where Lambert and Harrison were is not apparent.

¹¹⁶ Fleetwood to Speaker, Aug. 25, in *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 26.

¹¹⁷ See Council of State to Fleetwood, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 382, 390; read in *Parl. Aug. 27. C. J.*, vii, 7. Apparently in response to some request the Council, on Aug. 26, ordered the militia commissioners of Northants to send 100 draught horses to Cromwell and send the bill to them. (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 373). Commissioners of several western counties were ordered to keep in touch with him and to supply all his wants. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

flanked, realized that he must attack and trust to God, who was, as Lilburne wrote Cromwell, "graciously pleased" to give the Parliamentarians "a comfortable success."¹¹⁸ It was in fact more than that. Derby and his twelve or fifteen hundred men were totally routed at almost the same spot near Wigan where Cromwell had beaten Hamilton three years before. Many of the Royalists were killed, some four hundred taken prisoner, and Derby himself, though "sore hurt," escaped to Chester with a handful of eighty men.¹¹⁹

Meanwhile Cromwell advanced with his army toward Stratford-on-Avon, which he reached on August 27th, and there wrote a letter to Wharton and signed a receipt for the pay of Ireland's regiment:

For my honoured Lord Wharton: These

MY LORD,

I know I write to my friend, therefore give [me] leave to [say] one bold word.

In my very heart, Your Lordship, Dick Norton,¹²⁰ Tom Westrowe, Robert Hammond (though not intentionally) have helped one another to stumble at the dispensations of God, and to reason yourselves out of His service, &c.

Now you have an opportunity to associate with His people, in His work; and to manifest your willingness and desire to serve the Lord against His and His people's enemies. Would you be blessed out of Zion, and see the good of His people, and rejoice with His inheritance, I advise you all in the bowels of love, Let it appear you offer yourselves willingly to His work. Wherein to be accepted, is more honour from the Lord than the world can give or hath. I am persuaded it needs you not, save as our Lord and Master needed the Beast, to show His humility, meekness and condescension: but you need it, to declare your submission to, and owning yourself the Lord's and His people's.

If you can break through old disputes, I shall rejoice if you help others to do [so] also. Do not say, you are now satisfied because it is the old quarrel; as if it had not been so, all this while.

I have no leisure, but a great deal of entire affection to you and yours, and those named, which I thus plainly express. Thanks to you and the dear Lady, for all loves, and for poor foolish Mall. I am in good earnest and so also

Your Lordship's
Faithful friend and most humble servant,

Stratford-on-Avon,
27 August 1651.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Lilburne to Cromwell, Wigan, Aug. 25, in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 338-41. See also Lilburne to Speaker, *ibid.*, 341-5. These letters are in *Parl. Hist.*, xx, 35, 38.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 29. Lilburne lost ten men and had "very many wounded." Heath, *Chronicle*, p. 296, says Derby had 1200 men.

¹²⁰ Norton, excluded by Pride, was admitted to sit in Parliament on Nov. 26, 1651. *C. J.*, vii, 44.

¹²¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxiv, pt. 2, p. 419 (1814). Lomas-Carlyle, CLXXXI, from the holograph original in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Receipt

Received the 27th of August 1651 from Capt. John Case for the use of Col. Gilbert Ireland's regiment of horse the sum three hundred pounds the which shall be allowed as received forth of the Sequestration in Lancashire by the Treasurers at Goldsmiths Hall. I say received	}	l. 300:00
By me O. CROMWELL. ¹²²		

WORCESTER, AUGUST 27—SEPTEMBER 3

On Wednesday evening, August 27, the armies of Cromwell and Fleetwood, now totalling twenty-eight thousand, with five thousand militia at Coventry ready to reinforce them, met at Evesham, some dozen miles southeast of Worcester,¹²³ so that the Parliamentary forces were at least twice the number of Charles' army. By that time the news of Derby's defeat had reached them, and Cromwell first ordered Lilburne to join him near Worcester, but presently countermanded that order, sending him instead to Shrewsbury to prevent Charles' retreat, or rather to intercept the fugitives from the impending battle.¹²⁴ Of its result there could be scarcely any doubt. Charles was in a trap from which there was no escape. He had been disappointed in the failure of the country to rise in his support, and still more disappointed in the recruits which had come to his army. Only a few "rag tags" had joined him; there were no arms available even for them, and his fate seemed sealed.¹²⁵

He and his men realized that their situation was desperate, but they did the best they could. To hold off the Parliamentary forces as long as possible, four bridges over the Severn and its tributary, the Teme, were destroyed and detachments sent out for that purpose were holding the crossings.¹²⁶ Massey was despatched to break down the bridge over the Severn at Upton, some ten miles south of Worcester, and to defend the passage over the river. But Cromwell had determined to seize that post and rebuild the bridge there to command the west bank of the river, and, joined by Harrison and Lambert with their horse at Evesham,¹²⁷ on the morning of Thursday, August 28, he sent Lambert with a party of horse and dragoons to force a passage. They caught the Royalists off their guard, and a handful of English dragoons seized a church near the bridge and defended themselves

¹²² *Vera copia ex. Math. Lea. in S. P. Dom.* G cxlii, 145. Cp. G. cxlii, 143, 147; G xxv, 278. *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, pp. 643, 665.

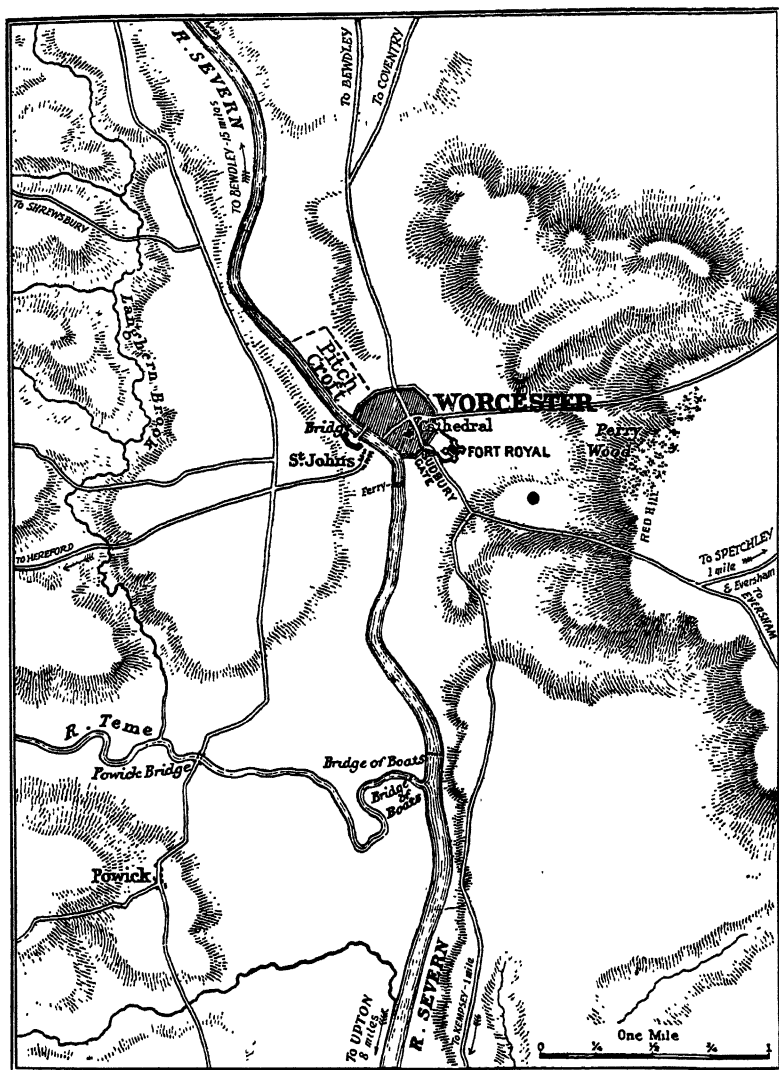
¹²³ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 26, 27, 28.

¹²⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 398-9.

¹²⁵ Fleetwood, in a letter of Aug. 27, said the Scotch had gained recruits by declaring there was no such man alive as Cromwell. *Parl. Hist.*, xx, 34.

¹²⁶ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5 App. p. 299 (Lechmere Mss.).

¹²⁷ News from Coventry in *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 28; *Sev. Proc.*, Aug. 28-Sept. 4.



SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER. ADAPTED FROM MAPS
IN GARDINER, FIRTH AND BALDOCK.

successfully against the Royalist attack. Massey was wounded and his men driven off, but instead of following them Lambert sent for Fleetwood and with Deane's assistance set to work to rebuild the bridge.¹²⁸ Meanwhile, on that day, after a march of three hundred miles with only one day's rest since August 6, Cromwell established his headquarters in Judge Berkeley's house at Spetchley, two miles southeast of Worcester,¹²⁹ and ordered Lambert to join him there to make the final plans for the attack. There he wrote a letter:

To the Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament

Enclosing a letter from Col. Robert Lilburne to him. Has sent for Col. Clarke's regiment and Col. Lilburne's to come up to him. Near Worcester, August 28, 1651.¹³⁰

That night his men took up their positions around the doomed forces of the Royalists. Fleetwood and Lambert were now south and west of Worcester; Cromwell himself guarded the way to London, and forces were converging from the north to block the way to Scotland. In this situation he wrote again, to report the position of affairs and the news of Lambert's success at Upton:

To the Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament

SIR,

I hinted to you in my last, that we had taken the pass over Severn, Upton-bridge. Lieut. Gen. Fleetwood, with his brigade of horse and foot lies there, and is ready to enterprise any design upon the enemy on that side, as opportunity shall be offered. We know not as yet which way the enemy will draw, our intelligence tells us that he is yet at Worcester, and in the parts adjacent, on the other side Severn. We are this morn advancing towards that city: And I suppose we shall draw very close to it. If they will come forth and engage with us we shall leave the issue to God's providence, and doubt not to partake of glorious mercies. If they avoid fighting, and lead us a jaunt, we shall do as God shall direct, in the mean time, let us live under the exercises of faith and prayer. In disputing the bridge yesterday at Upton, we killed some 6 or 7 of their men, and his horse also that led the party, and wounded him in his hand; some say it was Massey. The news from Lancashire is excellently glorious. The enemy hath raised a fort on this side the town, and burnt down divers out-houses.¹³¹

Spikeley, within 2 miles of Worcester, August 29, 1651.

[O. CROMWELL.]

¹²⁸ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 1.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 30. A dispatch of Aug. 28 said Cromwell spent Thursday night at Chesterfield." *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 28.

¹³⁰ Read in Parliament, Aug. 30. *C. J.*, vii, 8; Cp. *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 29. The letter from Lilburne is printed in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 338.

¹³¹ In *Merc. Pol.* Aug. 30. Letter arrived on the evening of Aug. 30; read in House Sept. 1. *C. J.* vii, 9.

The Scottish invaders, cooped up in Worcester, were now at Cromwell's mercy, but there was no need of haste and, judging from his dispositions, he was more concerned with the problem of catching them all than with that of their defeat. Of that there was hardly a question. With scarcely more than half the number of his opponents he had beaten the Scots at Preston and Dunbar; and his forces at this moment not merely outnumbered those of Charles by at least two to one, but they had every advantage of quality, position, supplies, leadership and morale. The outcome of a battle could not be in doubt; yet he took his time to examine the situation and make his plans with unusual deliberation. The immediate neighborhood of Worcester was unfamiliar to him, but to an experienced soldier the case was clear enough. The city of Worcester, lying in the level fields on the east bank of the Severn and connected with the west bank by a bridge to the suburb of St. John's, was fortified on the land side by walls, and an outwork, Fort Royal, recently repaired by Charles, linked by walls to the main fortifications. The English now held the bridges across the Severn above and below Worcester, at Bewdley, fifteen miles to the north, and at Upton on the south, and could therefore cross at will. South of St. John's the River Teme flowed into the Severn and was crossed by bridges held or destroyed by the Scots. Less than a mile east of the city there was a low range of hills, and there, at Perry Wood, on Friday August 29, Cromwell planted cannon which played "pel mel into the city" all that day.¹³²

Its defenders, meanwhile, were demoralized. The day after Cromwell arrived, Charles called a Council of War to decide whether to "march out and fight, bring in provisions and ly still, or rise and march to London." To these Hamilton added a fourth suggestion—to march into Wales.¹³³ The leaders were at odds among themselves. Buckingham was piqued because Charles had refused to put him in Leslie's place when the army entered England.¹³⁴ Leslie "appeared dispirited and confounded and gave and revoked his orders and sometimes contradicted them."¹³⁵ Derby arrived on August 31, wounded in the mouth, and one of Massey's servants who came into the English camp reported that his master's hand was badly injured and that there was great distraction in the Scottish camp.¹³⁶ The cavalry, it was said, had considered making a dash for home, but were prevailed on by the foot to stay,¹³⁷ nor is it possible that they could have won back to Scotland in any case. To prevent that, Lilburne was ordered

¹³² *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 2; *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 2; *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 2; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 29.

¹³³ Memorandum in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, *Hamilton Mss.*, supplement, p. 79.

¹³⁴ Clarendon, *History*, xiii, 72.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹³⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 3; *Merc. Pol.* Sept. 3.

¹³⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 2.

to guard Bewdley bridge¹³⁸ and the Council sent reinforcements to Cromwell and additional forces to Lancashire to cut off the Scottish retreat in case that was decided on.¹³⁹

Meanwhile, after his custom, Cromwell was riding about with Fleetwood viewing the city and the surrounding country from the hills,¹⁴⁰ in the course of his reconnoissance visiting Upton, where he "was entertained with abundance of joy by extraordinary shouting from each Regiment, Troope, and company, as he went to salute them."¹⁴¹ Though the Scots were frequently observed, only once was there any engagement. On Friday night, the 29th, General Middleton and Sir William Keith led fifteen hundred men, with their shirts over their armor to distinguish them from each other, out through the east gate, hoping to surprise the battery defended by three hundred English at Perry Wood. But a Puritan tailor in Worcester, one Guy or Guise, betrayed the design and the Scots were repulsed with the loss of Major Knox and some half score slain and more taken prisoner,¹⁴² and the next day the tailor was hanged in Worcester.¹⁴³ Besides this and Lambert's expedition to plunder the mansion at Blackmore Park and attack the garrison of the moated house of Madresfield, both west of the Severn,¹⁴⁴ nothing of consequence was reported; and Cromwell's letter to the Council of State was correspondingly barren of incident:

[To the Council of State?]

The enemy is in Worcester and within a few days will have to fight or fly. "On Friday night they made a sally out of Worcester with a considerable body of horse and foot but were repulsed back with loss to themselves, nine or ten of them being slain, and some others were wounded." Recruits must be expedited to Lieut. Gen. Monk.

Near Worcester, August 31, 1651.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 163.

¹³⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 384-5, 386-7. Cromwell was ordered on Aug. 28 to supply officers to the militia forces (*ibid.*, pp. 38-41). Whitelocke says his son James was chosen by Cromwell to command as colonel of a regiment of foot and two of horse out of Oxfordshire, and he did not arrive from Ireland in time (Whitelocke, p. 506). Cp. Council to Yorkshire Committee, Sept. 2 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* pp. 398-9).

¹⁴⁰ A news item in *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 1, says this was on Aug. 30; one in *ibid.*, Sept. 2, says it was Aug. 29. Perhaps both are correct.

¹⁴¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 1; *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 2.

¹⁴² W. S. Brassington, *Historic Worcestershire* (1895), p. 323; C. J. Lyon, *Personal History of King Charles the Second*, p. 220.

¹⁴³ See Cromwell's letter, Sept. 8.

¹⁴⁴ Brassington, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

¹⁴⁵ Read in Parliament Sept. 2, *C. J.*, vii, 10; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 398-9; *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 2. On Sept. 2 the Council wrote to Haselrig: "In all letters from the Lord Gen. we are put in mind of expediting recruits to Lt. Gen. Monk." *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 399.

The climax was not long delayed. On Monday the first of September, while the Mayor and aldermen of Gloucester were composing a letter to the General to accompany forty barrels of "strong beere,"¹⁴⁶ the English soldiers were busy gathering boats and bridging materials for their attack. That night the Scots sent a party of horse to break down the two bridges over the River Teme, but Fleetwood, believing they were attempting to escape, sent a detachment to intercept them and forced them to retreat to Worcester.¹⁴⁷ By the morning of Tuesday, September 2, the English arrangements were complete. The boats had been collected to make bridges and Deane with two regiments of foot and two of horse, joined Fleetwood west of the Severn and south of the Teme. It was apparent that Cromwell did not intend to attack Worcester from the east in the face of its fortifications but to force the Scots to come out and meet his army in the fields on the west bank of the Severn or await his attack on the weaker west side of the city.

He chose the next day, his "lucky day," September 3, the anniversary of Dunbar, to force Charles into this last great battle in the west, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that his delay in coming to blows was due in part at least to his desire to fight on that auspicious date. As the fateful morning dawned, he was reported as being in a cottage at the edge of Perry Wood, presumably as a convenient headquarters; but according to later legend, to bargain with the devil who, wearing flaming armor, was said to have promised victory and seven years more of prosperity in exchange for the General's soul.¹⁴⁸

In any event, at about five or six o'clock that morning, Fleetwood's command, reinforced by Dean, Goffe and Twisleton, with two other regiments of foot and his own regiment of horse,¹⁴⁹ set out from Upton and marched along the west bank of the Severn, but "by reason of some hindrance" did not reach the Teme until between two and three in the afternoon. Meanwhile "twenty great boats with planks" were brought up to the junction of the two rivers, where two bridges were hurriedly flung across the rivers, one over the Severn just north of the Teme, the other across the Teme, within pistol shot of the first.¹⁵⁰ At the moment that Fleetwood's right wing reached this point, his left wing arrived at Powick Bridge half a mile or so to the west, which had been destroyed by the Scots, who were already in motion to oppose the crossing, directed by Charles, watching the construction of the

¹⁴⁶ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 12 App., p. 505 (Gloucester Mss.)

¹⁴⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 3.

¹⁴⁸ *A True and Faithful Narrative of Oliver Cromwell's Compact with the Devil for Seven Years . . . Related by Col. Lindsey* (1720). The story is repeated in Echard. "Col. Lindsey" is probably Col. George Lindsay, third baron Spynie, taken prisoner at Worcester and imprisoned in the Tower.

¹⁴⁹ G. Downing's letter of Sept. 3, in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 357.

¹⁵⁰ Fleetwood's letter in *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 8; Cromwell's letter of Sept. 3.

bridges from the cathedral tower. Montgomery and Keith had hurried to Powick Bridge; Pitscottie's Highlanders to oppose the forces crossing by the bridges of boats, and Dalzell's division lay between them and Worcester, to reinforce whichever needed assistance most.

With the opposing forces thus arrayed, in less than an hour the bridges were completed and Cromwell himself led Colonel Hacker's horse, and the foot of Ingoldsby and Fairfax, part of his own regiment and his life-guard, across the Severn. Across the Teme came Goffe and Deane, supported by the troops of Colonels Alexander Blake, Gibbons and Marsh, with those of Lord Grey of Groby bringing up the rear. The first to set foot on the battle-ground was Cromwell himself, and his men poured over the bridge after him shouting their battle-cry of Dunbar, "The Lord of Hosts," as they engaged the enemy.¹⁵¹

Though greatly outnumbered, the Scots resisted stubbornly, using the thick, high hedges for cover and fighting from field to field. None the less Pitscottie and his men were slowly overpowered and driven back to the outskirts of St. John. At Powick Bridge the resistance was still fiercer. The hedges made it difficult for the English to use their superiority in horse; Charles went in person to encourage the men of Montgomery and Keith; and the English gained ground with difficulty. But their numbers slowly told. Colonel Heane, supported by Colonels Cobbett and Matthews, finally forced the Scots back and the English, fording the Teme, followed them. Driven from their position in Wickfield where according to Scot and Salwey the first blood of the Civil War had been shed,¹⁵² they were pursued to the drawbridge and the city gate. Meanwhile, still further to the English left, some dragoons drove the Scots from the other broken bridge and gave passage to Fleetwood's, Twisleton's and Kenrick's regiments, some of whom pursued those of the Scots who had been unable to reach the city, while others secured the bridge and the west gate to prevent the escape from that exit.¹⁵³

Thus cut off, there was but one thing left to do, and after a hasty consultation at sundown, the commanders of the invading army attempted it. This was to attack the force which Cromwell had left on the heights east of the city. Leslie, stationed with the cavalry at Pitch Croft, north of Worcester, had taken no part in the battle thus far,¹⁵⁴ and Charles, taking advantage of the fact that most of Cromwell's

¹⁵¹ Scot and Salwey to Bradshaw, Sept. 3, in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 362-4.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ The chief sources for this part of the battle are Stapleton's letter, Sept. 3, in *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 4; Fleetwood's report, *ibid.*, Sept. 8; the "Narrative" in *ibid.*, Sept. 29; Scoutmaster-General Downing's letter of Sept. 3, and Parl. commissioners Scot and Salwey, Sept. 3, in Cary, ii, 357-9, 362-4; and Cromwell's letters of Sept. 3 and 4.

¹⁵⁴ *Victoria County History of Worcestershire*, ii, 255, says Leslie refused to obey Charles' orders to cross over to the west of the Severn to aid the forces there.

army was on the west bank of the Severn and the Royalist horse was fresh, determined to fall upon the Parliamentarians on the hills east of Worcester. Thus the Royalist horse and most of the foot poured out of St. Martin's and Sudbury gates for an attack on Red Hill, where Lambert and Harrison were stationed with the regiments of Whalley, Desborough, Pride, Cooper, Tomlinson, Cobbett and the militia forces. Under the protection of the artillery in Fort Royal, Charles and Hamilton led the charge on the enemy's position with great courage and almost with success. The defenders were pushed back up Red Hill almost to the cannon on the slopes and had the Royalists been able to advance more rapidly they might have won. But the resistance which they met was too stubborn and Cromwell was able to lead his troops back across his bridge of boats in time to take part in the engagement.

His coming decided the issue, but not until after three hours of close fighting, with musket-butts, swords and pikes after their ammunition was exhausted, were the Royalists, still resisting desperately, pushed back past Fort Royal into the city gate. Throughout this hand-to-hand struggle it was reported that "My Lord Generall did exceedingly hazard himself, riding up and down in the midst of the shot and riding himself in person to the Enemies foot, offering them quarter, wherto they returned no answer but shot."¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, Leslie, who, it was said, had refused to cross the Severn with his horse and take part in the first part of the battle, also "rode up and down," but "as one amazed or seeking to fly, for they were so confused that neither threats nor entreaty could persuade them to charge with His Majesty."¹⁵⁶

In such fashion was this second part of the battle lost. The pursuit of the Royalists was so close, that, jamming the Sudbury gate in their haste, Charles' men were followed into the city by the Parliamentarians and as night came on the horrors of street fighting were added to the slaughter in the fields. Fort Royal was taken by the Essex militia, and its garrison, refusing quarter, was butchered. The guns of the fort were turned on the city to add to the confusion and destruction, while the Royalist horse, "trampling one upon another," seemed "much readier to cut each other's throats than to defend" themselves "against the enemy." Finally, though Fleetwood had been set to guard the way to the west, some four thousand of them escaped out of the north gate,¹⁵⁷ and, though ignorant of the country and unguided, frequently losing their way, reached Newport, some thirty miles north of Worcester the next morning.

¹⁵⁵ *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 4; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 8.

¹⁵⁶ Royalist account written in Chester Sept. 17, 1651, in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 436-7.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 437; *Chronicles of the Frasers*, pp. 386-7.

While the fugitives were being pursued that night, and before any estimate of the number of dead and prisoners could be made, Scout-master Downing and the Parliamentary Commissioners, Scot and Salwey, wrote their accounts of the battle, as did the Lord General:

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These haste, haste, post haste for the special service of the State

SIR,

Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much; that upon this day, being the 3d of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland), we built a bridge of boats over Severn, between it and Tame, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Tame, within pistol-shot of our other Bridge. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Major-General Deane marched from Upton on the southwest side of Severn up to Poyick, a town which was a pass the enemy kept. We passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the Lieutenant-General's forces. We beat the enemy from hedge to hedge till we beat him into Worcester.

The enemy then drew all his forces on the other side the town, all but what he lost, and made a very considerable fight with us, for three hours space; but in the end we beat him totally, and pursued him up to his Royal Fort, which we took,—and indeed have beaten his whole army. When we took the fort, we turned his own guns upon him. The enemy hath had great loss, and certainly is scattered, and run several ways. We are in pursuit of him, and have laid forces in several places, that we hope will gather him up.

Indeed this hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have seen. Both your old forces and those new-raised have behaved themselves with very great courage; and He that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to real thankfulness for this, which is alone His doing. I hope I shall within a day or two give you a more perfect account.

In the mean time I hope you will pardon, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Near Worcester, Septemb. 3d, 1651,
(10 at night).

O. CROMWELL.¹⁵⁸

The next morning revealed the losses in the fight. As usual, those of the vanquished were out of all proportion to those of the victors. Though some thousands of the Royalists were slain, there were less than two hundred killed on the side of the Parliamentarians. Of his officers Cromwell lost only Quartermaster General Moseley and a Captain Jones, though Captain Howard of Naward, of the Life Guard,

¹⁵⁸ Pr. in *Sev. Proc.*, Sept. 4-11; *A letter from the Lord General . . . touching the great victory*, etc.; *Cromwelliana*, p. 113; *Parl. Hist.*, xx, 44-5; Russell, *Life of Cromwell*, ii, 330-31; Lomas-Carlyle, CLXXXII, and Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 355, from the original in the *Tanner Mss.*, lv, 31. Read in Parliament Sept. 5 and ordered published. *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 5; *C. J.*, vii, 12.

was seriously wounded, and Lambert had his horse shot under him.¹⁵⁹ On the other side, Hamilton had a shattered leg, and he and the Earl of Rothes were among the prisoners. As the field of battle was being cleared, Cromwell sent another report to Parliament, praising especially the newly raised and inexperienced militia and pointing out how much their voluntary service had added to the prestige of the government:

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

SIR,

I am not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath wrought for this Commonwealth and for His people, and yet I am unwilling to be silent, but, according to my duty, shall represent it to you as it comes to hand.

This battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on your part; and in the end became an absolute victory, and so full an one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army; a possession of the town (our men entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage); and took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are, I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view, but they are very many; and must needs be so, because the dispute was long and very near at hand, and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about 6 or 7000 prisoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of quality: Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Rothes, and divers other noblemen—I hear, the Earl of Loutherdale; many officers of great quality; and some that will be fit subjects of your justice.

We have sent very considerable parties after the flying enemy; I hear they have taken considerable numbers of prisoners, and are very close in the pursuit. Indeed, I hear the country riseth upon them everywhere, and I believe the forces that lay, through Providence, at Bewdley, and in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and those with Colonel Lilborne, were in a condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should return.

A more particular account than this will be prepared for you as we are able. I hear they had not many more than one thousand horse in their body that fled; I believe we have near four-thousand forces following, and interposing between them and home; what fish they will catch, time will declare.¹⁶⁰ Their army was about sixteen-thousand strong, and fought ours on Worcester side of Severn almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged half our army on the other side but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business; yet I do not think we lost two-hundred men. Your new-raised forces did perform singular good service; for which they deserve a very high estimation and acknowledgment, as also for their willingness thereunto, forasmuch as the

¹⁵⁹ Downing to Bradshaw, Sept. 3, in Cary, *Memorials*; Fleetwood's narration in *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 8.

¹⁶⁰ Phrase omitted in the Newspaper. *In orig.*, an official hand has written on the margin 'omitt this.'

same hath added so much to the reputation of your affairs.¹⁶¹ They are all despatched home again; which I hope will be much for the ease and satisfaction of the country; which is a great fruit of the successes.

The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the Parliament to do the will of Him who hath done His will for it, and for the nation; whose good pleasure is to establish the nation and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation; but that the fear of the Lord, even for His mercies, may keep an authority and a people so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble and faithful; and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth may flow from you, as a thankful return to our gracious God. This shall be the prayer of,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

Worcester,

O. CROMWELL.

4 September, 1651.

Your officers behaved themselves with much honour in this service; and the person¹⁶² who is the bearer hereof was equal, in the performance of his duty, to most that served you that day.¹⁶³

Charles had adopted the infallible recipe for failure—the invasion of England with a foreign force—and he and his followers now suffered the consequences of their defeat. His expedition had not merely contributed to the numbers of his enemies in the field by the enlistment of the militia to repel invasion, but it had given the revolutionary government the advantage of appearing as the saviours of the country. It had enabled its leaders, like Cromwell, to point to the action of the militia as proof of its popularity among the people; and, among its other results, the battle of Worcester strengthened the position of the government morally as well as materially. At the same time it wrecked the cause of monarchy. If one may venture a parallel from a

¹⁶¹ "In this and in nothing else lay the significance of Worcester. The military critic finds little to say about it; but it stands out as the first combat since the day on which Waller's levies poured home after the fight at Cropredy Bridge, in which other than professional soldiers took part. It is probable that nearly if not quite a third of the victorious army consisted of local militia regiments." Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii, 47.

¹⁶² Major John Cobbett, who received £100. *C. J.*, vii, 12, 13.

¹⁶³ In *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 6; *A letter from the Lord General touching the taking of Worcester*; *Old Parl. Hist.*, xx, 45-7; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 113, 114; Lomas-Carlyle, *CLXXXIII*, and Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 359-62, from the original in the *Tanner Mss.*, lv, 29. In *The Antiquary* (1881), iv, 165-5, is published an English translation of this letter from an Italian translation preserved in the archives in Genoa.

very different set of circumstances, what Waterloo was to Napoleon, Worcester was to Charles. If it was not as great a battle as Dunbar, it was, at least, the last of the civil wars; and from it he fled not merely a defeated but a discredited fugitive.

In that capacity he rode out of the north gate of Worcester on that night with the two major-generals, Leslie and Middleton, and the four thousand cavalry which escaped the carnage. He turned off to the right at Stourbridge and so to Boscobel, where he was concealed by his loyal subjects. Thence, in various disguises and protected by various individuals, though often recognized, he made his way finally to Brighthelmstone on the Channel, landing safely at Fécamp on the 16th of October. His followers were not so fortunate. Most of those who took the northern route were captured before the week was out. Leslie and Middleton, with General Vandruske, leaving their followers were taken near Rochdale in the highlands north of Manchester, and locked up with many more in Chester.¹⁶⁴ The Earls of Derby and Lauderdale, with Lord Sinclair and fifteen others, surrendered voluntarily to a captain in Cromwell's foot-regiment, Oliver Edge, who was waiting with Lilburne near Nantwich.¹⁶⁵ Massey, wounded and weak from hard riding, soon gave himself up to Lord Grey's mother, Lady Stamford, and was brought to Grey's house at Broadgate just after that officer had disbanded his forces.¹⁶⁶ Montgomery and eighty men were taken at Halifax three days after the battle.¹⁶⁷ Everywhere the story was the same. Colonel Barton, ordered to Bewdley the day before the battle, took several hundred prisoners; Colonel Blundell and Major-General Harrison followed closely on the heels of the fugitives from Worcester and took many more, while other commanders along the way, including Lilburne, forced them to fight for every mile they gained, and even the country people joined in the hunt.¹⁶⁸ The invaders were not merely beaten, they were so cowed that, as Captain Hodgson wrote, their pursuers "could have taken the best like person they saw and brought him out without a stroke, so low was the Scot brought."¹⁶⁹ Not many escaped. When the list of prisoners was made up, it was reckoned at ten thousand men, including many nobles and some six hundred and forty officers. It was calculated that two thousand were killed and the wounded

¹⁶⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 15; cp. *ibid.* Sept. 13, where is a list of prisoners. Vandruske was a Dutch engineer officer, first in Parliamentary service, then in the King's and finally in the service of the Czar. Firth, *Journal of Joachim Hane*, pref. iii.

¹⁶⁵ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p. 163; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 6. Capt. Edge gave his account to Council Oct. 8. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* p. 470.

¹⁶⁶ Grey to Speaker, Sept. 7, Cary, ii, 376; see also Massey to Grey's mother, the Countess of Stamford, *ibid.*, p. 381.

¹⁶⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 15.

¹⁶⁸ Chester prisoner's account, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 163.

were, of course, many more. The plunder included a hundred and fifty-eight colours and the Scots lost, of course, what arms, ammunition and supplies they had.

While, then, the fugitive king with a price of £1,000 on his head, found loyal subjects to aid him in his flight, the Parliamentary commanders were busy in rounding up the fugitives, disbanding the militia who had come to their aid, and reporting their victory. The news of Worcester reached London on the day after the battle by one of the same messengers who had brought the news of Dunbar, Richard Cadwell, who was rewarded with £30 for his pains; and a letter of congratulation was hurried off to Cromwell. With it was enclosed the news of Monk's preliminary success near Dundee, which he had taken on September first, though the report of its capture, had not yet reached London.¹⁷⁰ The next day Parliament voted a thanksgiving celebration and September 3 was set apart as an annual holiday. On Saturday the Parliamentary commissioners returned to make their report of the victory. They told of Worcester streets filled with the bodies of men and horses, of the search throughout the city for Royalist hiding-places, of the General, who remained in the city amid these scenes of carnage, and of his orders to have the city wall pulled down and the moats filled up. They brought, as well, news of Hamilton's request for a surgeon, in response to which two were sent—Kincaird, the old King's surgeon, and Trappam, the Parliamentary surgeon; the one, according to Burnet, demanding the amputation of his shattered leg, the other refusing to allow the operation. It was performed finally but with no avail, and on September 11 the Duke died.¹⁷¹

He was the most notable victim of that disaster to Scottish arms, but, apart from the disposition of the killed and wounded and of the prisoners, there was an immense amount of detail to be attended to before the business was cleared up, and to that Cromwell now addressed himself. On the day after the battle he dismissed to their homes the militia regiments which had been of such great service. Hugh Peter was delegated to address them before their departure and he took occasion to make a plea for the army, admonishing the men about to return to their homes to think well of it henceforth. To this he added a good word for the Commonwealth, praising "the present government who was so watchful for the whole," and concluded with a suggestion that when their families asked where they had been, to reply "that they had been to Worcester where England's sorrows began, and where they were happily ended."¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 409-10.

¹⁷¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 6; *C. J.*, vii, 12-13; Burnet, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (1677), p. 431; Account of the Chester prisoner, *loc. cit.*; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 13.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, Sept. 6.

By Friday, September 5, Cromwell was again in Evesham, advising the Council of further details of Worcester and informing it that some of the prisoners were on their way to London. To this the Council replied at once that the disposal of the prisoners would be difficult if they were sent too soon, and informing the General that he would be met at Aylesbury by members of Parliament and a sum of money for the troops.¹⁷³ To these matters—the prisoners and the pay of the troops—Cromwell addressed himself in these days, and of this two documents remain, the one addressed to Colonel Cooper who had brought his regiment with Cromwell from Scotland and was to return to serve under Monk, the other a warrant for the army's pay:

To Colonel Thomas Cooper

I desire you to take notice that the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Packington, being detained in Worcester by the Committee of that county before either the approach of the Scots or ours to the town, you are to leave them in the town, they being no Prisoners of War.

Evesham,
the vith of September, 1651

Your affectionate friend,
O. CROMWELL.¹⁷⁴

Warrant

Authorizing Sir John Wollaston to pay £2,037/3/6 to John Gladman for the army.
Sept. 6, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁷⁵

Besides these there have survived two instances of his concern about the inhabitants of Worcester who had suffered for their loyalty to the Commonwealth by the Royalist occupation and the ensuing hostilities. The one was the case of the family of the tailor who had warned the Parliamentarians of the proposed Royalist attack on Red Hill;¹⁷⁶ the other of a certain Thomas Soley of St. Andrews parish whose clothes were seized as he was in arms to defend the city against the Scots and who had fled to Cromwell for protection.¹⁷⁷ On September 8 he was in Evesham,¹⁷⁸ busying himself with the aftermath of the battle:

¹⁷³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 414.

¹⁷⁴ Original among the Mss. of Lord Hampton, 18 Evelyn Gardens, London. Copied by Mr. Roy Lampson with the permission of the Hon. Mary Pakington. James Fraser, in *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. 387, lists Packington as one of the chief prisoners of war.

¹⁷⁵ In a collection of original letters of Cromwell, Hampden, Pym and Lambert, etc. all bound together and listed in Sotheby's catalogue of the Eliot Reed Collection sold December, 1913; offered for sale by J. Pearson & Co. in their catalogue of manuscripts, about 1920; sold at auction, June 1924, by Sotheby with other Pearson properties.

¹⁷⁶ See Cromwell's letter, Sept. 8.

¹⁷⁷ *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 3867.

¹⁷⁸ A newsletter in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* (Utrecht), iii, 288 says Cromwell was in Stratford-on-Avon Sept. 7, but this may be continental dating.

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

SIR,

The late most remarkable, seasonable and signal victory, which our good God (to whom alone be ascribed all the glory) was pleased to vouchsafe your servants against the Scottish Army at Worcester, doth, as I conceive, justly engage me humbly to present in reference thereunto this consideration: that as the Lord appeared so wonderfully in His mercies towards you, so it will be very just to extend mercy to His people, our friends that suffered in these parts upon this occasion; and that some reparation may be made them out of the sequestration or estates of such as abetted this engagement against you. The town being entered by storm, some honest men, promiscuously and without distinction, suffered by your soldiers; which could not at that time possibly be prevented, in the fury and heat of the battle.

I also humbly present to your charity the poor distressed wife and children of one William Guise, of the city of Worcester, who was barbarously put to death by the Enemy for his faithfulness to the Parliament.¹⁷⁹ The man (as I am credibly informed) feared the Lord; and upon that account likewise deserveth more consideration. Really, Sir, I am abundantly satisfied, that divers honest men, both in city and country, suffered exceedingly (even to the ruin of their families), by these parts being the seat of the war; and it will be an encouragement to honest men, when they are not given over to be swallowed-up in the same destruction with enemies.

I hope the Commissioners of the Militia will be very careful and discerning in the distribution of your charity. I cannot but double my desires, that some speedy course may be taken herein.

I have sent the Mayor and Sheriff of Worcester to Warwick Castle,¹⁸⁰ here to attend the pleasure of Parliament concerning their Trial and remain; I having not opportunity to try them by Court Martial. I have also taken security of the other Aldermen who remained in the city, to be forthcoming when I shall require them.

It may be well worthy your consideration, That some severity be shown to some of those of this Country, as well of quality as meaner ones, who, having been engaged in the former War, did now again appear in arms against you. I rest,

Sir,

Evesham,
September 8, 1651.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.¹⁸¹

On the same day Cromwell settled the matter of the government of Worcester in the hands of a commander of Worcestershire militia:

¹⁷⁹ Parliament had already voted, on Sept. 5, £200, and £100 per annum to Widow Guys and her children. *C. J.*, vii, 13.

¹⁸⁰ The Mayor, Thomas Lyson, and the sheriff, James Burges. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 423.

¹⁸¹ Carlyle, App. 22 (1), from *Tanner Mss.*, lv, 46; Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 378. Read in Parliament Sept. 10, when a committee was ordered to consider the cases of those who suffered by the taking of Worcester. *C. J.*, vii, 15.

To Col. John James

I do hereby constitute and appoint you Governor of the City of Worcester and of all the Forces raised and to be raised within the same for the service of the Commonwealth which said place you shall by virtue of this Commission receive into your charge, together with all the ordnance, arms and ammunition therein. And the same you are to make good and defend for the use of the Commonwealth. And all the officers and soldiers within the same City are hereby required to obey you as their Governor. And you are likewise to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from myself. And this Commission to continue until further order. Given under my hand and seal the 8th day of September 1651.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁸²

The defeat of the Scots at Worcester and the flight of Charles to the Continent removed the last serious threat to the Commonwealth in the British Isles. There still remained some remnants of resistance in Ireland where Limerick still held out, and the Highlands of Scotland were still unsubdued. But the fall of Limerick was only a matter of weeks and the Highlanders were no great danger to the English conquerors. Already steps were being taken to reorganize the three kingdoms, to divide the spoils of Irish conquest among the victors, and to set up a new form of government in Scotland. The war was won, it only remained to win the peace, to see whether those who had overthrown church and crown would be able to establish a new system to replace that which they had, for the time being at least, destroyed.

¹⁸² Signature only is Cromwell's. Orig. in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, MS. R. 4. 59. Kindly transcribed and communicated by H. M. Adams, Esq. Librarian of Trinity College Library. Note accompanying the commission: "This Instrument was found among the papers of the above named Collonel John James by his Executor Sir John Edwards and was afterwards found among his papers by his son and Executor Richard Edwards Esquire formerly a Member of Trinity College in Cambridge, and by him deposited in the hands of Doctor Colbath for the use of the said College.

Richd. Edwards."

CHAPTER XI

THE AFTERMATH OF WORCESTER

SEPTEMBER, 1651—JANUARY, 1652

With the victory at Worcester, Cromwell's work in the field was done and his phrase the "crowning mercy" seems to indicate, among other things, that he recognized this fact. There remained, however, much to be cleared up before he could devote his entire time to the problems of the peace which his successes had ensured. Among those problems the most important and the one which concerned him most closely was the re-shaping of government now that its enemies had been crushed; and as he rode away from Worcester that question pressed on the minds of many, and not least on his own. His return from Worcester was like that of many heroes from many such exploits—Washington from Yorktown, Napoleon from Italy, Grant from Appomatox and, in our day, Hindenburg from Tannenberg. Nor was the result dissimilar. Though the elevation of the leader of an army to the headship of the state does not always come at once, nor is it always successful, men are always inclined to transform a military hero into a ruler. In Cromwell's case the popular acclaim knew no bounds, and it seemed for the moment that he might be raised at once to supreme power. On the first news of Worcester, Hampton Court was ordered to be fitted up for his occupancy, and he was asked to select a residence in or near London, where he could rest from his exertions but be available "for the great and important consultation for the further settlement" of the Commonwealth.¹ To support this new grandeur, in the first flush of its enthusiasm, Parliament ordered the preparation of a bill settling on him lands worth £4,000 a year, which was rushed through without apparent opposition the day before he reached London.²

Meanwhile he had left Worcester and took his time to reach the capital, attending to various pieces of business as he went. Before nightfall on Saturday, September 8, he was well on his way, having travelled the dozen miles or so between Evesham and Chipping Norton, whence his next letter to the Speaker was written:

¹ *C. J.*, vii, 13-14.

² *C. J.*, vii, 15. In addition to this grant to Cromwell, Ireton was to be given £2,000 for his service, and others were considered for reward: Lambert was to have £1,000, Monk £500, Whalley £500, Okey £300 and Alured £200. *Ibid.*, 14, 15.

*For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the
Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These*

SIR,

I have sent this bearer, Captain Orpyn, with the colours taken in the late fight; at least as many of them as came to my hands, for I think very many of them have miscarried. I believe the number of those sent will be about an hundred; the remain also being forty or fifty, which were taken at the engagement in Fife. I ask pardon for troubling you herewith, and rest,

Sir,

Chipping Norton,
Sept. 8, 1651.

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.³

While Cromwell journeyed from Worcester to London the Council lost no time in ordering the dismissal of the militia forces and beginning the reduction of the garrisons.⁴ It had considered, as well, the situation in Scotland itself, whither Cromwell had ordered four regiments to be shipped by way of Hull and Lynn with food and money provided by the Council.⁵ Matters had been going well for the English there. After the surrender of Stirling Castle on August 14, a party of horse and dragoons under Colonel Alured and Colonel Morgan had captured the Earl of Leven and the Scottish Committee of Estates on August 28, at Alyth in Perthshire, while Monk had moved against Dundee.⁶ After a ten days' siege, that place had been stormed, and its brave governor, Colonel Robert Lumsden, with some eight hundred of the garrison had been killed and the town plundered. "The stubbornness of the people," Monk wrote to Cromwell, "enforced the soldiers to plunder the town,"⁷ but it is evident that he needed an excuse. With far less reason, the savage massacre and the sack of Dundee rivalled the scenes in Drogheda and Wexford two years before. The plunder was far richer, for some of the soldiers were reported to have got five hundred pounds apiece; and it was one of the blackest episodes in the civil wars. With this and the capture of the Scottish leaders, the resistance of Scotland was broken. Leven, Loudoun, the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, with other noblemen and ministers, were prisoners; many Covenanters like Argyll and Wariston withdrew from politics; and Scotland was left without leadership.

Thus with the affairs of both kingdoms in such satisfactory condition, Cromwell was met on September 9 west of Aylesbury by White-

³ Lomas-Carlyle, App. 22, from the original signed and sealed, in *Tanner, Mss.*, lv, 54. Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 380.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 414 ff.

⁵ Council of State to Cromwell, Sept. 8, *ibid.*, p. 416.

⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 8; Monk to Cromwell, Aug. 28, in Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 345-47; Okey's letter, Sept. 20, in *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 2.

⁷ Monk to Cromwell, Sept. 1, in Cary, ii, 351-2.

locke, St. John, Pickering and Lisle, the Parliamentary committee sent to congratulate him.⁸ As Whitelocke records, "The General received them with all kindness and respect, and after salutations and ceremonies passed, he rode with them cross the Fields." They were met by "Mr. Winwood's Hawks," and with Fleetwood, Deane and some of his other officers, Cromwell "went a little out of the way a Hawking." They came that night, at the Mayor's invitation, to Aylesbury,⁹ where they all had supper and much talk, "My Lord Chief Justice St. John more than all the rest." Cromwell expressed his appreciation of the congratulations of the committee with a substantial present of a horse and two Scottish prisoners to each of them. Whitelocke's share included a "very handsome, gallant young nag," and "a gentleman of good Quality and . . . very good parts," who, with his other prisoner, he "freely" set at liberty and gave them passes to return to Scotland.¹⁰

It was Cromwell's intention to reach Uxbridge with his companions on September 11,¹¹ and somewhere on the journey on that day he followed the instructions sent him by the Council of State in a letter dated the previous day, to commission various officers stationed about Warwick and Coventry as members of two court-martials, to try the Mayor and Sheriff of Worcester, and for similar courts in Chester:

To Major Generall Mitton, Col. Duckenfield, Col. Mackworth, Col. Birch, Col. Henry Brooke, Col. Henry Bradshaw, Col. Tho. Croxton, Col. Gilbert Ireland, Col. John Carter, Col. Twisleton and Col. Mason or any three or more of you.

Whereas the Parliament, by an Act of the 12th of this instant August prohibiting correspondence with Charles Steward or his party, have thereby enacted that whosoever shall or may offend against the said Act shall or may be proceeded against by a Council of War. In pursuance whereof and of orders lately received from the Council of State I do hereby authorize and impower you or any three or more of you as often, as you shall think fit, to call a Council of War or Court Martiall at West Chester constituting of yourselves or any of you and of what other Commission officers under any of your commands as you shall please to call to your assistance. And at such Council or Court to call before you any person or persons whomsoever residing or inhabiting or which shall be apprehended in Lancashire, Cheshire, Salop, and Northwales who have or shall offend against the said Act of Parliament, and

⁸ Cf. C.J., vii, 13. Instructions were read that day in Parliament, *ibid.*, pp. 13-14. Whitelocke, etc. to Lenthall, Sept. 10, cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 13, App. (Portland Mss., i, 616); *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 414.

⁹ Whitelocke, p. 509; *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 12; *Another Victory . . . together with the Manner of My Lord Gen. Cromwell's Comming Up and Noble Reception by the City of London.*

¹⁰ Whitelocke, p. 509.

¹¹ Whitelocke, etc. to Lenthall, Sept. 10, *loc. cit.*

to receive depositions of all such witnesses as shall be brought before you for the clearing or proving guilty of any such person or persons as aforesaid. And thereupon to proceed to sentence and to cause the same to be put in execution accordingly and also to execute and perform all things incident and requisite touching the premisses. In which your proceedings you are to observe such rules and limitations as is set down in the said Act. And this Commission is to continue in force until the first day of December next. And you are to keep a true record of all your proceedings and actings thereupon and to certify the same unto me or to such as the Parliament and Council of State shall appoint. Given under my hand and seal, the eleventh day of September 1651.

O. CROMWELL¹²

With the instructions from the Council was enclosed a resolution by the Parliament "that the Earl of Derby be tried at Chester by a Court Martial erected by a Commission of the Lord General upon the Act of the 12th of August."¹³ In accordance with these orders various prisoners were in due course tried, imprisoned, and in some cases executed. Meanwhile the committee of congratulation reported to Parliament that their party expected to enter London on September 12 by way of Acton and Kensington. On that day, in consequence, Lenthall, Bradshaw, the members of the Council of State, members of Parliament, the Mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of London, the city militia, a guard of horse and foot and "many thousands others of quality," with doubtless many other thousands, journeyed to Acton to bring their General home in triumph.¹⁴ All along the way of his progress the streets were lined with shouting crowds, while cannon and musketry welcomed his triumphal journey to Whitehall.¹⁵ In such fashion Cromwell returned from the wars, never to put on armor again and never to leave London on a military enterprise; and in such fashion the capital welcomed the man who had proved himself the master of the enemies of the Commonwealth, Royalists, Presbyterians, English, Scotch and Irish. It remained to be seen whether he could win the same success in peace as he had in war; and crown his successes as a general with like successes in the field of statesmanship.

The highest post in the state seemed, indeed, within his grasp. The Republicans were obviously disturbed at this prospect and watched Cromwell's every action with jealous eyes. They naturally found what they sought, and Ludlow records that Peter thought that "Cromwell would make himself king," and Ludlow that "The General after this action, which he called the crowning victory, took upon him a more stately behaviour and chose new friends."¹⁶ But Ludlow was

¹² Original in *House of Lords Mss.* Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, 7 App. p. 95.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Nouvelles de Londres*, quoted in *Old Parl. Hist.*, xx, 49-50; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 12.

¹⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 12.

¹⁶ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i, 282, 344; or (ii, p. 9) "would endeavour to make himself king."

in Ireland at the time and what information he had of Cromwell, if any, must have come to him at second hand. There is no indication in other sources that the General had changed. Whitelocke records that "he carried himself with great Affability and seeming Humility, and in all his Discourses about the business of Worcester would seldom mention anything of himself, but of the Gallantry of the Officers and Soldiers, and gave (as was due) all the Glory of the action unto God."¹⁷ The newsletters noted his "kindness and nobility" in persuading Parliament to pension the widow of a spy killed in their service.¹⁸ The poetaster Nelson hailed him in bad Latin verses as *Dominus* and *Imperator*.¹⁹ The Tuscan agent, Salvetti, reported that he was zealous and popular, adding that "indeed there cannot be discovered in him any ambition save for the public good, to which he brings all his spirit and power, which is so great and is used by his Excellency with such humility and respect toward every one, that he has come to be honoured and esteemed (besides for his great valour) as a man commanded by Heaven to establish this republic by divine service."²⁰ That was, indeed, his chief concern, yet there is little direct evidence of his efforts in that direction. The records of his activities in the next few months are almost wholly concerned with an infinity of petty official business, a mass of unimportant detail which serves only to obscure the part which it seems obvious he must have played behind the scenes, and from which it is difficult to draw a picture of his share in more important matters.

The vote of Parliament indicating its desire for his advice in regard to the "further settlement" of the Commonwealth revealed not only its recognition of his pre-eminent position in the state but its need of that advice. The government was, indeed, much strengthened by the victory of Worcester. It was now in all but complete control of the three kingdoms. It had begun to be recognized by foreign powers and to take its place in the European system. But it faced great problems both at home and abroad. The first was the disposition of its prisoners, and on September 11, before Cromwell reached London, Parliament had voted that nine of them—the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Derby, Lauderdale and Cleveland, Sir Edward Massey, Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, Captain Benbow, and the mayor and sheriff of Worcester—should be brought to trial. Hamilton was already dead of his wounds; Derby was in Chester jail with his followers, Fetherstonhaugh and Benbow; Massey was at Broadgate unable to be

¹⁷ Whitelocke, p. 509. Ormond wrote Lord Muskerry, Cromwell gave "very civil answers" to the agent of his wife who was asking the General's help in securing her own fortune. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept. Kilkenny Mss.*, N. S. ii, 213.

¹⁸ *Merc. Pol.* Sept. 13.

¹⁹ *Pr.* in *Last News from the King of Scots*.

²⁰ Trans. from Salvetti's letter of Oct. 3/13, quoted in Gardiner, ii, from *Add. Mss.*, 27, 962, f. 251.

moved; and others were held elsewhere.²¹ There were many left; and on September 13, the day after Cromwell reached London, some four thousand prisoners of all ranks, chiefly ragged foot-soldiers who had surrendered at mercy in Worcester streets, were brought in triumph to the capital. Greeted with mingled jeers of the Independents and sympathy of the Presbyterians, they were, according to *Mercurius Politicus*, marched through the City into Tothill Fields, Westminster, and encamped in the New Artillery Ground, to await Parliament's orders for their disposal. Though the Council had at first ordered every tenth man taken at Wigan to be brought to trial, and though there seem to have been some executions as a result of the court-martials, once its fears had abated, the government proved itself lenient with the prisoners, save the English leaders.

Their disposition was the first piece of business at the Council meeting the day after Cromwell's arrival, when he was sworn in as a member. Orders were issued for the safe-keeping and trial of the officers imprisoned at Chester and elsewhere. The Earl of Derby, Fetherstonhaugh and Benbow were to be tried at once in Chester; but Lauderdale and Lord Douglas, who were also in Chester, the Earl of Cleveland, Colonel Blague and some others in Stafford, were ordered brought before the Council under a guard appointed by Cromwell. On the day Hamilton died, the Council had ordered him to be tried and Massey brought before a court-martial at Westminster.²² Three days later, the Council, with Cromwell present, instructed the General to see that Leslie, Middleton, Sir William Fleming, Sir David Cunningham and Sir William Hart should also be brought to London to be tried.²³ The Earls of Rothes, Kellie and Carnwarth, Lords Spynie and Grandison, together with Major-General Pitscottie, were sent to the Tower; and the Earl of Dumfries, who had earlier given his parole to Cromwell, was ordered to provide security in the sum of £4,000 not to leave Yorkshire.²⁴ Besides these, Cromwell had been ordered to send a Colonel Greaves to the Tower to await his trial;²⁵ and many of the inferior officers who had been brought to London were sent to the Mews, to Windsor, or to Wallingford Castle until their fate was determined.²⁶

The effect on the prisoners varied with their dispositions. Derby, defiant if not confident, refused to surrender his patrimony of the Isle of Man, which, under the rule of his wife, held out against the Parliament. Lauderdale, reported 'sad and vexed,' seemed to his captors

²¹ *C. J.*, vii, 16.

²² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 426-30; *C. J.*, vii, 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 435-36.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

²⁶ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 24.

both petulant and dangerous as a prisoner first in the Tower, then at Windsor. Leslie, later committed to the Tower, roared and drank when he could get strong liquor, and insisted on his unswerving loyalty to Charles in the face of almost universal suspicion to the contrary. Middleton, as melancholy as Leslie was mad, was also in the Tower.²⁷ Thence he presently escaped, though Leslie and Lauderdale remained captives until the Restoration, and Derby went to the scaffold.

The fate of the Scottish prisoners of the rank of captain or lower was left to a committee of which Cromwell was naturally the leading member. Of those prisoners, some, including Sir James Turner and Anthony Jackson, who had proclaimed Charles king as the Scots crossed the border, escaped on their way to London,²⁸ and it would appear that there was a continual leakage of that sort throughout. The committee's first instructions were to accept propositions from merchants to take any or all of the rest to plantations in the West Indies or elsewhere, and some were disposed of in this manner.²⁹ It was presently ordered to collect a thousand of those still in the western counties at Bristol for shipment to New England as indentured servants. A week later the General was instructed to send convoys to Bristol, and orders were issued to allot one minister to each two hundred of his fellow-prisoners and free him from the obligations of servitude.³⁰ Many, of course, were never sent, and, like their fellows in London, remained a burden to the government which, with northern Scotland unsubdued, dared not send them home lest they take up arms again. On the other hand, all soldiers of fortune under the rank of captain were allowed to go to the Continent.³¹

The prisoners were no small addition to the man-power of England and her colonies. Many were turned over to members of Parliament and others, on security for their good behavior.³² Toward the end of October, it appears, some were sent to Bermuda.³³ Many of those left in Tothill Fields, York, Newcastle and Durham, whether from Dunbar or Worcester, were delivered early in that month to the undertakers for draining the fens, on payment of security of £5 for each man, on condition that if more than ten in a hundred escaped within a year a penalty of £10 a man was to be paid to the government.³⁴ There still remained, however, a considerable number, and,

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 438.

²⁹ Cf. order to inquire which merchants left certain prisoners behind (*ibid.*, (1651-2), p. 44).

³⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 431-2, 435-6, 443-4, 447.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 438, 441, 447.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 454.

³³ Gardiner, ii, 65, with no authority cited.

³⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 458, 471-2, 475. Cromwell was to appoint officers to take charge of this transaction.

with winter approaching, lodging for them became a serious problem. The sick were quartered in a church and a pest-house, and straw was provided for their comfort.³⁵ At last, to save expense, on December 17, the Council of State decided to liberate all those remaining in Tothill Fields and about London, give them an allowance of money and clothing and permit them to return to Scotland.³⁶

Many of the English captives, meanwhile, had been lodged in St. James's and the Mews; and at the same time that the Council freed the last of the Scots in London, it agreed to send these English prisoners to Ireland.³⁷ Two weeks later they were liberated on signing an agreement to present themselves at Chester on the 25th of the following April.³⁸ The officers, many of whom had been imprisoned in Chelsea College, were, however, kept in custody, and those in the Tower settled down to a long imprisonment, softened in the case of the more eminent, like Leven who was brought from Scotland by Cromwell's orders, by being given the liberty of the Tower and permission to keep their servants.³⁹ Finally, though at the end of September Cromwell was ordered to prepare a "narrative of the barbarous cruelties and murders committed by the Scottish people" upon their English prisoners, perhaps with a view to justifying retaliation,⁴⁰ by the end of the year the Scots had declined from a menace to a nuisance, and the government's only thought was to be rid of them on any terms.

Meanwhile it celebrated its victory. On Sunday, September 14, thanksgiving sermons were preached throughout London and Cromwell's letters were read to the congregations.⁴¹ At a short session of the Council on the next day, he was named to the committees on the admiralty and the ordnance, the Irish and Scotch committee, and a "committee on examinations," to which he had formerly belonged, and ordered to consult about the prevention of "mischief" done in Scotland against the convoy party and other travellers.⁴² On the day following he met with the Council at eight in the morning to discuss the problem of the prisoners. From this he went with Fleetwood to the House to listen to Lenthall's oration conveying the thanks of the House to the victors of Worcester;⁴³ and thence he and most of his

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

³⁶ Perhaps as an economy measure the private prisoners in Durham and Gloucester were on July 1, 1652, ordered to be released. *Ibid.*, (1651-2), p. 313.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 67. Their fate was to be discussed in Council on Oct. 7 and Cromwell, desired to attend, was present. *Ibid.* (1651) p. 467.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, (1651-2), pp. 85-6.

³⁹ *Ibid.* (1651), p. 465.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

⁴¹ *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 4-11.

⁴² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 430.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 430-43; *C. J.*, vii, 18; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 16.

fellow-members went on to a Lord Mayor's dinner given in their honor.

These festivities over, Parliament turned to a matter of great and increasing importance, especially to Cromwell—the settlement of the government. On Wednesday the 17th, the House debated behind closed doors the question of the future of Parliament. There had been growing dissatisfaction with the existing body and its insistence on continuing in office. Since before Cromwell's departure for Ireland, the questions of recruiting new members, of dissolution and a new election, had been debated, but the uncertain political and military situation had enabled the advocates of continuance to prevent any considerable alteration in its status or membership. Now, with the danger removed and Cromwell once more in his place, it came up again. Possibly on account of the debate on dissolution, he was absent from the Council on Wednesday and Thursday, and was specially requested to be present on the 18th, when further action was to be taken on the prisoners.⁴⁴ That day he and many of his officers went to Woolwich to attend the launching of a new frigate, named the *Worcester*, as the last of the celebrations of their victory.⁴⁵

It is not improbable that the question of dissolution was pushed forward at Cromwell's suggestion, as it was with his support, and of this there are certain indications, among them the fact that he was asked by the House to thank Mr. Caryl, who, with Mr. Lockyer, had preached sermons on the subject before Parliament.⁴⁶ Interrupted on September 24 by his request for payment of an allowance formerly granted to Ellinor Hill, the widow of a captain killed at Wexford,⁴⁷ and his attendance with many of the Council and Parliament at the funeral of Edward Popham, General-at-Sea, from Exeter House to Westminster Abbey, where he was buried,⁴⁸ Cromwell turned again to matters of state.⁴⁹

The next day, by special request, he attended the Council and sanctioned the diversion of the funds set aside for paying the disbanded forces to the maintenance of the prisoners.⁵⁰ Thence he went to the House, where, after the passage of an Act for continuing the High Court of Justice, the debate on dissolution and a general election was

⁴⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 435. The Council voted to inform Cromwell that the prisoners had been brought to London under insufficient guard and some had escaped (*ibid.*, p. 438).

⁴⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 18.

⁴⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 20.

⁴⁷ *Cal. in Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655), p. 227. Cromwell was petitioned in 1655 for a continuance of the 20 shilling weekly allowance.

⁴⁸ *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 25.

⁴⁹ Petitioned by a committee for the Fourth Joint Stock of the East India Co., Cromwell refused to receive the petition. Foster, *Court Memorials*, iv, 124.

⁵⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 446.

resumed. Cromwell was strongly in favor of such action, and, as a teller for the majority of thirty-three against twenty-six, he had his way. A bill was ordered brought in by a committee which included the leading lawyers in the House, and though he was not at first named a member, the next morning, with Vane, Marten and Salwey, he was added to its number.⁵¹

In such fashion began the great controversy which was to dominate affairs in the ensuing months. Meanwhile Parliament took up another matter in which Cromwell was deeply interested, the consideration of an Act of Pardon and Oblivion. At the same time a narrative of the events leading up to the battle of Worcester, with an announcement of a public thanksgiving to be held on October 3, was prepared and entrusted to Cromwell, Fleetwood, Scot and Salwey to be printed.⁵² The problem of the prisoners was, however, the most pressing of the immediate concerns of Parliament and of the General. Two cases in particular now demanded his attention. A Colonel Edward Moulsworth, who had been committed to Newgate for treason the previous summer, apparently in connection with the plot, had petitioned for release, but his plea had been held over until Cromwell could pass on it.⁵³ On September 30, with the General present, the Council ordered Moulsworth's discharge on £1,000 security.⁵⁴ At the same time the case of the Earl of Kildare, now prisoner in the Fleet, was considered. An adherent of Parliament until the death of the King, he had changed sides just before Cromwell arrived in Ireland, had been captured and his family had suffered from the confiscation of his estates. He had appealed for relief and Cromwell was instructed to lay the case before Parliament, which he seems to have done some ten days later and secured an allowance of four pounds a week for the Earl's two children.⁵⁵

From these details and his appointment to the committee on inland and foreign posts, the General was summoned to consider a far greater matter, that of the Earl of Derby's stronghold, the Isle of Man.⁵⁶ Before he had arrived at the meeting, the Council had agreed that he was to issue such orders as he saw fit to bring it under the rule of Parliament, and so began one of the romantic episodes of the civil wars. When he left to join Charles II, Derby had committed its defence to his wife, the gallant Charlotte de la Tremoille, who had earlier held Lathom House against the Parliament. She had appointed Sir Philip Musgrave governor, and when she heard of her husband's capture she

⁵¹ *C. J.*, vii, 20.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. Narrative pr. in *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 29.

⁵³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1650), p. 552; (1651), pp. 202, 423, 450.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; *C. J.*, vii, 27.

⁵⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 454, 455.

had sent proposals to give up the island in return for the Earl's life. But under the lead of a native Manxman, William Christian, receiver-general for the island under Derby, its inhabitants rebelled and seized the smaller forts, though the Countess still held the two castles. Meanwhile Cromwell had ordered Lilburne to attack the place but sent him instead to Scotland and appointed Colonel Duckenfield, the governor of Chester, who had forwarded the proposals of the Countess to the Council. With Duckenfield was sent that Isaac Birkenhead, who had been captured some months earlier while attempting to carry to Derby papers relating to the Royalist plot, and who was familiar with the Manx situation.⁵⁷ The governor of Liverpool, Colonel Birch, was ordered to assist Duckenfield, and presently went in person to help reduce the place, in accordance with Cromwell's orders;

To the Honourable Col. Birch at Liverpool

SIR,

I do well assure you that before this I sent you an order to be assisting in the expedition against the Isle of Man; but having heard nothing from you, I doubt whether my orders came to you. But now I thought fit to send this desire, that (Col. Lilburne being employed another way) you would be assisting to Col. Duckenfield in this service, who is the commander-in-chief.

I rest,

Your very loving friend,

September 30, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁸

While these preparations were being made to reduce the Isle of Man to submission, Cromwell turned to the settlement of some of his personal affairs. The day after his letter to Birch, he signed one of the leases for which his tenants in Wales had been clamoring, in this instance to Edward Herbert of the parish of Magor in Monmouthshire, involving property in that parish between Magor and Redwick, near the Bristol Channel:

Lease to Edward Herbert

This indenture made the first day of October in the yeare of our Lord God according to the English accompt One Thousand Sixe hundred fiftie and One Betweene the right honorable Oliver Cromwell Lord Liefertent of Ireland and Captaine Generall of all the forces raised by Authoritie of Parliam't in England Scotland and Ireland of the one parte and Edward Herbert of the Upper Grange in the parish of Magor in the Countie of Monmouth Esquire of the

⁵⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 442-3, 448.

⁵⁸ *Pr. in Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 6, App. p. 447 from the original in the possession of Miss ffarrington, but dated, by mistake, 1657, and said to be addressed to Col. Rich. Private seal, Henfrey, p. 183, dated Oct. 1, 1651. See Cary, ii, 388. Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 69.

other parte WITNESSETH that the said Oliver Cromwell for and in consideration of the rents and performance of the covenants and agreem^{ts} on the behalfe of the said Edward Herbert hereafter mentioned to bee paid and performed And for divers other good causes and considerations him thereunto moving Hath demised granted and to farme lettten And by theis p^{res}nte doth demise grant and to farme lett unto the said Edward Herbert All these foure closes of pasture land called the Mares lyeing in the p^{ar}ish of Magor abutting upon the grange fields on the North and the Earle's Reene on the west continuing by estimacon Twoe and Thirtie acres more or lesse And also one p^{ar}cell of meadow lyeing in the same p^{ar}ish & adjoyning to a meadow called Annall's meade continuing by estimacon Tenn acres more or lesse And alsoe one pcell of wett Rushie land abutting upon the way called the White wall on the East and the Lords lands in the possion of Mr. Parker on the North continuing by estimacion Twelve acres more or lesse And also one close of arrable land lyeing in Redwicke abutting upon the lands of John Gwin on the west and the Lords lands in the possion of Mr. Morgan on the north continuing by estimacion eight acres more or lesse And alsoe one pcell of pasture ground lyeing in the parish of Magor aforesaid abutting the lands of Walter Jones on the East and South and the highway from Magor to Redwick on the west continuing by estimacon Twoe acres more or lesse And also sixe acres of meadow lyeing and beeing in the broad meade of Redwicke one end thereof abutting upon the lands called the meares continuing by estimacon sixe acres more or lesse all which p^{ar}misses are now in the occupacon of the said Edward Herbert his assignes or Assignees Together with all wayes watercourses commons and Appurtences whatsoever to the said demised p^{ar}misses or any parte thereof belonging or appertaining To have and to hold the said closes and pcells of Land meadow and pasture and all and singular the said demised p^{ar}misses and every part and pcell thereof with theire and every of theire appurtences unto the said Edward Herbert his Executors Adm^{rs} & Assignes from the second day of february now last past before the date hereof for and dureing and untill the full end and terme of one and fiftie yeares thence next ensuing fully to bee compleate and ended if Elizabeth wife of the said Edward Herbert and Walter Herbert sonnes of the said Edward Herbert and Elizabeth or any of them shall soe long live Yeilding and paying therefore dureing the said terme unto the said Oliver Cromwell his heires and assignes the yearly Rent of Thirty pounds of lawfull money of England Att or upon the feasts of the Annunciacion of the blessed Lady the Virgin Mary and Michaell the Archangell yearely by equall porcons And one couple of fatt capons upon every first day of January dureing the said terme and alsoe paying fortie shillings of lawfull money of England for and in liewe of an harvest upon the deathe of every principall Tenant or Alienacon of the said demised p^{ar}misses And also doeing and paying all and all mannor of taxes Suites of courte or any other taxacon whatsoever that dureing the said terme shall or may be charged or laid upon the said demised p^{ar}misses (the contribucon to the army onely excepted And if it shall happen the said yearely Rent of Thirty pounds or any part thereof and Capons to bee behinde or unpaid by the space of fiftene dayes next after any of the said dayes of payment on which as aforesaid the same shall bee and ought to bee paid (beeing lawfully demanded) And now sufficient distresse or distresses to bee had or found upon the p^{ar}misses to distreyne for the same that then and att all times after it shall

and may bee lawfull to and for the said Oliver Cromwell his heires and Assignes into the said demised premisses wholly to reenter and the same to have againe repoesse and enjoy as in and theire former estate This Indenture or anything herein contened to the contrarie notwithstanding And the said Edward Herbert for himselfe his Executors Adm^{rs} and Assignes and every of them doth covenant promise and grant to and with the said Oliver Cromwell his heirs and Assignes by these present That hee the said Edward Herbert his Executors Administrators and Assignes shall and will att his and theire owne proper cost and charges well and sufficiently repaire amend and keepe tenantable the said demises premisses and the seawalls hedges ditches Reenes and fences of and belonging to the said demises prmisses dureing the said terme and the same soe sufficiently repaired, walled, hedged, ditched, scoured, reened, fenced and amended att the end of the said terme or other sooner determinacon thereof shall and will yeild upp and deliver unto the said Oliver Cromwell his heires and Assignes And the said Oliver Cromwell for himselfe his heires and Assignes doth covenant and graunt to and with the said Edward Herbert his Executors Adm^{rs} and Assignes by their pnte That hee the said Edward Herbert his Executors, Admstrators and Assignes pay the said yearly Rents and pforming the covenants aforesaid on his part to bee pformed shall and may peaceably and quietly have hold possesse and enjoy the said demises premisses and every part and parcell thereof dureing the said terme without the lawfull lett or interupcon of the said Oliver Cromwell his heirs or Assignes or any other person or persons clayming from by or under him them or any of them In witness whereof the pties abovesaid to theis pnt Indentures enterchangeably have putt theire hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁹

Nat. Waterhouse

Will. Malyn

Lach North(?)

With that he took up again the problem of the Earl of Derby. While £100 from the General's "exigent money" was being voted on Oct. 1 to that Captain Oliver Edge who had accepted the surrender of Derby and his companions on promise of quarter,⁶⁰ the Earl, with his two officers, Fetherstonhaugh and Benbow, were before a court-martial at Chester being tried on a charge of treason. This set in motion, on the next day, October 2, Cromwell turned to two matters of very different character. In his capacity as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, he nominated for the post of vice-chancellor Dr. Daniel Greenwood, Principal of Brasenose College:

To the Vice Chancellor and Convocation of the University of Oxford

REVEREND SIRS,

Finding it incumbent on me to nominate a Vicechancellor for the University, it had some while since (in due season) been performed but

⁵⁹ Original in the possession of the author.

⁶⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 459.

that many important affairs of the Commonwealth did interpose in my thoughts. I do now recommend unto you Dr. Daniel Greenwood, Principal of Brazen-nose College (who at present exerciseth that office) of whose ability and zeal for Reformation I have received abundant testimony, to be Vice Chancellor for the year ensuing, nothing doubting but that he, and you all, will so endeavour the improvement of those public ends to which you are designed, that all of us who are concerned in the welfare of the University may in some measure answer the mind and will of him who hath so graciously continued (with innumerable other mercies) such advantages of piety and literature, and withall satisfy the expectation of the Commonwealth,

Srs,

I am your assured friend and Chancellor,

Whitehall,

O. CROMWELL.⁶¹

Octob. 2d[1651].

The other letter which he wrote on that same day took him into a far wider field. While the discussion as to the Scottish prisoners went on, he had received from his old friend, the Reverend John Cotton, sometime of Boston in Lincolnshire and now minister in the newer Boston in Massachusetts Bay, a letter in regard to the prisoners from Dunbar who had been sent to New England. Cotton had reported that their lot was not unhappy. The sick had been cared for; houses had been built—four men to a house; they worked three days a week for their masters and had four days to themselves; their term of servitude was six or eight years; and they were promised their freedom as soon as their masters had been paid their investment.⁶² To this Cromwell replied, with no reference to Cotton's information and in even more than his usual strain of piety:

For my esteemed Friend Mr. Cotton, Pastor to the Church at Boston in New England: These

WORTHY SIR, AND MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND,

I received yours a few days sithence. It was welcome to me because signed by you, whom I love and honour in the Lord; but more to see some of the same grounds of our actings stirring in you that does in us, to quiet us to our work, and support us therein; which hath greatest difficulty in our engagement in Scotland; by reason we have had to do with some who were (I verily think) godly, but, through weakness and the subtlety of Satan, involved in interests against the Lord and His people.

With what tenderness we have proceeded with such, and that in sincerity, our papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest; and I give

⁶¹ Oxford Univ. Archives, Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659, p. 150. Pr. in *Camden Soc.*, "Register of Visitors" (1881), p. 338-9 n. This and the following letters to Oxford are not the originals, but entries in the Statute Books of the University.

⁶² Cotton's letter of July 28, pr. in *Hutchinson Papers* (Prince Society), i, 266 (1865). For a discussion of the fate of these men, see C. E. Banks, "Scotch prisoners deported to New England," in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1927-8), lxi, 4-29.

you some comfortable assurance of. The Lord hath marvellously appeared even against them. And now again when all the power was devolved into the Scottish King and the malignant Party, they invading England, the Lord has rained upon them such snares as the enclosed⁶³ will show. Only the narrative in short is this, that of their whole army, when the narrative was framed, not five men returned.

Surely, Sir, the Lord is greatly to be feared, as to be praised! We need your prayers in this as much as ever. How shall we behave ourselves after such mercies? What is the Lord a-doing? What prophecies are now fulfilling? Who is a God like ours? To know His will, to do His will, are both of Him.

I took this liberty from business, to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you and the rest of our brethren and the Churches with you. I am a poor weak creature, and not worthy the name of a worm; yet accepted to serve the Lord and His people. Indeed, my dear friend, between you and me, you know not me, my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulness and everyway unfitness to my work. Yet, yet the Lord, who will have mercy on whom He will, does as you see. Pray for me. Salute all Christian friends though unknown.

I rest,
Your affectionate friend to serve you,

Oct. 2, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.⁶⁴

Meanwhile Cromwell and his fellow-Councillors took up another thorny issue—the reduction of the army. Parliament had ordered a report on the seventy-three garrisons in England and Wales,⁶⁵ and on October 2, while the bill for new elections was being prepared, there was laid before the House by the Committee on Irish and Scotch affairs a recommendation in regard to the army establishment which it was hoped would gratify the English people, especially the taxpayers. For the army establishment in Scotland there was to be an annual charge of £206,623 added to its budget; but the forces in England were to be so greatly decreased that the total annual charge for the army, exclusive of the Irish forces, was to be reduced from £1,410,122 to £987,575, a saving of more than four hundred thousand pounds a year. Five regiments of foot⁶⁶ and thirty additional companies, with three regiments of horse,⁶⁷ were ordered disbanded. Twelve garrisons were abolished;⁶⁸ and while a few near the Scottish

⁶³ Perhaps the Narrative of the Battle, pub. Sept. 30.

⁶⁴ Original in New York Public Library; pr. in *Hutchinson Papers* (Prince Society), i, 266 (1865); Harris, p. 539; T. Cromwell, *Life*, p. 466; copy in *Add. Mss.*, 4156, no. 70.

⁶⁵ *C. J.*, vii, 16-18.

⁶⁶ These were the regiments of Colonels Gibbon, West, Bennett, Philip Jones, and Syler.

⁶⁷ The regiments of Colonels Alured and Lydcot.

⁶⁸ The Committee recommended that Taunton Castle be kept up and Arundel Castle "laid down" but Parliament reversed this and ordered the Council of State to consider how Arundel was to be kept up. The Council, on Oct. 14, ordered the Irish and Scotch Committee, with Cromwell present, to consider the matter. *C. J.*, vii, 24-5; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 475.

border were strengthened, many were reduced.⁶⁹ Parliament ordered the army committee to provide money for the disbandment,⁷⁰ and the General was authorized to issue orders and warrants to carry out these changes. Of these, two have been preserved:

To the Governor of Newcastle and Tynemouth

Whereas the Parliament hath ordered that divers forces should be disbanded and several garrisons reduced to a less number and charge and have appointed me to see them disbanded and reduced accordingly. These are therefore, in pursuance of these orders, to require you to reduce or cause to be reduced out of the Garrison of

Newcastle the store keeper, two mates, two gunners, four gunners mates, ten mattrosses, the advocate, the physician: Out of Tynmouth Castle a chirurgeon, two gunners mates, four mattrosses

at or before the 20th of this instant until which time the Committee for the army are directed to pay the officers before mentioned. You are to take care that the arms belonging to the soldiers be secured within your garrison until you receive further orders.

Dated at Whitehall 8 October 1651.

O. CROMWELL.⁷¹

The very statement of the case of the army and its expenditures reveals the burden which its support had laid upon the people as part of the cost of the Commonwealth, for its appropriation was more than the whole annual budget under Charles I and greater than the yearly sum agreed on by Parliament for Restoration government. The lessening of this charge was a natural result of the defeat of Charles II, but it greatly strengthened the position of those who, like Cromwell, desired a dissolution and a new election. With the Act for General Pardon and Oblivion and the virtual cessation of hostilities on a large scale, it would naturally induce greater public confidence and incline the people to regard the Commonwealth more favorably, and Cromwell urged his fellow-members of Parliament to take advantage of that state of mind, such as might never occur again, to dissolve and hold a new election. As Salvetti wrote, "General Cromwell shows himself very zealous in carrying forward this affair, as in all other things which tend to the public good."⁷²

⁶⁹ *C. J.*, vii, 23-5, 26.

⁷⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 468; *Perf. Diurn.*

⁷¹ Original in the Tangye Collection in the London Museum. It is a form which has been filled in, dated and signed, another of which—to the Governor of Calshot Castle—was preserved and a facsimile printed in Fellowes, W. D., *Historical Sketches* (1828), opp. p. 224. By this order the Newcastle establishment was reduced from £92/12 a month to £21/9; the Calshot Castle establishment from £43 to £37. At the same time the Tynemouth Castle establishment was increased from £59 to £356 a month.

⁷² Quoted in Gardiner, *Comm. and Protect.*, ii, 70n.

The bill for dissolution was read for the first time on October 8 and ordered to be read the second time on the 10th.⁷³ Meanwhile, on October 9, Cromwell and eight other members of the Council of State⁷⁴ were sent to the Guildhall to meet with members of the Common Council of London to discuss and settle various differences which had arisen between the City and the government,⁷⁵ and another measure of the highest importance passed the House. This was the so-called Navigation Act, proposed in the preceding August but laid aside until the battle of Worcester had consolidated the position of the Commonwealth at home when it was reintroduced by Whitelocke.

This measure, of such profound significance to English history and economic development, provided that no goods should be imported into the British Isles or colonies or carried in coasting trade except in English vessels manned largely or wholly by English seamen; and no goods were to be imported except from the country or colony of their origin.⁷⁶ Though it applied to all foreign nations, it was obviously directed against the chief rivals of the English on the sea, the Dutch; and it revealed the transition from the religious to the economic spirit, and from an isolationist to an aggressively nationalist policy on the part of the revolutionary government. It marked the end of the dream of an alliance or even a union with the United Netherlands, from which St. John had been awakened by the failure of his embassy in the preceding year, and there is some ground for suspecting that it was in part a result of his anger at the authors of his discomfiture. It marked, as well, the re-entry of England into the field of continental and colonial politics from which the civil wars had removed her for the time. In particular it laid the foundations for war with the Dutch, who resented bitterly their exclusion from one of their most profitable markets. Whether or not the Commonwealth authorities reckoned that such a measure might lead to hostilities with the Netherlands, the undeclared and "informal" war which had been going on between the privateers of England and France, had roused the Dutch to a realization that their trade was in danger. To this was added their exasperation over the English privateering activities. The doctrine that neutral ships made neutral goods had no effect, and the seizure of French goods in Dutch ships by English privateers had been a source of profound irritation to the Netherlands. This feeling was naturally increased by the "vile act or order" which marked a crisis in the relations of the two nations, whose religious and political sentiments were now overshadowed by their economic interests.

⁷³ C. J., vii, 26-7.

⁷⁴ St. John, Vane, Strickland, Fleetwood, Harrison, Lord Grey, Pickering and Chief Justice Rolle.

⁷⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 470.

⁷⁶ C. J., vii, 27.

It was at this moment, too, that another issue entered on the scene, not unconnected with the relations with the Dutch. On October 10 Cromwell, Whitelocke, Strickland and Pickering were appointed to read and reply to a letter from one of the leaders of the Jewish colony in Amsterdam, a certain Manasseh Ben Israel.⁷⁷ It was the first step in a negotiation which was to be of importance in later years, looking to the readmission of the Jews into England, and followed the translation into English of Manasseh's *Hope of Israel*, which he had dedicated to the English Parliament in the preceding year. In this Cromwell was concerned, not merely because of his religious sentiments but because he recognized the possible importance of the Jewish merchants and financiers who had found their way to London and might well be of assistance to the Commonwealth in its new policies.⁷⁸ That view seems to be confirmed by the events of the next few years, and gives additional importance to this negotiation.

At the same time the hero of Dunbar and Worcester was honored by various bodies who wished to shine in the reflected glory of his name. Among these was the city of Gloucester. As a result of an election there, Anthony Edwards was replaced by William Singleton as mayor, and on October 11 the ex-mayor was commissioned to deliver to His Excellency a patent creating him high steward of the city, with an annual "rent" of a hundred shillings. It was sent with a letter asking his acceptance of that dignity. Cromwell apparently agreed, for on November 23, 1652, it was noted that he received his fee of five pounds.⁷⁹

This was not his only connection with Gloucester. In the rearrangement of garrisons, that of Gloucester, because of its proximity to Wales, was one of the few to be considerably increased.⁸⁰ Most of the others were on the Scottish borders, where Cromwell was at this moment asked to take steps to suppress the moss-troopers who were still active there.⁸¹ He was present in the Council on October 14, when the order was given, as he was at more than half of its sessions in that month; and he was specially requested to be present on the next day, when the fate of the prisoners of quality was to be discussed. He was not there on that day, but he attended on the 16th, when most of the Council's time was taken up with orders in regard to individual prisoners. Some of these were to be proceeded against as examples;⁸²

⁷⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 472. No action was taken until Nov. 22, 1652, when a pass was issued for him.

⁷⁸ A commission to a Joseph Poole as captain, dated Oct. 10, signed by Cromwell, is listed in the catalogue of the late Adrian H. Joline, pt. vi, no. 110, for sale by the Anderson Auction Co. in May 1915. A marginal note says Poole was engaged with the Parliamentary army in the last siege of Pontefract Castle.

⁷⁹ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 12 App. IX (Gloucester Mss.), pp. 505, 507.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

⁸¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 475.

⁸² Those named to try them were commissioned on the same day. *Ibid.*, p. 479.

some, including that Lord Mordington at whose house he had stayed on his last invasion of Scotland were to be brought to London; some were to have the liberty of the Tower; and the General was instructed to look over the lists and decide which of the prisoners had been in both invasions and act accordingly.⁸³

Besides attending the Council meeting on October 16, Cromwell probably was present at the debate in Parliament on the bill for what was called "the new representative." That measure had been read for the second time on the 10th and the House had voted to go into a Grand Committee on October 14 and consider it each day that it sat, for a fortnight; and with this began one of the most important discussions in which Parliament had embarked since the formation of the Commonwealth. It was no easy problem, and though Cromwell and his supporters favored a dissolution, there was strong opposition. There were men in the House who feared that they would not be returned. There were others who feared still more a scrutiny of their actions by a new House which might well be hostile, and who needed the protection of their status as members of Parliament to shield them from their creditors, or their enemies, and there were still others who feared that this Parliament was the only protection against dictatorship.

While the debate dragged on, interest shifted to the problem of the prisoners and the capture of the Isle of Man. They were closely connected. "After long and serious debate" of the court-martial at Chester, which had been appointed by Cromwell, with Colonel Mackworth presiding, Derby was condemned to death for high treason, despite his plea that he had surrendered on terms. He was overruled on the ground that he was no prisoner of war but a traitor, and immediately appealed to Parliament and to Cromwell, pleading that he had been promised quarter, and agreeing to surrender the Isle of Man in return for his life.⁸⁴ Cromwell himself, partly influenced, no doubt, by the offer of the surrender of the Isle,⁸⁵ partly as a part of his policy of conciliation—and it is notable that on the day of Derby's trial he presented to the Council a paper "concerning quarter taken by soldiers"—favored mercy.⁸⁶ But Parliament refused to consider lenience, upheld the sentence of the court, and Derby was beheaded on October 15 at Bolton-le-Moors in Lancashire, where early in the Civil War he had killed one of his servants for taking up arms for Parliament. Benbow was ordered to be hanged at Shrewsbury on that same day, and

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 476, 478-9.

⁸⁴ Petition to Cromwell in *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 6; petition to Parliament in *Tracts relating to Military Proceedings in Lancashire* (Chetham Soc., p. 368).

⁸⁵ Salvetti's letter, Oct. 10/20, 17/27, quoted in Gardiner, ii, 62, from *Add. Mss.*, 27,962, f. 254, 258b.

⁸⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 459.

Fetherstonhaugh was condemned to be beheaded a week later at Chester.⁸⁷

On October 16 Colonel Duckenfield, assisted by Colonel Birch, sailed with his own regiment and those of Deane and Cromwell under their lieutenant-colonels, in all some three thousand men with some thirty or forty ships, to reduce the Isle of Man,⁸⁸ which Derby had advised his wife to surrender. That advice she ignored, but the day after she had come to terms with the insurgents under Christian, the parliamentary fleet came in sight and Christian apparently sent a messenger to assure its leaders that they could land their forces without opposition from the forts under Christian's command. This they did on October 27, surrounded Castle Rushen, in which she resided, sent a summons in a letter which gave her the first news of her husband's death, and by November 3, the Countess, no longer able to rely on the fidelity of her garrison, gave up Rushen and Peel castles.⁸⁹ The island thus came under control of Parliament. It was granted to Fairfax, apparently in exchange for other properties which had been given to him previously; and Christian remained as receiver-general until he became governor five years later. He was later relieved of that post for embezzlement of the funds of the sequestered bishopric, replaced as governor by James Chaloner, a regicide and a relative of Fairfax, and was finally executed by the Derbys after the Restoration, protesting his innocence to the last.⁹⁰ And indirectly this may have contributed to Cromwell's own fortunes by later exchanges of these estates among the revolutionary leaders.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The fall of the Isle of Man, with that of Jersey and Guernsey two months later, marked the final suppression of opposition to Parliament in England and the islands surrounding it. Scotland was being slowly but surely conquered; Ireton was engaged in the siege of the last stronghold of the Irish, Limerick, whose fall though delayed was but a matter of time; and the revolutionary government was now safe from its domestic enemies. Charles II was a fugitive at the French court, with his family and followers, whose numbers declined from week to week. His brother James presently took service in the French

⁸⁷ *Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 6.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 23. The lieut. col. of Cromwell's regiment was Charles Worsley, called "Odey," who later carried away the mace at the dissolution of Parliament. Cromwell and Fleetwood were ordered to consider the replacement of troops thus taken from Chester. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 481, 494.

⁸⁹ Articles in *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 10.

⁹⁰ See "Christian" and "Chaloner" in *D. N. B.* and authorities there quoted. Scott's *Peveril of the Peak* revolves in part about the story of Christian, his brother and the Countess of Derby. Cp. below, p. 495.

army; and, despite his pretence of royalty and negotiations with foreign powers for support of his hopes to regain the English throne, Charles was no longer a danger to the Commonwealth. It had time, therefore, to put its house in order and to consider its neighbors and its relations to them, so that the period which it now entered was filled with the consideration of two great problems—the “settlement of the government” concerning which Parliament had addressed Cromwell, and the question of foreign relations.

Those relations at this moment were far from friendly. Not only had St. John's negotiation with the United Netherlands broken down, but the increasing rivalry between English and Dutch merchants had produced the Navigation Act as the first overt step in a course of action which seemed likely to end in war. Nor was Holland the only problem. The mutual embargo laid on woollens and silks by France and England three years earlier, the protection afforded the exiled princes at the French court, and the activities of the privateers of the two countries who preyed on each others' commerce, had kept the French monarchy and the English Commonwealth in a state of enmity just short of war even more acute than that which existed between England and Holland. It was, in fact, only the critical situation of affairs at home which had prevented the authorities of the Commonwealth from taking stronger steps against both France and Holland in the years just past. Now that they were safe and had at their disposition powerful forces both by land and sea, it was natural that they should turn to consider their position in relation to the continental powers.

Their army and its General were, in fact, the cynosure of all European eyes; and in no respect was the crowning mercy of Worcester more notable than in the fact that it revolutionized England's place in foreign affairs. Instead of being shunned, the Commonwealth was now courted. From every quarter of the Continent its rulers hastened to recognize the new force injected into the European system. There was a regular procession of emissaries, agents and ambassadors clamoring to recognize and be recognized by the government which had so recently been anathema everywhere. Genoa, Tuscany, Venice, Geneva, the Hanseatic towns and petty German states sent and received agents.⁹¹ Denmark, Sweden, Portugal and Spain sent ambassadors extraordinary with letters from their sovereigns requesting an audience and in some cases immediate alliance.⁹²

This was reflected in the activities of Cromwell. On the same day that Duckenfield set out for the Isle of Man, the General received a foreign visitor, a Rochellois named Conan, who brought a proposal to surrender Rochelle to the English, from Le Daugnou, governor in

⁹¹ *C. J.*, vii, 19, 28, 88, 96, 142.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 77, 103-4, 130, 135-7, 149, 159, 165.

the service of the Prince de Condé, then in rebellion against the French crown and in possession of Guienne. It was the second emissary from the Prince to approach Cromwell. Some time after his return from Worcester, he had been appealed to by a certain Chevalier de la Rivière who had requested a hundred thousand pounds and eight thousand men to aid his master. According to the story, Cromwell had replied ironically that it was a trifling matter, and that la Rivière could inform Condé that he, Cromwell, would come in person with forty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, at his own cost, to end the war, if the Prince would assure him that France should be reduced "to the state in which England now is." This was taken in Paris to be Cromwell's way of pointing out Condé's "imprudence in asking help from one who desired only the ruin of monarchies and the Catholic faith."⁹³ But to this new proposal Cromwell apparently gave more attention, though, according to Conan's report, having called for a map of France and studying it for some time, he declined to accede to the request.⁹⁴

It is apparent from this and from the other circumstances of the time that Cromwell's victories, especially the battle of Worcester, had made the great English general a European figure. Thenceforth foreign affairs bulked large in the history of the Commonwealth and still larger in Cromwell's own life. That was a natural result not only of the developments in the British Isles but of those on the Continent. In both places the preceding years had been hard for royal authority, with Masaniello's rebellion in Naples, the execution of Charles I in England, the triumph of the Republicans over the House of Orange in the Netherlands, and that curious and confused episode in French history known as the Fronde, in which Condé had played a leading part. These were complicated by the fact that the signature of the treaties of Westphalia, some three months before the execution of Charles I, had filled Europe with disbanded soldiers, while the new ideas and new ambitions roused by the Thirty Years' War and the Puritan Revolution had left the European world in the disturbed condition which follows such struggles at all times.

The treaties of Westphalia had not brought peace to France, which continued the hostilities with Spain begun in the great war just past, and which faced, besides, the efforts of various parties in the state to reduce or even overthrow the power of French monarchy. The wars of the so-called Fronde were inspired, in effect, by the desire of certain individuals and elements in France to drive from power the min-

⁹³ Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 154, says 10,000, but in his art. in *E. H. R.*, xi, 479, he says 8,000. For the story, see Morosini to the Doge, Oct. 14/24, 1651. *Cal. S. P. Venetian* (1647-52), p. 202.

⁹⁴ Gardiner, ii, 155, quoting Conan's letter to Brun, Oct. 31/Nov. 10; Cardenas to Philip IV, Nov. 8/18; *Consulta*, Feb. 8/18 in *Simancas Mss.* 2034.

ister Mazarin, who, under the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, had ruled France after the death of Richelieu. They had begun in the months which saw Charles I led to trial and the scaffold, with the protest of the Parlement of Paris against the Cardinal's dominance and its suggestion of a charter or scheme of constitutional reform not uninfluenced by the developments in England. They had continued with the intrigues of certain great nobles—Gaston of Orleans, the King's uncle, Condé and his brother Conti, Turenne and his brother the Duc de Bouillon, and Mazarin's rival, the Cardinal de Retz. The arrest of some of its leaders by Mazarin had led to the invasion of France by Turenne at the head of a Spanish army in January, 1650, at the moment that Cromwell was setting out on his second campaign in Ireland. In turn, though Turenne was reconciled to the crown, Mazarin was driven into exile; and Condé, who had first supported, then opposed the court, had been imprisoned and then freed by the Queen Regent, headed a new insurrection, the so-called Third Fronde, while Cromwell was engaged in Scotland. To oppose this, the Queen Regent had her fourteen-year old son proclaimed King as Louis XIV two days after Cromwell's victory at Dunbar, and Turenne was summoned to lead the royal forces against Condé, as the two greatest generals in Europe now faced each other, and each, in one fashion or another, appealed to the third.

Supported by the nobles and towns of southern France, especially Bordeaux, which became the headquarters of the new rebellion, Condé was the first to seek foreign aid. His emissary to Spain, Lenet, was well received by the Spanish court, eager to find allies against its French rival, and a Spanish force was presently sent to occupy Bourg at the mouth of the Dordogne. Both Condé and the city of Bordeaux sent agents to England, and it was hoped that Cromwell might be induced to repeat the design of Charles I and Buckingham and send an expedition to occupy Rochelle, whose governor had declared for Condé.

Though Cromwell rejected the proposals of Conan and la Rivière, neither he nor the Council were disinclined to consider intervention in some form. Condé's agents offered free trade with Guienne, concessions to French Protestants, and the possession of Oleron, at the mouth of the Charente, the largest of French islands and populated almost wholly by Protestants. Bordeaux offered a port in the "river of Bordeaux," which the English might fortify if they wished; Rochelle, if they preferred; or even Blaye, which the Bordellais offered to help them capture. It was even suggested that the English might help establish abroad that "precious liberty" which they had achieved at home.⁹⁵ It was a tempting offer, combining facilities for trade and

⁹⁵ Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Commonwealth*, i, 267; Barrière to Parliament, Apr. 6, 1652. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.*, 13 (Portland Mss.), i, 640-1.

navigation with that ideal of liberty which continental peoples believed meant to the Puritans, and to Cromwell in particular, the overthrow of monarchy.

Mazarin was not unaware of the activities of the Frondeurs, nor had he been idle. In February, 1651, he had withdrawn his agent Croullé, who had accomplished little beyond buying some of the royal pictures for the Cardinal. In his place he sent the Bordelais Calvinist, Gentillot, as an unofficial emissary, with instructions to "work adroitly and without *éclat*," to find some means of accommodation between the Commonwealth and the French monarchy, especially the cessation of attacks on French vessels by English privateers.⁹⁶ To this he added various suggestions as to the possibility of recognizing the Commonwealth and enlisting it on the side of the French monarchy. Not only had this design failed, but Gentillot, who brought no credentials, was ordered out of the country. Yet to leave the English field open to the agents of Spain and Condé was not to be thought of, and the situation was the more dangerous in that Spain had already recognized the Commonwealth in December, 1650, and its ambassador, Cardenas, was seeking its aid against France and Portugal. In consequence, at his refuge in Brühl, Mazarin pondered means to checkmate the designs of the Frondeurs and Spain, to meet the demands of the Commonwealth for recognition and a regularly accredited ambassador, and the devising of some plan by which he might enlist its strength on the side of the French monarchy.

The position of the English revolutionary government had thus profoundly altered since the time, less than two years before, when its execution of Charles I had made England an Ishmael among nations. It was now in the position of being able to choose its allies from among the Frondeurs, Spain and France, and it is notable that there seemed no doubt that it would fight. It only remained to discover with whom. Its leaders were therefore naturally anxious to learn more of the situation on the Continent before they chose their course, and though they, like all the other rulers, had agents and intelligence officers everywhere, they now began to consider the despatch of emissaries to sound out the temper and the plans of the Frondeurs, in particular.

Before those plans were fully formed, however, there was a mass of business to be attended to at home. The first consideration was the disposal of the prisoners and the troops, which was Cromwell's chief concern. Among these details was the case of a Lieutenant-colonel John Jammot, imprisoned in the Gatehouse the preceding spring as a "very dangerous person," but now, with the influx of more important captives, of such diminished consequence that on October 17 Secretary Frost was ordered to ask Cromwell's approval of sending him

⁹⁶ J. J. Jusserand, "Angleterre," in *Recueil des Instructions*, i, 94.

into exile. To this the General apparently agreed, for on October 28 a pass was made out for him.⁹⁷ More important than the consideration of such individual cases was the revision in the establishment of armed forces which involved not only the details of the reduction of garrisons but the issuing of new commissions to officers, several of which are still preserved:

Oliver Cromwell, Esq. Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, and Captain General of all the land forces of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,

To Daniel Goldsmith, Captain

By virtue of the power and authority to me derived from the Parliament of England, I do hereby constitute and appoint you captain of a company of foot, raised and to be raised under my command, for the service of the Commonwealth, in the regiment whereof Colonel Matthew Alured is colonel. These are therefore to require you to make your present repair unto the same company, and taking charge thereof as captain, duly to exercise the inferior officers and soldiers of the said company in arms, and to use your best care and endeavors to keep them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their captain. And you are likewise to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall, from time to time, receive from myself and the superior officers of the said regiment and army, according to the discipline of war. Given under my hand and seal the 19th of October, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.⁹⁸

Dated October 20 is a similar commission appointing Thomas Beale captain of a foot company for the garrison of Bristol,⁹⁹ the charge of which had been ordered to be reduced. The establishment at Conway Castle was to be drastically cut from £152 a month to £2/6 but it was apparently to be quarters for part of the standing army, as another document of this period suggests:

To Col. John Carter, Governor of Conway Castle

Warrant for his continuance as governor of the Castle, in command of forces which have been ordered thither for security.

Oct. 30, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 102, 260, 480, 535.

⁹⁸ Pr. in *Cromwelliana*, from the original then in the possession of Hugh Rowland, and sold in July 1931, by Sotheby with properties of Stephan Lennard and others. Alured's regiment had been slated for disbandment.

⁹⁹ Listed in James Tregaskis' sale catalogue, no. 603, item 65 (1906). The charge of the Bristol garrison was reduced by order of Oct. 2 from £343 to £132 a month. A document, dated Oct. 27 and perhaps another commission, was sold by Sotheby with the collection of Major J. Delmar Morgan, Feb. 4, 1919, and purchased by W. Manning. *Autograph Prices Current*, IV.

¹⁰⁰ Original in National Library of Wales and cal. in *Cal. of the Wynn Papers* (1926), no. 1973.

With England thus being restored to a more normal existence, on October 24 the official thanksgiving for Worcester was celebrated not only by the Independents but by the Presbyterians. Among these minor indications of the return of peace was the appointment of a committee consisting of Cromwell, Whitelocke, Lisle, Pickering and Harrison to select some one to write "the history of these times" and to consider a fit remuneration and how it might be raised.¹⁰¹ Their task was not easy. Thomas May, the historian of the Long Parliament, was dead and he had no worthy successor. But that bad poet and enterprising if unscrupulous journalist, Payne Fisher, perceived his opportunity and persuaded the Council to allow him to undertake the work, and in the following September he set out for Scotland to interview the men who had taken part in the war there. For some reason his history was never published, if it was ever written, and there remains of it, apparently, only the plan of the battle of Dunbar to make posterity regret the disappearance of the rest.¹⁰²

Nor was this the only curious matter which was entrusted to Cromwell at this period. In response to a petition for a subsidy for a tapestry works or studio at Mortlake in Surrey, which was granted in the form of repairs to the building, on October 27 Cromwell was added to the committee to consider its further encouragement.¹⁰³ It was followed by another petition on a subject which had already interested the Council and Cromwell in particular, and now, perhaps by the government's embarrassment over the prisoners of war, made doubly important. This was a petition sent to the General from men and women then in prison for debt, which suggested that with the bill for a "new representative" under consideration, the freeing of poor debtors from that "Badge of Norman Bondage" might be timely.¹⁰⁴

Meanwhile the government offered Cromwell substantial expressions of its gratitude. These took various forms. An armourer, Edward Ansley, was ordered to bring in a suit of armour which had come recently from Greenwich, as a present to the General from the Council.¹⁰⁵ At the same time, having in mind the recent grants to Cromwell and Ireton, the Committee of the Great Seal sent to the Committee for Compounding for a survey of the estates of the Duke of Buckingham in Rutland, Berkshire and Leicester.¹⁰⁶ Of these, the large

¹⁰¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 498.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* (1651-2), pp. 366-7. Cp. Cromwell's request to Casaubon, *supra*, p. 2.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* (1651), pp. 463, 496-7; (1651-2), p. 316. A warrant to Sir John Wollaston, dated Oct. 27, signed by Cromwell and countersigned by Henry Whalley and G. Hilton, was sold in 1920 by Anderson's and again in 1924 by the Amer. Art Ass'n. *Am. Bk. Prices Curr.*

¹⁰⁴ *Pr. in Perf. Diurn.*, Oct. 27, and separately as *The Women's Petition to the Rt. Hon. the Lord General Cromwell.*

¹⁰⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 500.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. Comm. for Compounding*, p. 493.

estate of Burghley in Rutland, whose mansion had been burned by Parliamentary soldiers in 1645 but whose valuable stables remained, together with Newhall in Essex, had been granted to Fairfax, who seems to have received rents from Burleigh as late as 1652.

Whether he relinquished them or sold them back to Parliament does not appear,¹⁰⁷ but on March 24, 1651-2, these two estates with nineteen houses, "low built and old," known as "York House Rents" in the Strand, worth £320 a year, were purchased for Cromwell.¹⁰⁸ In addition, on September 21, 1654, two manors in Lincolnshire, Tallington and Uffington, belonging to the deceased Countess Dowager of Rutland, with reversion to Buckingham, were bought to help satisfy the grant of £4,000 a year made to Cromwell after Worcester; and a few days later, when the furnishings of the Countess's house in Charterhouse Yard were sold, Cromwell claimed the proceeds.¹⁰⁹

This new grant of £4,000 a year with the £2,500 a year from the Worcester estates, together with the fact that Cromwell had no longer any direct personal connection with Ireland, brought from him an announcement on October 31 that he would thenceforth take no part of his stipend as Lord Lieutenant for his own use. His name remained on the salary list but he did not draw his pay, and eight months later, in August, 1652, he requested that £2,000 be paid to Lambert to reimburse him for his outlay on going to Ireland; and the £2,865 which remained after £273 paid to Ireton was deducted, reverted to the government.¹¹⁰

This brought the question of Ireland once more to the front. There everything had gone in favor of the English. After the defeat of Bishop MacMahon at Scarriffhollis by Coote, a month after Cromwell had left the island, there was no army left in the field to oppose Ireton, and the history of his operations resolved itself into a chronicle of marches, sieges, negotiations and treacheries even more dreary than those which marked the last months of Cromwell's stay. Irish resistance, save for scattered bands of "Tories" and a few garrisons, collapsed. The Roman Catholic prelates formally deposed Ormonde from his command and commended their country to God. Ormonde

¹⁰⁷ Fairfax was granted the Isle of Man in 1649, and its capture in Oct. 1651 may have had some connection with this transaction. He soon began to collect rents in the Isle of Man. Though Brian Fairfax, in his *Life of Buckingham*, p. 365, says the rents were sent by Fairfax to the Countess of Derby, his statement is unconfirmed, and in 1657 she petitioned Parliament for subsistence, saying she was wholly destitute. (Chetham Soc., lxvi, p. cvii.)

¹⁰⁸ *Cal. Comm. for Compounding*, pp. 2183, 2186-7, 2192. Cp. *Victoria County Hist. of Rutland*, ii, 116.

¹⁰⁹ *Cal. Comm. for Compounding*, pp. 2189, 2192.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 623. Cp. also Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 222 and n.

left in December, and there remained presently only Limerick under O'Neill. Besieging that place from May until October 27, 1651, hunger and plague finally accomplished what Ireton had failed to achieve by arms, and the city was surrendered. But if Ireton was slow in action, he was quick in vengeance. As in the case of Colchester, he stood out for executing those who had defended the place, and only the intervention of the council of war saved O'Neill from the consequences of being too successful in opposing the English. He was spared, but seven or eight others, including three civilians and at least one cleric, were hanged. For the rest, the same terms granted to Waterford were extended to Limerick, and it does not appear that there was any indiscriminate plundering or massacre beyond the usual and unavoidable, if tragic, incidents of the surrender of a besieged town. Ireton scarcely outlived his victory. On November 26 he died of fever, and the management of Irish affairs fell for the moment into the hands of the three commissioners, with Ludlow at their head.¹¹¹

The news of the surrender reached the Council on November 6, the day before Ireton died. Neither that victory nor the earlier news that the Duke of Lorraine had been invited to head the Irish in a last desperate attempt to avoid total collapse,¹¹² interfered with the routine business of that body. On that day it was chiefly concerned with the question of supplies for Ireland, the perennial problem of the prisoners of war, and various personal questions. Among these was the reference to Cromwell of a petition from a Lancashireman who had quartered some of Lilburne's force in the late campaign; and a request to meet with Bradshaw, Scot and a Colonel Thompson to consider the latter's proposition. This was probably concerned with dispatching ships for reprisals against the French or the sending of ransom for captives in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli.¹¹³ The General was, naturally, extremely busy at this time, and the fact that he attended nearly half the meetings of the Council in this month argues that his time was apparently about evenly divided between his civil and his military duties.

Among these was the eternal question of finance. The reduction of the army establishment gave some hope of relief, but the burden was still too heavy. Trade had been seriously interrupted, not only by the civil wars but by the undeclared hostilities with the French. The expenses of the government had been very great. Though the spoil of their enemies was, it has been estimated, some six million pounds or

¹¹¹ Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*.

¹¹² On Aug. 4, 1651, the Council of State had written to Cromwell of a design of the Duke of Lorraine to go to Ireland on the invitation of the authorities of Galway, and the danger of granting licenses for Irish to go into Flanders. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), p. 303.

¹¹³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 8-9; *C. J.*, vii, 45.

more, and its yearly income was some two million pounds, its expenditures had been three million. The plunder of the Crown, the Church and the Royalists apparently more than made up the difference, yet it seems evident that all was not as easy as appeared. The continual complaints of the soldiers as to the arrears of pay, the shifts to which the government was put to raise money to supply the army and navy, the perpetual demands of the commanders for money, the struggle among the departments to secure such sums as came in, reveal that all was not well with Commonwealth finance. At this moment another circumstance seems to bear this out.

It arose from that device introduced as an emergency expedient, and like many such crystallized into a system, the so-called "excise," whose name and practice were taken from the Dutch. From its first introduction, on March 28, 1643, what Dr. Johnson called this "hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid," was "by its very name odious to the people of England." It has been pointed out that, among the many changes effected by the Puritan Revolution, one of the most important was the imposition of taxes for the first time on the lower classes. The chief of these was, of course, the excise, and there is a certain irony in the fact that, whatever the reasons for its imposition and however great the necessity, it was the champions of liberty who imposed this right to pay taxes upon a class hitherto exempt. Its first application had been, in general, to malt liquors, cider and perry, and it was so unpopular that Cromwell felt impelled to issue a proclamation in regard to it.¹¹⁴

Proclamation

"Whereas it hath pleased the Parliament in and by their Act bearing Date the 14th of August 1649 concerning the Excise, to appoint the General of their forces for the time being, to order and enjoin all colonels, captains, officers and soldiers under his command, upon application made to them, or any of them, speedily to suppress all tumults, riots, and unlawful assemblies which shall be attempted or acted, in opposition against the commissioners of excise, their sub-commissioners, collectors, or officers, in execution of the ordinances and acts of Parliament for the excise; and to apprehend all such riotous and tumultuous persons, that they may be proceeded against according to law. And whereas it is in the said act further declared, That no commander, officer, or soldier, shall seize upon, forceably take, or detain any the receipts of the excise, or protect any person from payment thereof, or encourage any person not to pay the same. And that if any commanders, officers, or soldiers, shall not-

¹¹⁴ Cp. W. A. Shaw in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, iv, 454-7; M. P. Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy of the Commonwealth*, ch. iv; Dowell, *History of Taxation*; W. A. Scrogge, "Finances under the Long Parliament" in *Quar. Jour. Econ.* (1907), xxi, 463-487; William Kennedy, *English Taxation, 1640-1799* (1913).

withstanding seize upon, forcibly take, or detain any the receipts of the excise, protect any person from paying thereof, or encourage any person not to pay the same, upon due proof made thereof, shall be (*ipso facto*) cashiered, and all his arrears forfeited to the Commonwealth; and suffer such other punishment as shall by the said General or Council of War, be adjudged fitting."

In pursuance whereof I do hereby require all colonels, captains, officers, and soldiers under my command, upon application from time to time of the said Commissioners of the Excise, their Sub-Commissioners, Collectors, or Officers, unto them, or any of them, to be aiding and assisting, as well in preventing of such tumults and riots, as in the suppressing thereof. And do also hereby declare, That if any colonels, officers, or soldiers shall seize upon, forcibly take, or detain any the receipts of the excise, or shall protect any person from paying thereof, or encourage any person not to pay the same, shall be proceeded against, and suffer according as in the said Act is expressed. Given under my hand and seal the eight day of Novemb. 1651.

O. CROMWELL¹¹⁵

Such was the last document he signed in the two months after Worcester. It is at once an example of the infinity of detail which fell to his office and of the fact that there had been drawn into his hands so many threads of power in every phase of military and political activity. He was becoming, or had become, not merely *primus inter pares* but the chief administrative officer of the government.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

The revolutionary party had now reached that most critical period of all revolutions, the transition from a state of war for existence to that of ordered and settled government. But while it was more and more concerned with the form and function of that government, especially with the status both present and future of Parliament, it was still troubled with the disposition of the prisoners, of which more were continually brought in. Here Cromwell was most of all concerned, as the notices of his activities demonstrate.¹¹⁶ On November 11 he was ordered to appoint a guard to bring those in Warwick Castle to London;¹¹⁷ and it was noted presently that the Earl of Traquair had been released from Warwick to appear before the General within five days and as often thereafter as required, and not to leave London.¹¹⁸ Besides these, it was necessary to keep close watch over the wounded prisoners in Worcester, and Cromwell was instructed to send Sir

¹¹⁵ Broadside in the British Museum (Thomason) 669 f. 16/33. On Dec. 11 a petition from the East Riding of York to Cromwell and the officers, asking that excise taxes be reduced and processes of law speeded, was published in the *Perfect Diurnall* and *Mercurius Politicus*.

¹¹⁶ Cp. the committee's order to examine the Earl Marshal of Scotland and to make such demands of him as shall be directed by Cromwell. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), 12.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* (1651), p. 501.

James Montgomery, Colonel Campbell and others to Gloucester or elsewhere for safe-keeping.¹¹⁹

All this was in sharp contrast to the absurd stories which were current on the continent in regard to affairs in the British Isles. Before the end of October it was known that Charles II was safe in France, and to add to the chagrin at his escape, it was reported that for three days he had acted as a servant to a gentleman in the Parliamentary army.¹²⁰ The preposterous tales circulated as to the defeat of Cromwell and Ireton¹²¹ made Hyde skeptical of the rumor that Cromwell had determined to crown the Duke of Gloucester,¹²² that he had fixed a time for the dissolution of Parliament within fifteen days, and had decided to divide England into districts each under a colonel subject to his orders.¹²³ These stories were not wholly absurd. Gloucester had long been considered as a possible candidate for the throne, and as to Parliament and military government, the rumors only anticipated the time when those designs took form. Meanwhile Nicholas suggested that the King would "do well to be very quiet for some time . . . that the opinion of their own security make them look the better at leisure into every other's ambition there, and to make divisions amongst them . . . as there is on the one side an envious eye on Cromwell, so he on the other side is much unsatisfied with the rebels' Parliament."¹²⁴

That problem of Parliament pressed hard upon the revolutionary leaders. On November 6 the House began to go into committee every day on the subject, and on November 14 it divided on the question as to whether or not a date should be set for dissolution. There was strong opposition to this motion. By a majority of four the House decided to vote on the question, and, with Cromwell and St. John acting as tellers for the affirmative, it was decided by 49 to 47 that a date should be set. Four days later, on November 18, that date was fixed as November 3, 1654,¹²⁵ and Cromwell and his party were thus effectually blocked from their efforts to put an immediate end to the existing Parliament. It revealed the strength of the anti-Cromwellians; and it is notable that in this sharp struggle between them and the followers of the General, each side did all it could to muster its strength. On November 12 the serjeant-at-arms was sent to bring in all members, "as well judges as others" from "the Hall,"¹²⁶ and on the

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

¹²⁰ *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 4.

¹²¹ See e.g., *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, (1647-52), p. 200.

¹²² Hyde to Nicholas, Nov. 1/11, 1651. Macray, *Clarendon Papers*, ii, 111. See the conference on Dec. 10, 1651, below, p. 506.

¹²³ Nicholas to Ormonde, Hague, Oct. 29/Nov. 8, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.*, *Kilkeny Mss.* N. S., i, 223-4.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *C. J.*, vii, 35-7.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

day before the final decision Cromwell was not at the Council meeting. On that day the Council in his absence voted to have him, together with a Council of War, proceed against Lieutenant-General Middleton and others who had broken their parole given in 1648, and decided to liberate Colonel Greaves on security to appear on twenty-four hours' notice, if Cromwell approved.¹²⁷ On the 17th they directed Colonel Walton to recommend a William Mowbray to the General for employment in Ireland, and Cromwell issued a commission for an ensign, John Wells, under Captain Ethelbert Morgan in Scotland.¹²⁸ Finally, on November 19, Parliament admitted the petition of a civil war widow, giving an order to the Committee for Compounding,¹²⁹ sent through Cromwell, who presently communicated it to the committee with his approval:

*For the Honourable the Commissioners for Compounding at
Haberdashers' Hall: These*

GENTLEMEN,

The Parliament taking into consideration the sufferings of Mrs. Deborah Franklyn, late wife of Mr. John Franklyn a late Member of Parliament who was carried prisoner by the King's party to Oxford where he died, whose eldest son Major Franklyn was also slain in the Parliament's service, were pleased to order that you should issue your warrant to the Commissioners at Goldsmiths' Hall to pay unto the said Mrs. Franklyn £4 per week until the Parliament take other order, together with the arrears thereof according to a former order. My request therefore unto you is that you will be pleased to show her all the favour you can by giving her a speedy dispatch of her business, she having long attended for some fruit of that which the Parliament were formerly pleased to order unto her, whereby you will very much oblige,

Gentlemen,

Cockpit, Novemb.
the 24th, 1651.

Your very loving friend,
O. CROMWELL.¹³⁰

The continuance of the existing Parliament for three more years apparently demonstrated the dominance of the Rump politicians, but the thinness of the House on the decisive votes indicated the slight interest this momentous decision aroused among its members. That lack of interest did not extend to the next piece of business which came before it. On November 19 the election of a new Council of State was agreed on, with the proviso that this body should consist of twenty-one old members and twenty new nominees. The procedure was pecu-

¹²⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 20.

¹²⁸ A form, filled out, with Cromwell's signature, in *Add. MSS.* 5051, f. 25, and calendared in the Ayscough Catalogue, i, 234.

¹²⁹ *C. J.*, vii, 37.

¹³⁰ Original in *S. P. Dom. Interr. G.*, lxxxvi, 479; cal. in *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 1540 and in Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 70.

liar. The choice was to be made by ballot, and each member was required to make two lists, one of old and one of new members he desired to vote for, and to place them in a "bottle" by the 24th of November. Meanwhile a long list of instructions for the new body was agreed on, and when, on the appointed day, the ballot bottles were opened, there were present no less than a hundred and twenty members, each of whom had deposited his ballot.

Of these, two failed to include a list of old members to be chosen for the new Council. Of the hundred and eighteen who had indicated their choice, all had named Cromwell, who thus stood at the head of the poll. The next in order were Whitelocke with 113; St. John with 108; Vane with 104; Gurdon with 103; Fleetwood with 102; with Love at the bottom of the list chosen.¹³¹ Those who failed of re-election were, for the most part, the less important members of the old Council. The exclusion of Harrison seems to have been the result of his lack of personal popularity¹³² rather than of opposition to his views of "establishing the ways of righteousness and justice, yet more relieving the oppressed, and opening a wider door to the publishing the everlasting gospel."¹³³ He was, it appears, urgent for the dissolution of the Rump, and Cromwell later complained of his "impatience of spirit."¹³⁴

At the head of the list of new members read the next day was the name of Colonel Herbert Morley, a member of the second Council of State, who, with Dennis Bond, had acted as a teller against Cromwell and St. John on the question of dissolving Parliament. Henry Marten, excluded from the previous Council, received barely enough votes to be reinstated. All but four of this new Council had sat on one or another of its predecessors, and these four were never elected again.¹³⁵ And it is notable that of the army members, Cromwell, Fleetwood, Haselrig, Purefoy and Walton were re-elected, while Harrison, Skippon and Colonel Thompson were defeated; and that of the new members, there were five colonels beside Sir William Constable.¹³⁶ This seems to indicate that the failure of the dissolution bill was no clear-cut victory of Parliament politicians over the army officers but rather some cross division among the revolutionary leaders both in the army and in Parliament, which may not be unconnected with a growing separation between the Cromwellian and the anti-Cromwellian forces.

¹³¹ The others in order were Rolle, Lisle, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Bond, Scot, Purefoy, Walton, Harrington, Masham, Challoner, Salwey, Pickering, Carew and Love.

¹³² The third council was the only one on which he sat.

¹³³ Cary, *Memorials*, ii, 375.

¹³⁴ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i, 346.

¹³⁵ C. J., vii, 42; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, passim; *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 25.

¹³⁶ Morley, Stapley, Popham, Downes, Dixwell. *Perf. Diurn.*, Nov. 25; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 43.

It may well be that there was a fear of Cromwell's ascendancy and a suspicion of an oncoming dictatorship; for on the next day the House resolved, though by a close margin, that no person was to be president of the Council or chairman of any committee longer than a month. On the 28th the old Council wound up its affairs, transacting a large amount of business, conferring with the General on sending forces to Ireland and a guard of two hundred and forty men to the Isle of Man, both of which Parliament later approved.¹³⁷ With this the old revolutionary order may be said to have come to an end and a new era begun. The enemies of Parliament had been beaten down. The fall of Limerick had, in effect, ended Irish resistance. Meanwhile Lambert had been despatched to Scotland and a board of eight commissioners, including Lambert, Monk, Deane, Vane and St. John, had been appointed to administer civil affairs in that kingdom, as a prelude to its annexation to England, while the Irish commissioners were busy with the same problem there.

When on December 1 the new Council was installed, its problems differed widely from those of its predecessor. It was now in control of the three kingdoms; it had to deal in definite fashion with the questions of foreign affairs which its predecessor had scarcely more than begun to notice; and it had to provide some kind of a peace-time organization in place of the half-military, half-civil administration which had thus far been carried on. On the first and second days of its existence, however, the new Council did little more than appoint committees—one, to which Cromwell was appointed, to examine a certain Massonett, sometime secretary to Charles I.¹³⁸ He was continued on the standing committees of which he had long been a member—Ordinance, Irish and Scotch affairs, and the Committee on Examinations, to consider "legal questions."¹³⁹ On the 4th, he was named to the committee on the Admiralty, the committee for sending the prisoners to plantations, and a temporary committee to settle the differences between the aldermen and the Common Council of London. Finally, on December 16, he was put on the Committee for Trade, which was ordered to meet every Wednesday and Friday morning.¹⁴⁰ Thus, as a member of Council and Parliament, Lord General of the army and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with these committee assignments, he was easily not only the outstanding figure but the most powerful official of the government. It is, perhaps, pure hypothesis, but it is not beyond the bounds of supposition that it was this ascendancy which, as it had long stirred the suspicions of the Republicans

¹³⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 22; *C. J.*, vii, 43, 47-8. Cromwell was also consulted on the matter of Capt. Griffith's troop refusing to disband in Chester. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651), pp. 500, 504; (1651-2), p. 32.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, (1651-2), p. 42.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 67.

and Levellers, contributed to the vote continuing the existing Parliament as the one bar to his complete control of government.

Though for the moment the Irish and Scotch committee seems to have been the most active of the bodies to which Cromwell belonged—and among its other duties, it had to decide on the arrangements for Ireton's funeral and the nomination of his successor—the settlement of the government at home was by far the most important of the problems with which the General and his colleagues had to deal. In connection with that there had arisen the question of the innovations made by the London Common Council in the election of magistrates, for whose consideration a committee had been named on December 11. A week later a hearing was held, with Cromwell present, as a result of which, on the next day, a decision made by the Common Council on Nov. 4 was suspended and Parliament passed an act which barred the election or the votes of any person who "subscribed, promoted or abetted an Engagement in the year 1648 relating to a personal Treaty with the late King at London."¹⁴¹ This, in effect, put the capital wholly in the hands of the revolutionary party and prevented any attempt of Royalist-Anglicans or Presbyterians to secure a foothold there for the future.

At this moment the preparations for the reception of Ireton's body and his funeral gave another occasion for the growing suspicion of Cromwell's designs on supreme power to express itself. Ireton had died on November 26 of a cold contracted on a march,¹⁴² and the news of his son-in-law's death, it was reported, "struck a great sadness into Cromwell," for they had been very close and, more than any one else, Ireton had influenced his father-in-law in his political opinions.¹⁴³ His merits as a military leader had been slight, but he commanded the respect, though not the liking, of nearly every one, not least in that he had refused to profit personally by the triumph of his party. He had refused to accept a grant of £2,000 offered him by Parliament, but on the day after the news of his death arrived, a bill was ordered for a like amount to be paid to his widow, Bridget, which was agreed on ten days later, at the same time, as it happened, that the bill for Cromwell's £4,000 was read the first and second time and a "suitable" house was added to his rewards.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), pp. 56, 63, 67; *C. J.*, vii, 50, 53. (On Dec. 11, on a reference from Parliament of a petition). The committee consisted of Fleetwood, Rolle, St. John, Vane, Pickering, Walton, Sir Wm. Masham, Whitelocke, Wentworth, Morley, Harrington and Lisle. *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 18.

¹⁴² *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 8. Advice from London, Dec. 9/19, says he died of a contagious fever (*Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 209); Masson, (*Life of Milton*), that he died of the plague. Gardiner says incorrectly he died on Nov. 7.

¹⁴³ Whitelocke, p. 516.

¹⁴⁴ *C. J.*, vii, 49-50, 52-3. *Merc. Pol.*, Dec. 9. *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, *passim*. The Act was passed Dec. 24. *C. J.*, vii, 56.

Ireton's death was an important event in Cromwell's life. All the influence of that stern idealist had been in the direction of democratic, popular, almost communistic doctrines. He had framed the *Agreement of the People* and had stood at all times in opposition to the "grandeens" of the army. He had taken no part in the suppression of the Levellers, and, had he lived and retained his influence over his father-in-law, there is reason to believe that the ensuing events might have taken a somewhat different course, despite the fact that in the crises of affairs, like the Levellers' insurrection, Cromwell had gone his own way, independent of or contrary to the views of Ireton. The circumstances of the funeral of the Lord Deputy seem to bear out the idea that it deepened the breach between the Cromwellians and the anti-Cromwellians which was now becoming more and more evident. His coffin was received with great ceremony at Bristol on December 17¹⁴⁵ and brought in a velvet-hung hearse to London to lie in state in Somerset House for the customary six weeks,¹⁴⁶ until, in pomp which would have been distasteful to Ireton and was certainly offensive to the Levellers and the Fifth Monarchists, he was buried in Westminster Abbey on February 6.¹⁴⁷

Two days after Cromwell had news of Ireton's death, he called a conference which may have had some connection with the death of his former adviser, and it has been noted¹⁴⁸ that there was issued an order on the following day that Cromwell's regiment was to be given quarters to serve as a guard to Parliament. It has seemed to some that this argued another step in the control of the government, on which by now they believed Cromwell had fixed his ambitions.¹⁴⁹ Though in the light of the event, it is evident that in case of any change in the situation the presence of his own regiment gave him, if he desired to use it, a powerful weapon against Parliament, it seems to have attracted no attention at the time, so far as any evidence has been uncovered, and it was a natural enough arrangement under the circumstances.

None the less, it is obvious that he and many others were deeply concerned with some change in government. Parliament had, in ef-

¹⁴⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Dec. 23.

¹⁴⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 546.

¹⁴⁷ Ludlow, i, 295; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1652-3), p. 425. Borlase, p. 364. The funeral cost £1,000 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1651-2, p. 276). Mrs. Hutchinson complained that her husband, though related to Ireton, was not asked by Cromwell to be a pall-bearer, and purposely wore bright-colored clothes to call attention to the neglect. *Memoirs*, ii, 186-8. Ireton's coffin in Somerset House was hung in black with a scutcheon over the gate with the motto, "*Dulce est pro patria mori*," translated by one observer as "It is good for his country that he is dead." James Fraser, *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. 396.

¹⁴⁸ Bisset, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, ii, 266.

¹⁴⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 56. Bisset, ii, 412.

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fect, refused to dissolve itself, as he had urged, and its vote to continue its sittings for three years was in opposition to his wishes. Yet it was no less evident that the existing Parliament was an ineffective as well as an unpopular instrument; and there was at least a possibility that some such incident as had happened earlier in the relations of army and Parliament might precipitate a clash which the lawyers, in particular, desired to avoid at all costs. In consequence, therefore, on December 10, as Whitelocke says, "Cromwell desired a Meeting with divers Members of Parliament, and some chief Officers of the Army at the Speaker's house. And a great many being there, he proposed to them, That now the old King was dead, and his Son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation."¹⁵⁰

It was apparently a representative body, though of its composition we know definitely but little more than the names of the speakers whom Whitelocke quotes. Besides Cromwell and Lenthall these were the Commissioners of the Great Seal, Widdrington and Whitelocke himself, both of whom had refused to take part in the King's trial, though willing to go on with the revolutionary party once it was in power, together with Chief Justice St. John, an old revolutionary but essentially, like his relative Cromwell, an authoritarian. Of the officers there were two other relatives of Cromwell, Whalley and Desborough, with Fleetwood and Harrison, the latter now verging toward Fifth Monarchy, but equally opposed to that of a more worldly sort and the perpetuation of the existing Parliament. Whether or not there were any representatives of the Levellers and the Republicans, Whitelocke gives no report of their presence or their remarks. Though Cromwell was said to have had in mind an invitation to John Lilburne there seems no evidence that he was there, and it is almost inconceivable that, had he been present, he would have been silent then or thereafter on such an important subject. With the exception of Whalley and Desborough the speakers seem to have leaned strongly toward the restoration of monarchy in some form, and that may be taken in some sort as the opinion of Cromwell and his civilian advisers. It remained to see what impression that would make on the army. That they would favor monarchy was all but inconceivable. What, then, would they suggest as an alternative? If a republic, of what sort? Above all, what of Parliament?

It seems from Whitelocke's account that Cromwell opened the meeting, adding to his former statement of the reasons for its being summoned, that "they together might consider and advise, What was fit to be done and to be presented to Parliament." With this preliminary, the discussion began:

¹⁵⁰ Whitelocke, p. 516. *Old Parl. Hist.*, xx, 80-82, apparently takes its account from Whitelocke, but dates the meeting Nov. 1, 1651, though Whitelocke puts it on Dec. 10.

Conference at Lenthall's House

SPEAKER. My Lord, this Company were very ready to attend your Excellence, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

HARRISON. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, is to advise as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and so that the mercies which the Lord hath given-in to us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question.

WHITELOCKE. It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved. Yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here, should be fruitless. I should humbly offer, in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this Settlement is desired, whether of an absolute Republic, or with any mixture of Monarchy?

CROMWELL. My Lord Commissioner Whitelocke hath put us upon the right point: and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider, whether a Republic, or a mixed Monarchical Government will be best to be settled? And if anything Monarchical, then, in whom that power shall be placed?

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. I think a mixed Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation. And if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the Sons of the late King.

COLONEL FLEETWOOD. I think that the question, whether an absolute Republic, or a mixed Monarchy, be best to be settled in this Nation, will not be very easy to be determined!

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE ST. JOHN. It will be found that the Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.

SPEAKER. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.

COLONEL DESBOROW. I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be governed in the way of a Republic?

WHITELOCKE. The Laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you have scarce time to rectify nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

COLONEL WHALLEY. I do not well understand matters of Law: but it seems to me the best way, not to have anything of Monarchical power in the Settlement of our Government. And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The King's eldest Son hath been in arms against us, and his second Son likewise is our enemy.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. But the late King's third Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us; and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

WHITELOCKE. There may be a day given for the King's eldest Son,¹⁵¹ or for the Duke of York his brother, to come in to the Parliament. And upon such terms as shall be thought fit, and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual liberties, a Settlement may be made with them.

CROMWELL. That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty! But really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our Rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, that a Settlement with somewhat of Monarchical power in it would be very effectual.¹⁵²

Whitelocke continues: "Much other discourse was by divers gentlemen then present upon several points . . . generally the soldiers were against anything of Monarchy . . . the lawyers were generally for a mixt Monarchical government and many were for the Duke of Gloucester to be made King."

Thus were the lines drawn for the ensuing argument, and from them that argument departed but little in the long controversy which followed. In fact, once the existing system of Council and Parliament was given up, there were, as this debate proved, but three courses open. The first was the restoration of a Stuart, whether Charles or James or Henry; the second was a republic; the third was some other form as yet undetermined "with somewhat of monarchical power in it." The lawyers leaned toward monarchy; the officers toward a republic, opposing especially the restoration of the Stuarts. Cromwell's own opinion was voiced in words which were, as often, obscure. If Whitelocke is to be trusted, the general consensus of opinion among those who spoke seemed to be in favor of a monarchical as against a republican form of government. With this Cromwell agreed, but his phraseology—"a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it" and "in whom that power shall be placed"—in one sense left the question open, in another it hinted at its solution. If not a Stuart—and he agreed with the officers in this—who should be the first man in the state to fix, once and for all, as Harrison said, "a settlement of our civil and religious liberties?" Who was there but himself who could aspire to play that rôle?

This was the question which he left with them as he turned from such great affairs of state to write to his sister, Elizabeth, then living with Dr. Stane at Ely:

*For my dear Sister Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, at Doctor Richard Stane
his house at Ely: These*

DEAR SISTER,

I have received divers letters from you. I must desire you to excuse my not writing so often as you expect; my burden is not ordinary,

¹⁵¹ Carlyle doubts this, and intimates that Whitelocke inserted it later, after the Restoration.

¹⁵² Whitelocke, pp. 516-17.

nor are my weaknesses a few to go thorough therewith; but I have hope in a better strength. I have herewith sent you twenty pounds as a small token of my love. I hope I shall be mindful of you. I wish you and I may have our rest and satisfaction where all saints have theirs. What is of this world will be found transitory; a clear evidence whereof is my son Ireton's death. I rest,

Dear Sister,

15th December 1651.

Your affectionate Brother,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

My Mother, Wife, and your friends here remember their loves.¹⁵³

For the moment, so far as any information we have of Cromwell's doings in the Council and Parliament, the great affairs of state seemed almost at a stand; and though that was far from the fact, the record of his public activities was chiefly confined to minor questions, mainly in regard to individual cases of hardships growing from the war. These were naturally numerous. On November 20 Parliament referred to the Committee of the Army a list of more than a hundred petitions from widows and children of officers killed in various engagements as far back as Marston Moor. What became of most of them it is difficult or impossible to say, but on December 16, on a report from the committee, certified by Cromwell, sums were voted for the relief of six widows of Worcester victims.¹⁵⁴ Besides the question of permission for two Scotch ships to discharge their coal free from customs, which was referred to him,¹⁵⁵ he recommended that his future brother-in-law, Colonel John Jones, be paid £100 "for losses and eminent service," which was accordingly done.¹⁵⁶ On November 21, the Committee for Compounding asked his advice as to the disposition of a case in which the governor of Carmarthen Castle, Dawkins, was a principal witness but had gone back to Wales without giving his testimony;¹⁵⁷ and Cromwell apparently having forgotten all about it, two weeks later Sir William Brereton was ordered to speak to him again. With this went his letter to support the petition of a certain Mr. Fincham and his wife who were anxious not to lose the latter's portion of the family property because of her brother's delinquency.¹⁵⁸

To the Commissioners for Sequestration, at Goldsmiths' Hall: These

GENTLEMEN,

I formerly recommended unto you the petition of one Mr. Fincham and his wife, desiring that if it were in your power to give remedy in

¹⁵³ Carlyle, App. 23, from the original, then in the possession of Puttick, the auctioneer, but sold at once to a Mr. Holloway of London. Carlyle spells the doctor's name "Stand."

¹⁵⁴ C. J., vii, 38-40, 51.

¹⁵⁵ Council of State to Navy Commissioners, Dec. 17, *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 68.

¹⁵⁶ Warrant cal. in *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 583.

¹⁵⁷ *Cal. Comm. for Compounding*, p. 2179.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2324.

their case, you would be pleased to hear them, according to the equity of their case. And forasmuch as they have waited long in Town for a hearing, to their great charge and expenses, which their present condition will not well bear, I again earnestly desire that you will grant them your favour of a speedy hearing of their business, and to relieve them according to the merits and justice of their case; whereby you will very much oblige,

Gentlemen,

Cockpit, December 1651.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL¹⁵⁹

On such minor notes ended the chronicle of his activities in the year 1651 and on such striking contrasts as that between the debate in Lenthall's chambers and these trifles is life made up. Though these minutiae may be regarded as no part of history, nor worthy of inclusion in a biography, they are in a very real sense a part of such a life as his, or that of any man. Like the lines in a portrait, in themselves insignificant and all but invisible, they go to make up the finished picture. Here as elsewhere they seem to obscure the outlines of the great forces then making history on a grand scale and Cromwell a greater figure in that history, but they reveal his continual touch with realities, however small, and in some degree one of the sources of his power. That power lay not merely in his military reputation or his public utterances. It had two other pillars of support. The one was his influence over his comrades in arms, the other was the far-flung net of personal relationships he had built up through the years. On this personal following there rested no small part of his strength. He had probably come into contact with more persons than any man of his time, and he had improved his opportunities to attract and conciliate wherever possible.

His strength had increased greatly within two years and the discussion in Lenthall's chambers indicated that there was not only the problem of government to be determined but the question as to what position the most eminent man in England should hold in it. He had raised that question and left the answer to others; yet in a sense that answer had been given. In the minds of many—and, it may be, Cromwell among them—there was only one person who filled the requirements he had laid down—a system with “somewhat of monarchical power in it” in which it would be “a business of more than ordinary difficulty” to find a place for a Stuart. There is no evidence to show that the General pictured himself as the head of the state, whether as Regent or Protector under the Duke of Gloucester, or as sole ruler under whatever title, but there is nothing in his words which would militate against that solution, and there is something in them which

¹⁵⁹ *S. P. Interr.*, G. 85, no. 923; Carlyle, App. 24. No final order in the case is recorded.

seems to hint that he had considered it possible, even probable, if not, indeed, inevitable.

He had implanted the idea without enlarging it, but others were not so reticent. Even at this moment John Milton was pondering those sentiments which within a few months were to find expression in verse that expressed not only his own feelings but those of many like him. There was evidently, in his opinion, but one man who summed up the qualities necessary to head the state and bring about a "settlement of our civil and religious liberties." Though he stopped short of that conclusion, it was drawn by many, even by Cromwell himself, within a twelvemonth.

"Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast reared God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field, resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureate wreath; yet much remains
To conquer still, Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than War; new foes arise,
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains.
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw."¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Milton, Sonnet XVI.



OLIVER CROMWELL AT ABOUT THE AGE OF 45. FROM A CONTEMPORARY PAINTING
BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST, IN THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.

CHAPTER XII

THE SEARCH FOR A SETTLEMENT,

JANUARY-MAY, 1652

By the beginning of the new year, Cromwell had transferred his talents from the relatively simple and direct activities of war to the complex and often indirect business of politics. In consequence the thread of his life becomes more difficult to unravel, partly because of his own secrecy, partly because it is composed of so many strands, partly because it is so interwoven with the whole fabric of English affairs and in no small measure with those of the Continent. Those affairs were at this moment intricate and difficult. With the conquest of Ireland and Scotland all but accomplished save for "mopping-up" operations, the first great problem of the Commonwealth was, indeed, virtually solved. For the first time in a decade the revolutionary leaders found themselves unopposed by any dangerous enemy. They had beaten down their foes in three kingdoms and their chief opponents were now dead or in exile. There remained, however, three other problems of great consequence to be dealt with.

The first of these was the reorganization of the system of administration of the British Isles and the incorporation of Scotland and Ireland into that system. It was apparent that the expedients which had been adequate for a period of war and revolution would not meet the more exacting demands of peace, and the form and function of the new order had long been under discussion, though as yet with small prospect of settlement. The second question, that of the formulation of a new ecclesiastical system, was beginning to demand immediate attention; while the third problem, the relation of the Commonwealth to foreign powers, had already entered on the first stage of its tortuous course. Behind them all there lay the greater issue of the control of the state. That for the moment rested in the little group which had long directed the activities of the army, the Council and the Parliament; but it was becoming apparent that this situation could not continue much longer, in particular that the Commons remnant could not go on indefinitely as the sole source of authority.

This affected Cromwell most of all. Though he was easily the most influential member of the group of army "grandees," he was still nominally, if not actually, under the orders of Parliament. That body

had by now become a close corporation with a strong sense of the vested interest of its members as the sole arbiters of the fate of the nation. Many of those members were unwilling to alter its position or its constituency, and still more unwilling to put an end to its existence. The administration thus faced two difficulties. The one was that which confronts all such governments by committee—that of a final, determining voice in the settlement of those problems with which all governments continually have to deal, and most of all such governments as this. The second was the increasing divergence between the Commons and the army, and the schism within the government itself. So long as a single great purpose animated all the members of that government, so long as it had to fight for its life, so long as it was opposed by a world of enemies, the pressure from outside held its divergent elements together. But once that pressure was removed, once it had to deal with questions which, unlike that of self-preservation, admitted of differences of opinion and dispute, as always happens in such cases, the forces of disruption tended to overpower those which bound these men together in a common cause of self-preservation. Though the Commons remnant stubbornly refused to abdicate its prerogatives and its privilege, its recalcitrant element had grown increasingly unpopular in the country, in the army, and even with many of the members of the House, of which Cromwell and his immediate followers formed the most important element.

For the moment they seemed helpless to compel the dissolution of the Parliament, and the administration thus went on for the time being unaltered in its form and unchanged in its powers. For his part, the notices of Cromwell's activities in the first month of 1652, like those at the end of 1651, reveal little more than the routine of his official life. The new year began with a multitude of petty administrative details which chiefly arose from recent events. The first of which we have record grew out of the perennial quarrel between the Committee on Sequestration and the army leaders. In this case, as in so many others, it was what the General considered a breach of the Articles of Oxford and of Exeter; and he ordered Fleetwood to request a suspension of proceedings until Parliament could be consulted.¹ The second item was the Council's reference to Cromwell and the Irish and Scotch committee of the petition of a certain Sir Joseph Douglas, for his release from the Tower, which was ordered three weeks later.² The third was an order from the Council to the General to send Colonel Clarke to Ireland with his regiment.³

These were mere trifles. In domestic affairs for the moment the

¹ Fleetwood to the Committee for the Advance of Money, Jan. 9, 1651-2. *Cal. Comm. for Adv. of Money*, i, 99.

² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 83, 113.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85. The nucleus of the regiment had once been under Sir H. Waller.

main business was the organization of government in Scotland and the preparations for its union with England. Monk's severity had not been calculated to conciliate the people and every effort was made to put affairs on a better basis. Of the commissioners appointed in October, Lambert and Deane were already in Scotland, and on Christmas Day, 1651, the others—St. John, Salwey, Colonel Fenwick and Alderman Tichborne,—had set out for Scotland to obtain, if possible, at least a nominally voluntary consent to a union.⁴ The membership of the committee indicated the importance of its mission; and the changes in the high command, which soon followed, strengthened the policy of conciliation. The chief figure in the commission was Lambert, who had earlier commended himself to the Scots; and he became, in effect, the head of Scottish affairs⁵ until he was presently nominated as Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was ably seconded by Deane, who, when Monk had adopted the tactful suggestion made to him that he "try the Bath waters"⁶ for his gout, and Lambert had left Scotland toward the end of January, became commander-in-chief; while Monk presently filled the vacancy left by Popham as General-at-Sea.

In these arrangements, Cromwell's was the determining voice, as it was in that of a successor to Ireton. On January 13 that question was considered by Parliament, which decided that the Council should name a new Lord Deputy after conferring with the General,⁷ and on the 20th, the Council, with Cromwell present, named Lambert to command in Ireland under Cromwell.⁸ On the 23rd this vote was reported to Parliament, which, a week later, finally confirmed the appointment.⁹ These matters were accompanied by two incidents of less importance but of some interest, in both of which Cromwell was concerned. On January 14, the Council met as usual and resolved to have the General—who was absent—and a council of war proceed against Lieutenant-General Middleton and other Scottish prisoners. The action came too late. Before the session of the Council had ended, word was brought that Middleton had escaped in his wife's clothes; and the Council committed his warder and his maid-servant to Newgate.¹⁰

⁴ C. J., vii, 30, 56; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), Council attendance records.

⁵ When Monk wrote to Cromwell enclosing the articles for the rendition of Dumbarton Castle suggested by Sir Charles Erskine, the Council, having consulted the Duke of Richmond, wrote to Lambert on Dec. 31 for suggestions as to terms. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 86.

⁶ Cp. J. B. Deane, *Life of Richard Deane* (1870), p. 451.

⁷ C. J., vii, 70. *Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 13; *Merc. Pol.*, Jan. 13.

⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 113. Cromwell was present at ten of the twenty-one Council meetings in January.

⁹ C. J., vii, 77, 79; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 126, 623. *Merc. Pol.*, Jan. 29-Feb. 5.

¹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 101. Clarendon (xiii, 137) says this and the escape of Massey were "to the grief and vexation of the very soul of Cromwell," who thirsted

The other incident was of a very different character. The day after Middleton's escape Parliament considered a petition presented by John Lilburne, in the name of a certain George Primate, against Haselrig and the Committee for Compounding. Lilburne's uncle, George Lilburne, and Primate, it appears, disputed the claim of the government to a colliery in Durham which it had taken from a delinquent, Thomas Wray, and which was apparently acquired later by Haselrig. This was not the only contest of Lilburne with Haselrig and the officials of the Commonwealth over confiscated property, for on the 23rd of the preceding December a Parliamentary committee had been appointed to examine into Lilburne's charges against Haselrig, which, as usual in his case, had been accompanied by a pamphlet war. "Freeborn John," as he liked to be called, and Primate, fared badly at the hands of the committee. For the "impudence" of the petition and Lilburne's tract, *A Just Reproof to Haberdashers' Hall*, Primate was fined £7,000, of which £2,000 was to go to Haselrig for damages, a like sum to four of the Commissioners for Compounding, and the rest to the government. Meanwhile Primate was committed to the Fleet until the fine was paid. He was, however, freed within a few months and what remained unpaid of his fine was remitted, though Lilburne was fined a like amount and ordered to be banished within thirty days.¹¹ On January 20 the two men were brought to the bar of the House, where Lilburne, refusing to kneel, had the term of his banishment advanced ten days.¹²

It is not easy to discover the rights and wrongs of this curious incident, nor Cromwell's part in it, though Lilburne claimed that he was the chief instigator.¹³ There is no doubt that some of the proceedings of revolutionary leaders were far from being above suspicion, and it is clear that Haselrig was among those involved in irregularities in the vast transfer of property which took place at this time, of whose details many, without doubt, would not endure the light of day. It is no less clear that Lilburne was a thorn in the flesh of the revolutionary government and not least in such matters as these. It seemed necessary to get rid of him, but if his opponents hoped to silence him, they were disappointed. From his refuge in the Netherlands, whither he went on January 29,¹⁴ Lilburne issued further attacks on the English authorities. Moreover he consorted with Royalist exiles, from whom he sought ten thousand pounds to overthrow the Commonwealth. "I know not," he was reported to have said, "why I should not vye with

for their blood; but he puts Massey's escape a few days later, whereas he was a prisoner until August; which seems to invalidate the idea that Cromwell thirsted for his blood.

¹¹ *C. J.*, vii, 71-73.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 74-5; *Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 17, 20; *Merc. Pol.*, Jan. 20.

¹³ *Lt.-Col. John Lilburne, his apologetical Narration . . .* (1652).

¹⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 29.

Cromwell, since I once had as great a power as he had, and a greater, too, and am as good a gentleman."¹⁵

The Lilburne incident was not unrelated to the great Act for General Pardon and Oblivion which was meanwhile making its way through the House. By the middle of January it was nearly ready for passage. It was in many ways a remarkable document. Its opening paragraphs seemed to make it an extraordinarily generous and comprehensive measure of pardon for all felonies committed before September 3, 1651, and even high treason, "other than for words only," since January 30, 1649—with certain thereafter noted exceptions. In those exceptions lay the root of the matter. Page after page is filled with them, and they range from murder, bigamy, witchcraft, embezzlement and conviction as a Romish or Jesuit priest, to implication in the Irish rebellion and the murder of Dorislaus and Ascham. It reads like a penal code. Though debts due the royal family, or on orders of the courts of Star Chamber, High Commission and the Court of Wards before November 3, 1640, and the debts due Parliament for assessments save for excise or tonnage and poundage before January, 1649, were to be cancelled, it is hard to escape the suspicion that even these forgiven sums were uncollectable by Parliament.¹⁶

It was over this amazing list of exceptions that the long Parliamentary struggle raged, and in it Cromwell took a part, of which some small record still remains, though little which reveals much of him. On January 22 he acted as a teller for the side which voted down an exception to the provision to cancel all arrearages of rents and fees payable to the Court of Wards and Liveries.¹⁷ He was again successful as a teller, on the 29th, for the negative on a proviso ensuring the exception from discharge of any delinquent whose estate had been overlooked or undervalued;¹⁸ and on February 13 against a proviso which would have kept alive the Committee for the Eastern Association, giving it power to collect arrears of assessment to pay its debts and maintain Newport Pagnell as a garrison.¹⁹ Finally on February 24, when the names of Charles Cavendish and the Gorings were brought up to be excepted from pardon, Cromwell is recorded as being a teller for the party favoring leniency for the former,²⁰ but in the Act as passed, the delinquency of Cavendish is excepted. With this final vote, about seven o'clock on the evening of February 24, the long discussed and much amended bill was passed, with the proviso that it

¹⁵ D. N. B. art. "Lilburne," by C. H. Firth, no authority given.

¹⁶ Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, ii, 565-577.

¹⁷ C. J., vii, 76. He was again a teller for the Noes on a similar provision presented on Feb. 5. C. J., vii, 84.

¹⁸ C. J., vii, 79. On Feb. 10 he was a teller against a similar proviso. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁹ C. J., vii, 88.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, 96.

was not to benefit any person who had not taken the Engagement,²¹ thus excluding the greater part of the inhabitants of the British Isles from whatever advantages it conferred.

Meanwhile among these parliamentary activities, Cromwell was ordered, with Bond, Pickering, Fleetwood and Whitelocke, to receive a certain proposition for the discovery of money due the government, on which they were to report;²² and he was instructed to advise the Committee for Prisoners on a petition from Lieutenant-Colonel William Hamilton.²³ Such matters were interspersed with an extraordinary burst of letters, addresses and libels addressed to him publicly or privately. The energetic Fisher contributed his *Irenodia Gratulatoria* and his *Veni, vidi, vici* to celebrate the conquest of Scotland—and perhaps assist him in securing the post of its historiographer. On February 1 *The Levellers Remonstrance* was published in the form of a letter to Cromwell on the subject of Lilburne's banishment; and two days later a letter addressed to Cromwell was brought to Westminster, purporting to be from "C. R.," in which the writer announced the beginning of a new campaign and his intention of visiting the General in the spring and presenting him with "May flowers."²⁴ It was probably the work of a Royalist with a misguided sense of humor; but news of a letter written by Wariston, Guthrie and like-minded Scots, which came to Cromwell at this time, was of a different character.²⁵ According to report, it protested the iniquity of the invasion and the proposed union of the two kingdoms, and, portending as it did the revival of the Covenanting spirit, it led to renewed activity on the part of the English. The commissioners in Scotland demanded the raising of the forces there to full strength; and the General, who had already ordered north most of the regiments destined for that service, some of them made up from stray units among the garrisons,²⁶ was now instructed to cancel all leaves and send to Scotland all officers who had commands there.²⁷

It was a timely precaution. The Scottish commissioners, having taken up their quarters at Dalkeith, had begun their task of securing a "voluntary" consent to union with England; but apart from a few Royalists and Presbyterians who made a virtue of necessity or were moved by personal considerations, they had been unsuccessful. Neither the so-called "Resolutioners" who had supported the King, nor the "Protesters" who had opposed him, were ready to submit to a

²¹ C. J., vii, 96. F. and R., *Acts and Ordinances*. Summary in *Perf. Diurn.*, Mar. 1.

²² *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 114.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁴ *French Intell.*, Jan. 27-Feb. 4.

²⁵ Summary in *Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 26; *Merc. Pol.*, Jan. 26.

²⁶ See for instance *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 123.

²⁷ C. J., vii, 84; *Perf. Diurn.*, Feb. 10; *Sev. Proc.*, Feb. 10; *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 215.

foreign power, as they regarded the English. None the less, under the astute guidance of Vane, the commissioners hoped to wean the people from the influence of its leaders, by appealing to their self-interest. On January 21 they issued a proclamation promising orderly administration of justice to the people and suppression of any authority not derived from the Commonwealth. On February 7 the King's arms and the crowned unicorn on the Edinburgh Market Cross were torn down and the crown was suspended to the gallows. This was followed by provisions for support of the new government. All the estates of those who had joined in the invasion of England in 1648 and 1651 were to be confiscated and the lands let out on easy rates. It was expected that this would at once destroy the enemies of the Commonwealth and bring to its side a large body of men devoted to the new authority against those like Guthrie, who even at that moment was composing that famous appeal to the people, *The Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland*, which was to cost him his life in later years.²⁸

Under such conditions the Scottish administration began to take form. Meanwhile its personnel altered. Lambert had received news of his appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland and by the end of February he was back in London, with Monk only a day behind him;²⁹ and Deane was left in command in Scotland, as head of the army and president of the commission. Lambert was much uplifted by his new dignity, and "put on the Prince," laying out £5,000 for his equipage and, unlike Cromwell under like circumstances, treating the members of Parliament to whom he owed his commission, as "scarcely worth such a great man's nod," as one of his detractors wrote.³⁰ Popular as the "idol of the army" had been, this was offensive even to his friends, and it was apparently due at least in part to his ostentation that on the eve of his departure Parliament voted not to continue his appointment beyond the six months originally specified.³¹

THE PLANS FOR CHURCH SETTLEMENT

While Scotland and Ireland were thus being brought under the authority of the English Parliament and the Act of Pardon and Oblivion was making its way through the House, the government was called upon to face another great domestic issue—that of church organization. This involved the delicate and difficult problem of toleration, not only of the older communions but the new sects which had sprung up or increased during the late troubles. Their rise had a

²⁸ Nicoll's *Diary*, 80-83; Wariston's *Diary*, ii, 149n.

²⁹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Feb. 24.

³⁰ Mrs. Hutchinson, *Memoirs*, p. 360. Of this outlay £3,000 was repaid by order of the Council of May 5, and £2,000 was voluntarily refunded to him the following summer by Cromwell from the salary due him as Lord Lieutenant.

³¹ Hutchinson, *Memoirs*, *ut supra*; C. J., vii, 133-4.

deeper significance than differences on points of theology. They were, for the most part, founded on the doctrine of "inner light" or "inward grace," and special revelation of divine purpose to their leaders and their followers. They were a natural development of Puritan doctrines, especially those of the "Seekers," but this development cut sheer across the older systems of religious experience and expression. To men who believed themselves and their principles directly and divinely inspired, what were the dreary and interminable controversies of the older theologians, the empty forms and ceremonies of the historic churches, their elaborate systems of administration, their relationship with the government? What to them were cathedrals, churches, parishes, convocations, presbyteries? What, even, were the doctrines of immaculate conception, transsubstantiation, predestination, and all the concepts over which men had struggled for more than a millennium and a half? To them, all that was of importance was the inner man, with his own concept of God and the universe, and his own interpretation of God's word.

What mattered was the spirit, not the form; the individual conscience, not the dictates of authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical; the voice of God, not the commands of man. The Baptists based themselves on a rite; the Fifth Monarchists on a mystical interpretation of the Book of Revelations; the Quakers on simplicity, charity, pacifism and a more "natural" religion; the so-called Ranters on a vague, mystical emotionalism; the so-called Familists on what they called "love." But one and all they had neither the historical, theological, ritualistic nor administrative bases which characterized the older communions. They were a natural spiritual outgrowth of the "Seekers," but in form they partook of the nature of the earlier "Separatists," determined to worship God each in his own way with a group of like-minded enthusiasts and equally opposed to Roman Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian. They were essentially "congregationalists," whose uncontrolled activities led directly to religious anarchy.

It is evident from many of Cromwell's utterances that, though he did not go to the lengths which drove some of these men into the extremes of fanaticism, he leaned in this direction. His insistence on what he called "the fundamentals," or "the root of the matter"; his opposition to the three older communions in varying degrees; his emphasis on the qualities which he continually emphasized in the men he wished to see favored or advanced, revealed where lay his sympathies. He was essentially practical. He was not concerned with theology, forms of service or church government, save that he disapproved of bishops and had no love even for presbyters. His simple principle seems to have been that a man might believe what he pleased, and practice his beliefs, so long as he did not interfere with

the public peace or the elementary principles of morality. He was opposed to ecclesiasticism of whatever sort, and his opposition to Presbyterians, Anglicans and Roman Catholics in an ascending order of progress, expressed his dislike of any man being the keeper of another's conscience. He was thus at once tolerant and intolerant, depending on which side of the shield one viewed—tolerant toward the new faiths, intolerant toward the old—for, if one cared to coin an epigram, it might be said of him that the most remarkable thing about his tolerance was his intolerance, and the most striking feature of his intolerance was its tolerance. But on one thing he was bent—in religion as in politics, he would not tolerate disorder.

That problem had long troubled the revolutionary leaders both in politics and in religion. In the field of politics their answer had been simple. It was to repress, in so far as possible, all opinions adverse to them; but in religion, for various reasons, the solution was not so easy. They were themselves dissenters from the older communions, whether Catholic, Anglican or Presbyterian, and they had, in consequence, a certain sympathy with men who dissented even from them. Moreover such men as those who now took up the more advanced doctrines were not much moved by the worldly considerations which animated even the most conscientious of men in the field of politics. They were not only willing but some of them were anxious to be martyrs. They were not terrified by fines, imprisonment or even death. On the other hand, something had to be done to prevent the country falling into religious anarchy, and among the many puzzling questions which confronted the government at this moment was the devising of some scheme by which these men could be tolerated without permitting religious chaos.

The issue was raised in definite form at this moment by the appearance before the House of a committee of fifteen ministers, headed by Cromwell's favorite, Owen, to protest a book just off the press in London, expounding the doctrines of the Italian theologians, Socinus, and the Socinian churches in Poland. The doctrine of this so-called *Racovian Catechism*, while admitting the divine concept, mission and endowment of Christ, denied him divine honors. It regarded baptism as simply a "declarative rite"; the Lord's Supper as merely commemorative; and contended that divine grace was only general, not individual. It thus cut sheer across the principles not only of the older establishments but those of the newer, "congregational" schools, advancing even beyond the Independents, the Baptists, the Quakers and the Fifth Monarchists, who, whatever their other differences, held among themselves and with the older communions to the divinity of Christ and the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. The petitioners, therefore, demanded the suppression of this subversive volume; and to this they added a proposal for the settlement of the church and its

theology. A committee of forty, including Cromwell, was at once appointed to study the volume—all copies of which were later ordered to be burned—and a smaller committee for the propagation of the Gospel, also including Cromwell, was ordered to confer with the ministers on their proposals and to meet from time to time.³²

Thus began one of the most important movements of the new order. It met with wide acceptance. By February 18, the proposals of Owen and his colleagues had been signed by twenty-seven persons, including Whalley, Harrison, Okey, Goffe and Francis White;³³ and under such auspices there was launched the attempt to effect a religious settlement. In general Owen's position was not unlike that of the *Agreement of the People* in the setting up of an Established Church, surrounded by self-supporting Nonconformist churches tolerated by the state. But where the *Agreement* refused toleration only to those who threatened civil liberty or the public peace, Owen extended this refusal of tolerance to those who attacked the majesty and honor of God, and declared that the civil magistrate was the last and worst person in the world to pass upon such questions. His present proposals—instead of the nominal Presbyterian system there existing—looked to an Established Church controlled by two sets of commissioners. These were in part lay, part clerical, and were to be, in general, what were to be known later as Triers and Ejectors, the one consisting of local committees to pass on admissions to the ministry, the other a national body to supervise and, if necessary, remove objectionable ministers and schoolmasters. All who did not belong to this establishment were subject only to a requirement to meet in places known to the magistrates; and only those who opposed the Christian religion were regarded as what Baxter later described as the "intolerable" sects.

Such was the broad outline of the new church establishment which it was proposed to substitute for the old Church of England, and bring order out of the ecclesiastical chaos into which England was falling. It was a comprehensive and statesmanlike scheme, which had the approval and support of Cromwell and most of his followers. It naturally met with opposition from those who objected to its tolerance, and in the debates which ensued Cromwell took his part. To those who objected that the proposals were too vague in checking those who would limit its operation, Cromwell was reported to have answered: "I shall need no revelation to discover unto me that man who endeavours to impose [his opinions] upon his brethren," and to one who declared his preference for a 'persecuting Saul rather than an indifferent Gallio,' the General retorted, "I had rather that Mahometan-

³² C. J., vii, 86. The proposals are in C. J., vii, 258.

³³ *Ibid.*, vii, 259. See also proposals printed in *Perf. Diurn.*, Mar. 29, 1652.

ism were permitted amongst us than that one of God's children should be persecuted."³⁴

In the midst of this discussion the General took time to sign a series of documents, which, with his part in the debate, illustrate vividly the varied duties of his many-sided life—letters to Oxford, instructions to local officials, certificates for wounded veterans for pensions, and such like ephemeridae of a man equally eminent in civil, and even in academic, as in military affairs. From them, if from no other evidence, it would seem that by now he was almost, if not quite—in fact though not in name—the head of the new government. To him was entrusted not only the headship of the army, of Ireland and of Oxford University, but the policing of the country under the act just passed for the discovery of thieves and robbers,³⁵ the supervision of the pensions under the assessments for relief of widows, orphans and maimed soldiers.³⁶ These, with his seat in Parliament and on the Council, gave him almost complete command of the political situation. It remained to be seen how that authority would be exercised.

*To My Worthy and Reverend Friends the Vicechancellor and Convocation
of the University of Oxon.*

SIRS,

Having received sufficient testimony of the abilities in learning and well deservings of John Hardiffe of C.C.C., Jonathan Bowles of A.S., Geo. Crooks, of A.S., John Tickell, Lud: Atterbury of Ch:Ch:, John Hearne of Oriell Coll., I do recommend them unto you, desiring that the degree of Mr. of Arts may be conferred on them, and the degree of Batch. of Arts on John Luke of Ch:Ch: not doubting but that they will approve themselves fit for such favour.

I rest

Your loving friend and Chancellor,

Cockpitt February
the 20th 1651[-2].

O. CROMWELL.³⁷

For the Honorable Justices of Peace for the County of Wilts; These

GENTLEMEN:

Whereas it is provided by several acts and ordinances of Parliament that the widows and orphans of those whose husbands and fathers have died and such soldiers as have been maimed in the service of the Parliament should be allowed a competent pension in the respective counties where

³⁴ Gardiner, ii, 100, quoting pref. to *The Fourth Paper* by Major Butler, signed "R. W." [e. g. Roger Williams?]

³⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 150.

³⁶ See Cromwell's letters, Feb. 24, 1651-2.

³⁷ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, p. 155.

such soldiers inhabited or took up arms. Yet not withstanding there have of late been many and frequent complaints made by such maimed soldiers and widows, that albeit they have repaired to the Justices of Peace of the respective counties where they ought to be provided for, yet the Justices have refused to allow unto them any pension or maintenance according to the said acts and ordinances, so that these poor soldiers, widows and orphans are exposed to great extremity (if not p[er]ishing) and divers of them have returned back to London to seek for remedy and relief. Wherefore I make it my earnest request to you, as I have done to the Justices of peace of other counties, that in case you have not already made an assessment and rate upon your county for the raising a competent stock for the relief of maimed soldiers, orphans and widows according to the said acts and ordinances, that you cause the same to be forthwith done and put in execution, that so those poor soldiers widows and orphans may not through the neglect thereof be exposed to misery and ruin contrary to the intentions of the Parliament, and which if suffered would very much reflect upon the honor of [the] Nation. And I desire an account may be returned every half year to the Committee of the Parliament for maimed soldiers of your proceedings herein. And to the end the said account may with more certainty come to the Committee's hand I desire you will direct it to be left at the Treasurer's at Ely House in Holborne, thus hoping that you will be willing to further so good and charitable a work as this is,

I remain,

Cockpit, February the
24th 1651[-2].

Your very loving Friend,
O. CROMWELL³⁸

Certificate to William Daws

Being satisfied that this bearer, William Daws, was maimed in the Parliament service I do accordingly certify the same, desiring the Justices of Peace for the county of Wilts to allow unto him a competent weekly pension for his maintenance according to the late Act.

24th February 1651[-2].

O. CROMWELL³⁹

To the Vicechancellor and Convocation of the University of Oxford

I do hereby grant a dispensation for one term (besides the term granted to Batchellors in general) unto those scholars of approved ingenuity, and competent learning for the degree of Batchellour of Arts, to be nominated unto this benefit by the Vicechancellor, the President of Magdalen College, and the Warden of Merton College. Given under my hand the 25th of February 1651.

O. CROMWELL.⁴⁰

³⁸ Original in the Quarter Session Records in Wilts, *Registers*, at Trowbridge. Communicated by Mr. W. L. Mun, Clerk of the Peace. Cal. in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Various Collections*, i, 125.

³⁹ Original in quarter Session Records in Wilts. Communicated by Mr. W. L. Mun, Clerk of the Peace, at Trowbridge. Cal. in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Various Collections*, i, 125. A certificate in precisely similar form for Thomas Hart, also of Co. Wilts is cal. on p. 129.

⁴⁰ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, p. 156.

To such details were added others in these first months of 1652, while the future course of the revolutionary government was being plotted. On February 25 the General was appointed with Bradshaw, Bond, Neville and Whitelocke to have the books and medals of Charles I's collection moved from the library in St. James's to Whitehall, where Whitelocke was appointed as keeper of the library.⁴¹ On March 3, Henry Neville, Republican member of the Council, and later Cromwell's great opponent, was directed by the Council to lay before the General the petitions of another Neville, John, Lord Abergavenny, who was presently released from the Tower, and of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton who had invaded England in 1648, niece of the Duke who had followed Charles II to Worcester, and heiress of the Hamilton estates.⁴²

From such duties he turned to sign a lease for another part of his Welsh properties.⁴³

Lease to Philip Jones, Esq.

Lease for 99 years by the Right Honorable Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Captain General of the forces raised by Parliament, to Philip Jones of Swansey, esq., of a messuage and garden in Swansey, adjoining to the dwelling-house of said P. Jones, and also of a parcel of pasture called Orchard Close, at a rent of 5 l. 6s. 8d.
March 4, 1651[-2?].

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1651-1652

Although the last months of 1651 and the beginning of 1652 had been spent in clearing up the debris of Worcester, in the reorganization of Scotland and Ireland, and in an effort to establish peace and order, both civil and ecclesiastical, in England itself, neither the government in general, nor Cromwell in particular, had devoted the whole of their time and talents to these matters. They were now in a position to consider their position not only in the British Isles but in the world at large, and while they had been busy with affairs at home, they had been no less active in surveying the field of continental politics. In this they had been assisted by the foreign powers eager to recognize the now triumphant Commonwealth and to gain its friendship and assistance in their struggles among themselves. A good part of

⁴¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 151.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 167. On April 9 Cromwell was ordered by the Council to allow the Earl of Traquhair to go to Berwick on parole. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁴³ Perhaps the same who presently sent an account of the supplies in Cardiff Castle. (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 524.) Document among the papers of the Jones family of Fonmon Castle, near Cardiff, owned by Lady Boothby and her sister, according to W. Ll. Davis, Esq., Librarian of the National Library of Wales. Exhibited by G. Francis to the Lond. Soc. of Antiquaries, Feb. 20, 1862. Cp. *Proc.*, ser. 2, ii, 71.

the time that Cromwell and his colleagues in Council and Parliament could spare from their debates and administrative duties in these busy months had been spent in receiving the agents and ambassadors of Continental rulers. Envoys from Sweden and Oldenburg, residents from Portugal, Tuscany, Denmark and Genoa arrived to contend with ambassadors from Spain and Holland for English favor;⁴⁴ and early in March even the Count Palatine of Neuburg sent a special envoy to London with a letter to Cromwell asking for the release of an imprisoned English priest.⁴⁵

Among these foreign negotiations and negotiators, the most important were the French, whether monarchists or Frondeurs. Their efforts had begun much earlier, with the missions of Conan and la Rivière from the Frondeurs, and the replacement of Croullé with Gentillot by Mazarin. In such tentative and subterranean intrigues as went on between the French factions and the Commonwealth, the evidence is scanty and far from definite, yet something may be made of it, if only by indirection. In writing his instructions to Gentillot in February, Mazarin advised him that in accordance with his conversations with "an English gentleman whom you believe to have credit with the army and the Parliament," he wished his agent "to establish not only a good intelligence but a sincere friendship and a close alliance between the two nations," and empowered Gentillot to assure the English that he had every disposition to recognize the revolutionary government.⁴⁶

None the less the Cardinal hesitated and vacillated and meanwhile his enemies improved their opportunity. The Commonwealth authorities met them more than half way. In later years, Thomas Scot, "the intelligencer," in a vain effort to save his life by furnishing information to the Restoration government, wrote that he had sent—apparently about this time—one of his staff, Louis de Burgoyne, to "view" the ports of France from Calais to Bordeaux, and to communicate with Condé's supporters.⁴⁷ In these same months at the end of 1651 and the beginning of 1652, the old Agitator, Colonel Sexby, who had been serving in Scotland but had been dismissed for detaining the pay of his men, "for the advancement of the public service," was sent to Bordeaux with four other persons to get in touch with the Huguenots. He met Condé's brother, Conti, and the so-called "Ormée" fac-

⁴⁴ Paulucci to Morosini, Apr. 22/May 2, 1652. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 225.

⁴⁵ *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* (Utrecht), iii, 311. What success he had does not appear, but it is interesting to note that some three years later, the Count allowed Cromwell's spy, Manning, to be brought into his jurisdiction to be executed. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 169.

⁴⁶ Jusserand, "Angleterre," in *Recueil des Instructions*, i, 94 ff.; and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, ii, ch. xxi.

⁴⁷ Firth, ed. "Thomas Scot's Account of his Actions as Intelligencer during the Commonwealth," in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1897), xii, 116-126.

tion of the Bordelais, whose principles were not unlike those of the English Levellers. To them he proposed a manifesto modelled on Lilburne's version of the *Agreement of the People* and a Declaration including demands for the protection of the poor against the rich, the suppression of vice, and the opening of ports to English trade. This found little acceptance among those in charge of the Fronde, and though Sexby and his colleagues remained in the south of France for more than a year, they accomplished nothing in the way of an agreement between the Commonwealth and the opponents of French monarchy.⁴⁸

To this was added another and even more extraordinary mission at about this time or perhaps a little later. Somewhere along the dark road of these negotiations with the Fronde, the Cardinal de Retz, Mazarin's rival and one of its leaders, recorded years afterward with an engaging vagueness as to dates, that on his return home one evening, "I found a certain Fildin, an Englishman whom I had formerly known in Rome, who told me that Vane, a great Parliamentarian and intimate confidant of Cromwell, had just arrived in Paris and had orders to see me . . . Vane gave me a note from him [Cromwell] which was only a letter of credence. The substance of his conversation was that the sentiments which I had expressed in defence of public liberty, combined with my reputation, had inspired Cromwell with a desire to make friends with me. This was adorned with all the courtesies, all the offers, and all the temptations you can imagine. Vane appeared to me a man of surprising capacity . . ." ⁴⁹ It is not easy to place the time of this visit if it took place at all, but it seems not improbable, much less impossible. Nor is the precise time of great importance in comparison with the fact that it involves Cromwell, with some of his colleagues, in these negotiations.

Far more important in their ultimate results were the concurrent negotiations with Mazarin. The intrigue with the Frondeurs was naturally not unknown to the astute Cardinal, who on his part considered in his exile at Brühl what retort he could make to the moves of his enemies of the Fronde. He found the answer in the port of Dunkirk. If the Frondeurs could hold out an inducement on the south to the Commonwealth authorities who were evidently anxious for a foot-

⁴⁸ Thurloe, vi, 828; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. "Sexby" and references there. Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ch. xxi; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1654), p. 160. Sexby says they were there "almost two years," and they seem to have returned in August, 1653. See also Ludlow, *Memoirs*, and Firth, *Journal of Joachim Hane*, Intro.

⁴⁹ *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, (1935) ii, 196-7. Gardiner, on the same authority, put the visit in October or November, 1651, but Vane's recorded attendance at the Council of State leaves little or no time for it then. Guizot places it a little later, and uses the name Fielding. Vane returned from Scotland in March and on March 16 reported to the House. He may possibly have gone to France after that; or it may have been the elder Vane. See also Willcock, *Life of Vane*, 220 ff.

hold on the Continent like Calais, which had once been in English hands, Dunkirk seemed the obvious place. Admirably situated for purposes of war or commerce, it had long been a thorn in the side of the powers which used the English Channel for their trade. Its enterprising inhabitants had been engaged for many years in harassing that commerce by privateering operations under whatever flag best suited their immediate purposes. They had been employed by all sides to annoy the sea-borne commerce of their rivals, with the greater impunity in that Dunkirk, protected by sand-bars and treacherous shoals, was virtually inaccessible to attack from the sea. The town had long been in dispute between the French monarchy and the Spaniards in the Netherlands, and its transfer to the English or the Dutch might well solve the problem of striking a blow at Spain, then in alliance with the Fronde, and bringing one of the great naval powers to the side of France. This, then, became the center of a new intrigue in which Cromwell was deeply implicated.

Dunkirk was at that moment in French hands, under the government of the Count d'Estrades; but it was blockaded by the Spaniards, and it was felt that it could not hold out long. Negotiations looking to its transfer to the Netherlands or to the Commonwealth were accordingly begun. The Dutch, who were first approached, were unwilling to incur the enmity of the Spaniards in the Low Countries,⁵⁰ but the Commonwealth authorities, Cromwell in particular, were more favorable to the idea of having a bridge-head across the Channel. Some time in the last months of 1651, it seems that a Colonel Fitzjames, sometime an officer in the royal army, now apparently in the service of the Commonwealth, had been sent to Dunkirk to arrange for the exchange of the prisoners taken by each side in the long though undeclared hostilities which had been going on between the English and the French. Apparently also, Cromwell took the opportunity afforded by Fitzjames' mission to approach d'Estrades in regard to the surrender of Dunkirk, and in such fashion began the long and involved negotiations which ended, finally, in the acquisition of that place by his Protectoral government some six years later.⁵¹ And it would further appear that then, or later, Whitelocke and Bond were also concerned in the matter which was to consume much of Cromwell's time and attention until almost the end of his life.⁵²

The progress of such a delicate and difficult negotiation was of necessity slow and tortuous as well as obscure. So far as one may judge from the evidence, Fitzjames had been commissioned by Cromwell to

⁵⁰ *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin*, ed. Chéruel, iv, 518; Gardiner, *op. cit.* ii, 161.

⁵¹ Letter of Papal Nuncio at Brussels, quoted in Gardiner, "Cromwell and Mazarin," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xi, 484.

⁵² Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 674; and *Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, (ed. 1855), i, 361.

discuss unofficially with d'Estrades the rendition of Dunkirk to the Commonwealth, but there seems nothing to show that this was with the knowledge and approval of the entire Council of State. On his return to England, early in December, Fitzjames received the third of three letters from d'Estrades relating to the project, to which the governor of Dunkirk had received no reply. This third letter, it appears, fell by accident or design into the hands of one of the Council of State, meanwhile advised of the proposal to surrender Dunkirk to the Dutch, and on January 5 Fitzjames was summoned before that body to answer some informations against him, evidently concerning the Dunkirk matter. On the next day Whitlocke and Bond were voted £100 for 'carrying on a service of importance,' which, it has been assumed, was in connection with the same affair. At the same time Fitzjames was ordered to go back to Dunkirk, where he interviewed d'Estrades and, according to the governor's story, offered him a personal bribe, which d'Estrades refused with contempt.

On this Fitzjames declared that the purpose of the Commonwealth was to come to an arrangement with the French monarchy against Spain, offering in return for Dunkirk a sum of money, an alliance, ten thousand infantry and a hundred ships to aid the French against the Spaniards.⁵³ In the meantime, on the same day that Whitlocke and Bond were granted their £100 by the Council, d'Estrades was writing to Mazarin in reply to the Cardinal's warning against the designs of Commonwealth, declaring that the English had made him no proposals as to Dunkirk and that His Excellency could trust him not to do anything for his own personal advantage. He added, significantly, "Tout ce que je sais de cette affaire est que Cromuel s'est ouvert à une personne d'Angleterre qui l'a écrit à un de mes amis de Hollande, qu'il fallait ôter Dunkerque aux Français et aider aux Espagnols à le reprendre pour être en repos en Angleterre . . . qu'il fallait aussi s'opposer qu'elle ne vînt pas entre les mains des Hollandais par quelque accommodement avec la France; c'est tout ce que j'en ai appris."⁵⁴ Whatever the value of d'Estrades' memoirs as historical material, the governor of Dunkirk was an honorable man, not likely to betray his post, as is evidenced by the fact that he sustained a year's siege of the place entrusted to him and gave it up only when he was severely wounded and his garrison's powers of resistance were exhausted.⁵⁵ It is alleged that Cromwell refused to accept the surrender of Dunkirk because he regarded it "as a dishonourable action,"⁵⁶ but it does not appear from any other evidence which seems trustworthy that he ever

⁵³ For the above statements and proofs, see Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, ch. xxi; and his art. in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1896), xi, 479-509.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Jusserand, *op. cit.*, i, 132.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130 n.; and Jusserand in *Rev. Hist.* (1928).

⁵⁶ Whitlocke, p. 674.

had an opportunity to make that noble gesture of renunciation or that his connection with the negotiation differed from those earlier and not dissimilar enterprises which he had carried on with more success in his Irish campaign.

It has been suggested that the fact that before the end of January the English ship-yards were fitting out a squadron of twenty-five ships for Blake seems to indicate that the Commonwealth authorities had some plan to gain Dunkirk, and that this force was to be used for that purpose.⁵⁷ That may have been the case, though there were plenty of uses for them elsewhere, not least against the Netherlands whose relations with England were becoming more and more strained. From the mass of confused and confusing data which remains to us, however, certain things seem evident. The first is that Mazarin, like his rivals of the Fronde, was bent on securing English neutrality, if not English aid, if possible without recognizing the Commonwealth or giving up Dunkirk save for an adequate return, and so prolonged the negotiations as long as he could. The second is that Cromwell was involved in the unofficial and underground negotiations with both Mazarin and his opponents of the Fronde. The third is that neither he nor his colleagues would move toward Mazarin's support without formal recognition of the Commonwealth; and they were as yet not decided which party or nation to support—or fight. Finally, it is no less evident that, like much diplomatic intrigue and the history which grows from it, nothing of tangible importance came of this particular negotiation.

There were rumors and reports of all kinds and long correspondence as to projected attacks on Dunkirk, but the only actual hostilities were those then being carried on by the Spaniards from the Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador, Cardenas, suggested that the English should help his countrymen capture Dunkirk and Gravelines, and in return Spain would help the English recover Calais. On his part, Mazarin, who was back in Paris by the middle of January, 1652, presently despatched Gentillot again, though, unlike his opponents of the Fronde, he could not quite bring himself to cede French territory nor recognize the Commonwealth and so was at a disadvantage.

None the less, the negotiation seems to have gone on. On February 15 d'Estrades wrote Mazarin that Cromwell had sent Colonel Fitzjames to him to offer two millions, fifty vessels and fifteen thousand foot to aid the French king if he would give up Dunkirk.⁵⁸ This d'Estrades rejected with scorn; but Mazarin replied that his opinion had been that they should accept Cromwell's proposal, although he had been overruled, and was sending a messenger to express his own

⁵⁷ Gardiner, *Comm. and Protect.*, ii, 160.

⁵⁸ Jusserand, "Angleterre," *Recueil des Instructions*, i, 132-33; Gardiner, "Cromwell and Mazarin," *loc. cit.*, pp. 481-2; Guizot, *Oliver Cromwell* (1854), i, 240-41.

convictions. D'Estrades, in turn, communicated with a "friend in London" who hastened to Dunkirk to assure the French commander "on the part of Mr. Cromwell, that what the Commonwealth demands is that the King should recognize them, and send an ambassador as soon as possible." To this he added that Cromwell had charged him to say that if Mazarin could not remain in France he might find refuge in England or be provided with vessels to carry him to Rome.⁵⁹

In turn new powers were sent to d'Estrades to treat for an alliance, but, the Cardinal added, "the Sieur de Cromwell might send some one to us to be better informed of our good intentions; you will have to acquaint him with them and to open yourself in all confidence, not only respecting any treaty with the Commonwealth, but also with the said Cromwell personally . . . I give you . . . power to act, negotiate, treat and promise in my name all that you may judge fitting with regard to the said Cromwell."⁶⁰ With a covering letter from the Cardinal, Brienne instructed d'Estrades to recognize the Commonwealth, settle the maritime dispute, and thank Cromwell for his obliging offers to send troops in exchange for Dunkirk. If those instructions were genuine it appears that there may have been, after all, some reality in the negotiation, even though it came to nothing. He added that a messenger should be sent to Cromwell, and presently wrote again to d'Estrades ordering him to lose no time in coming to terms with the General.⁶¹ Within a week he had instructed Gentillot to set out from Calais for London at once, to take a letter from Louis XIV to Cromwell, but gave no authority to surrender Dunkirk.⁶²

The Frondeurs, meanwhile, had sent another emissary, the Sieur de Barrière, as minister to England. The Huguenot leader, le Daignon, who had earlier invited Cromwell to Rochelle, sent the Marquis de Cugnac; and the Commonwealth thus found itself courted on every side. In addition to these, there was another intrigue of which we know even less; for it appears that Gentillot was approached by Robert Villiers, then on a mission to Italy, and representing, apparently, the element in the Council opposed to Cromwell and his party.⁶³ Thus the Commonwealth, and Cromwell in particular, had become a chief concern of Continental politics. Though its entry into foreign affairs was, in a sense, by the back door, it was no less important for that reason; and out of the confused and obscure negotiations which characterized its activities, one thing had become apparent. In the

⁵⁹ Jusserand, *op. cit.*, i, 133.

⁶⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 134, from *Memoires de Brienne*; translated in Guizot, *op. cit.*, i, 242.

⁶¹ Guizot, *op. cit.*, i, 393-97; A. Chéruel, *Lettres de Mazarin*, v, 92, 95-6.

⁶² Gardiner, "Cromwell and Mazarin," *loc. cit.*, pp. 507-9, from *Memoires de Brienne*, in *Coll. Michaud et Poujoulat*, iii, 139; *Harleian Mss.*, 455, f. 135, 150.

⁶³ Gentillot to Servien, Feb. 15/25, in Gardiner, "Cromwell and Mazarin," *loc. cit.*, pp. 491-2.

eyes of foreign powers Cromwell was the one person who mattered. He was now interested in foreign affairs, and in consequence his every move was watched by the representatives of the Continental powers. It seemed at this moment to their suspicious eyes that there were signs that he was about to take an active part in some overseas adventure.

There were many reasons for their suspicions which had little or no connection with Dunkirk or with France, and it is not improbable that they misinterpreted many of the moves now made. The government was preparing for the spring campaign for the conquest of the Highlands, and the General was moving troops here and there, issuing commissions and orders, and consulting with the Irish and Scotch committee in regard to the disposition of forces and the necessary supplies.⁶⁴ He presently advised increasing the infantry in Scotland to fifteen thousand men and making up two incomplete foot-regiments to their full strength of twelve hundred each; and these, with a regiment of horse, were ordered to Scotland.⁶⁵ Such changes, with others, involved the issue of new commissions and a shifting of officers and commands, of which some evidence remains, and doubtless much more has been lost, so it is not surprising that, whether or not any of these changes had any connection with affairs on the Continent, it was not difficult for the foreign agents to interpret them in that light.

Of these activities a few notes survive. About the middle of March, the General suggested that, since a field officer was stationed at Chester, the pay of the governor of that city be used for a governor of Carnarvon, and the Council accepting that suggestion, he commissioned Colonel John Mason as governor of Carnarvon.⁶⁶ At the same time he wrote a letter to Oxford which reveals a touch not uncommon to him and not wholly unknown even to-day to university officials:

For the Right Worth Dr. Greenwood Vicechancellor of the University of Oxford

SIR,

Having received good testimony that Thomas Knight of Magdalen College is a studious young man and one that deserves favour from the University, and being to leave the University and to apply himself to the study of the Law, I do desire you to confer upon him the degree of Batchellor of Arts notwithstanding some defect in point of time, which favour to him shall be acknowledged by

Cockpitt, March
24th 1651[-2].

Your loving friend,
O. CROMWELL⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 180.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 200.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁶⁷ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, p. 159.

If the foreign emissaries kept a watchful eye on every move of the Commonwealth and those of Cromwell in particular, and were inclined to interpret those moves in terms of Continental rather than British politics, they found it difficult to predict the course of events. They reported that London was tranquil, "the government being very intent on enforcing such regulations as may keep it so," but they noted that the pomp and circumstance of the court had vanished utterly. "General Cromwell," wrote Paulucci, secretary to the Venetian ambassador to France, and then stationed in London, "is the one who has the first word and the last also for the necessary decisions."⁶⁸ It is small wonder that in the minds of most, if not all, of the foreign powers, he was regarded as the real head of the government. D'Estrades reported, in fact, that if the Commonwealth were recognized and compensation paid for the English prizes taken by the French, Cromwell would be willing to settle the commercial quarrel even if Dunkirk were left out of the negotiations, implying that Cromwell's word would determine the matter.⁶⁹

To their idea that Cromwell was about to make some move against the Continent the shifting of troops seemed to lend weight. Early in April Cardenas reported that the General had despatched four thousand foot and a thousand horse to Dover on the pretext that they were to serve with the fleet, but in reality to be ready to occupy Dunkirk.⁷⁰ The same rumor was transmitted by Salvetti to his government, with the addition that Cromwell himself was said to be with these forces ready to go in person to Dunkirk.⁷¹

It is not easy, it seems, in fact, impossible to sift from these various and contradictory pieces of evidence the precise plans or intentions of either Mazarin or Cromwell. They resemble nothing so much as the products of the vivid imagination of M. Dumas, though they may be none the worse for that. It may be that Mazarin was amusing himself with the game at which he was so adept, deceiving friend and foe alike. It may be that Cromwell hoped to seize Dunkirk by a sudden stroke or gain it by arrangements with Mazarin or d'Estrades, and made military preparations with that end in view. That may be the fact but there was enough in the situation to account for the movements of the troops without Dunkirk. They were certainly in part connected with the campaigns in Scotland and Ireland. They might have been in anticipation of a dash across the Channel. They might equally well have been due to a factor which does not seem to have

⁶⁸ Paulucci to Morozini, Apr. 28/May 8, 1652. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 231.

⁶⁹ Gardiner, "Cromwell and Mazarin," *loc. cit.*, p. 501-2, from Arch. des Aff. Étrangères.

⁷⁰ Gardiner, *Com. and Prot.*, ii, 166, quoting Cardenas' letter, Apr. 13/23, 1652 (*Simancas Mss.*, 2569).

⁷¹ Gardiner, "Cromwell and Mazarin," *loc. cit.*, quoting Salvetti's despatch, Apr. 9/19, 1652 (*Add. Mss.*, 27962N, f. 343).

entered much thus far into the calculations of these particular foreign statesmen and diplomats—the relations with Holland which were even then approaching the breaking-point.

It is not surprising, however, that the foreign envoys in England wrote as they did. Every move of the General in March and April lent color to the idea that there was a design against Dunkirk. On March 25 he was ordered to go with Dennis Bond to Chatham to inspect the ships there, to see how nearly they were ready to join the summer guard, and to impress the officers with the need for haste. They were also instructed to confer with General Blake in the Downs on the instructions to be given the commander of the fleet.⁷² This was, in effect, Blake himself, for Popham had not yet been replaced by Monk, and Deane was still in Scotland.⁷³ It does not appear when Cromwell and Bond made this visit, but as they were asked by the Council on April 2 to proceed on their journey, it seems that they had not yet gone.⁷⁴ The day before, on April 1, there was referred to them a letter recommending that the *Vanguard* be made a man-of-war, and they were instructed to confer with Mr. Pett, the master-shipwright, and to give him further directions. These were apparently carried out, for the *Vanguard* was presently given to Captain Jordan as Vice-admiral of the Blue.⁷⁵ It was no wonder, then, in the face of this expedition, that the foreign envoys read into it a design against Dunkirk, however little that may have had to do with it.

In any event, in sharp contrast to these warlike preparations, before setting out on his journey of inspection the General took occasion, in his capacity of Chancellor of Oxford, to have "two or three terms" of residence forgiven the "godly" young Zachary Maine, with the not unusual academic proviso that this should not be a "precedent." To this he added, two days later, another certificate for a pension; and presently another, of which only the fact of its existence remains:⁷⁶

To the Reverend my very loving Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford

SIR,

Mr. Thomas Goodwin hath recommended unto me one Zachary Maine, demy of Magdalen College, to have the favour to be dis-

⁷² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 194. Their expenses were to be defrayed by Frost, who died suddenly, Thurloe being appointed Clerk of the Council on Mar. 29. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁷³ On March 14 a despatch was sent to Venice to the effect that Blake had been continued in command of the fleet for nine months more. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 218.

⁷⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 204.

⁷⁵ *A List of the Commonwealth of England's Navy at Sea* (1653), repr. in J. B. Deane, *Life of Richard Deane*, facing p. 636.

⁷⁶ Apr. 22. Sold at Sotheby's to Dobell for £8/10. *Autog. Pr. Curr.* V (1920).

pensed—with for the want of two or three terms in the taking of his degree of bachelor. I am assured that he is eminently godly, of able parts, and willing to perform all his exercises. Upon which account (if it will not draw along with it too great an inconvenience) I desire that he may have the particular favour to be admitted to the said degree. Which I intend not to draw into a precedent, but shall be very sparing therein.

I remain, Sir,

Your very loving friend,

12th April, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁷⁷

Certificate

Being fully satisfied that William Guttridge, Master Gunner to the train of Artillery, was slain in the Parliament's service in Scotland, I do accordingly certify the same. Desiring the Treasurers at Ely House to allow unto Elizabeth his widow a full pension for the maintenance of herself and children. Given under my hand and seal the 14th of April, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁷⁸

SCOTLAND, IRELAND AND THE CHURCH APRIL—MAY, 1652.

If Cromwell went to the ports, whether Chatham or Dover or both, it was probably during the week after April 15, for he was absent from five consecutive Council meetings at that time. Before that week, however, there had been brought before the House one of the most important bills in the government's reorganization programme. On April 13 the Act for the union of England and Scotland was read twice and referred to a committee, of which Cromwell was one.⁷⁹ It was the result not only of a long considered plan but of the report which Vane had presented to the House nearly a month earlier, when he and Fenwick had returned from Scotland. There was no thought of its immediate passage for it seemed necessary to send it to Scotland and receive the assent of the Scots, to make the union appear voluntary.

Its details were the work of the six Commissioners whose labors had been tireless and efficient. From the chaos which had existed after Dunbar they had gathered up the various threads of administration and woven them into a fabric of government. The system of municipal administration was restored; an orderly assessment on the shires and boroughs devised; a Court of Admiralty created. Judicial processes were reorganized and two sheriffs for each county—one Scotch,

⁷⁷ Oxford University Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*. Goodwin was President of Magdalen. Maine (see Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, iv, 411) was from Exeter and after the Restoration became Master of the Free School there. Cp. Carlyle, App. 25.

⁷⁸ Original in *Pepys Mss.*, no. 2504 (Papers of State, vol. 3) p. 902 B, in Magdalene College, Cambridge. Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Pepys Mss.*, p. 266.

⁷⁹ *C. J.*, vii, 118.

the other English—appointed. Commissioners for the universities and for the sequestered lands were named; and all public servants compelled to swear fidelity to the Commonwealth.⁸⁰ Meanwhile Scotland was being conquered and occupied as one stronghold after another submitted. Argyll had agreed to a treaty, though the terms were not yet settled; and many of the Lowland shires and boroughs had given their forced and reluctant assent to the extinction of Scottish independence. Though the English congratulated themselves on their generosity, the feeling of the Scots was expressed by the Reverend Robert Blair, when he declared, "it will be as when the poor bird is embodied into the hawk that hath eaten it up."⁸¹

Whatever the benefits conferred by the commissioners—and there were many—there were some in Scotland who not only regretted but refused to accept the English dominance. If the Lowlands were hesitant, the Highlands were defiant, and Deane's forces found themselves opposed at every step.⁸² Their commander, in time, came to terms with Argyll, pacified the western Highlands, and reconciled Edinburgh and the towns to English rule. He captured Bass Rock which commanded the navigation of the Forth, and endeavored to seize the Scottish royal regalia which was preserved in Dunottar Castle under the command of Captain George Ogilvie. The castle was surrendered late in May to Colonel Morgan on condition of the rendition of the regalia, crown and sceptre, but they had disappeared and their preservation forms one of the romantic episodes of the Scottish war.⁸³

If Scotland was defiant, Ireland was rebellious, and troops were being constantly recruited for service there under Ludlow who was in command, aided by the other Commissioners. Galway, the only important place left unconquered at Ireton's death, surrendered in May of 1652, but the war was far from over, and Ludlow's *Memoirs* are full of his complaints of the hardships of his campaign against the scattered bands which still held out against him. There were "rebels" everywhere, and the English authorities, reckoning that there were some thirty thousand Irish in Sligo, Galway and scattered bogs and woods still to be suppressed, reported that an equal force would be needed to crush them. This seems less surprising when we are told that three hundred and fifty garrisons and posts were held by Ludlow's forces and that he planned to occupy another hundred.⁸⁴ So

⁸⁰ C. S. Terry, *Cromwellian Union* (Scottish Hist. Soc., 1902), pref. xxxii and *passim*.

⁸¹ *Life of Blair*, p. 291.

⁸² A letter from Overton was referred to Cromwell by the Council at this time with orders to do what Overton requested, if he approved. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 209. Overton was conquering the Orkneys in this summer.

⁸³ D. G. Barron, *In Defense of the Regalia*.

⁸⁴ Report in E. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, (1913), i, 118, from Domestic Correspondence in P. R. O. Dublin.

great was the pressure for men that though Colonel Reynolds had obtained a pass from Cromwell to return to England for his health, the Council ordered it cancelled because he was needed in Ireland.⁸⁵ There were some independent Irish commands under duly qualified officers still in the field, of which a brigade in Tipperary and Waterford under Colonel Edmund O'Dwyer was one of the most troublesome; and a letter to Cromwell at this moment from Colonel Sankey, sometime sub-warden of All Souls, now commander in Tipperary, reporting O'Dwyer's submission to articles,⁸⁶ was welcome news to the English authorities, though it was by no means the end of their troubles.

For the time being the worst of those troubles was not military but financial. However industriously the Commissioners in each labored to make both ends meet, Scotland and Ireland were still a source of expense. With the fitting out of a navy to command the respect or fear of foreign powers, especially the Dutch, the question of ways and means to meet the heavy expenses of the Commonwealth and the problem of accounting were in the forefront of the debates in Parliament in this latter part of April.⁸⁷ The Navy Committee submitted a budget for the year showing an expenditure of £829,490 and an estimated revenue of only £376,000, leaving £453,490 to be raised in a manner yet to be determined. Part of that, it was hoped, might be raised from the sale of prize goods, but that was, at best, a dubious source of supply. To support the army until the end of the year, it was estimated that £652,079 would be needed, and a bill for a monthly assessment was ordered to meet this expense.⁸⁸ In addition to these huge sums, there was the problem of poor-relief, now greatly increased by the recent wars; and to support those not able to work on account of incapacity or imprisonment, the lists of prisoners were gone over by the Council, with Cromwell present to check them,⁸⁹ and proposals were made for "setting on work" the sturdy poor. For this purpose Parliament appointed a committee, including Cromwell,⁹⁰ and on the same day, Apr. 27, he was put on another to which was re-

⁸⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 166.

⁸⁶ Letter and articles pr. in *Perf. Diurn.*, Apr. 12. Cp. *C. J.*, vii, 117-118.

⁸⁷ On April 14, Cromwell was instructed to order all officers to surrender, on application of the Committee of the Army, the accounts of moneys received or paid by them. *C. J.*, vii, 120.

⁸⁸ *C. J.*, vii, 122.

⁸⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1651-2), p. 222. On May 9 there was printed *Newgate's Remonstrance to the Ld. Gen. Cromwell or the Humble Petitions of . . . Debtors and Convicts*, etc.

⁹⁰ *C. J.*, vii, 127. *The Essex Review*, xvii. 128 (1908) has a story that Cromwell and his wife entertained on Apr. 25 at Newhall (purchased a month earlier for 5s.) Fleetwood, Desborough, Richard and Henry Cromwell, and Cromwell's mother and four daughters. (No authority given.) This seems unlikely as Henry was supposed to be in Ireland and Desborough somewhere in the southwest.

ferred an act for "transferring the powers of the Committee for Indemnity."⁹¹ This, it seems, was of some immediate concern, for the committee met that same afternoon, and he was probably present, as he was late at the Council meeting on that day.

Amid such administrative details the General was still much concerned with the settlement of the question of religion. That problem had become acute. The greater part of the Anglican clergy had, of course, been dispossessed of their livings, and though the right of patrons who had not been convicted of delinquency had been preserved, in the innumerable cases where this had happened, the right of presentation had been vested in county committees, usually, as in the case of the crown benefices, with the consent of the parishioners. In consequence there were now to be found among the clergy some Anglicans, though few outside of Wales; rather more Presbyterians; some Baptists; many Independents; and a handful of other sects. Besides these there were rising new faiths—or heresies—on every hand, new prophets and new prophecies. George Fox and his fellows were busy teaching the doctrines of the Society of Friends or Quakers, and infuriating the authorities and men of the older communions by their contempt of earthly forms and dignities. Nor were they the most advanced. The doctrines of the German mystic Jacob Boehme, translated into English, inspired a group of English enthusiasts, headed by Ludovic Muggleton, and his cousin, John Reeve, who claimed to be the two "Heavenly Witnesses," foretold in Revelations. Like the Socinians, they denied the divinity of Christ and this, with their *Transcendent Spirituall Treatise*, which appeared at this time, brought them under the ban of the authorities.⁹²

Even these were not the wildest of the sects which now sprang into existence, and it seemed absolutely necessary to Cromwell and his colleagues to check the spiritual anarchy which had been produced by the break-down of the Anglican establishment and the ensuing chaos of religion. In the church as in the state, therefore, the apostles of liberty were compelled to become the champions of order. Nor was the matter wholly theological; for at this moment the whole problem of property in tithes was raised by a movement for taking away tithes paid to "Priests and Impropiators" which found expression in an appeal to Cromwell.⁹³ On April 29th, therefore, Parliament put on the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel, of which the Gen-

⁹¹ C. J., vii, 127.

⁹² There is a great literature on the sects, summarized in R. Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (1876). See also that rare and curious book, *Historia von denen Wider Täufern . . .* (1701-2).

⁹³ See *An Answer to the Severall Petitions of Late exhibited to the High Court of Parliament and to His Excellency the Lord General Cromwell. By the poor Husbandmen, Farmers, and Tennants, in Several Counties, . . . for the taking away of Tithes paid to Priests and Impropiators*. May 18, 1652.

eral was a prominent member, the burden of finding a substitute for tithes which would support the clergy. It voted by 27 to 17, however, to enforce the tithes until some other method of payment could be discovered, and it seems probable that Cromwell voted with the majority.⁹⁴ As Fox wrote in his *Journal*, "Though O. C. at Dunbar fight had promised to the Lord that if He gave him the victory over his enemies, he would take away tithes etc., or else let him be rolled into his grave with infamy; but when the Lord had given him the victory, and he came to be chief, he confirmed the former laws." Fox's allegation is highly dubious, but at any rate, the tithes were kept.⁹⁵

From this controversy emerged not only a vote to continue tithes but two important contributions to the discussion and to the position of Cromwell. The first was the so-called "Fifteen Fundamentals" offered by Owen in response to a demand for his conception of the principles of Christianity. Those included, according to Owen and his colleagues, a refusal to allow the propagation of the beliefs of any who sought to discover God's intent save through the Scriptures; who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, or the doctrines of incarnation, justification by faith or "grace" the necessity of forsaking sin, or belief in the resurrection; or even those who failed to attend divine worship. This programme obviously excluded from the benefits of toleration all Unitarians, Socinians, Muggletonians, Quakers and the other sects which relied on "inward grace" not expressed in some open, formal fashion. Against it was set Cromwell's simple, practical principle—that all forms of religious belief which did not conflict with constituted authority should be left in peace. This, though it is, in effect, the modern principle, could hardly include Roman Catholics, Royalist Anglicans or even Presbyterians unless they would submit to the dominance of the Independent government, as Cromwell's acts, even more than his utterances, proved.

These great affairs of state were, as usual, interspersed with details of administration, of which some few notices survive. On May 3 the General signed the commission of a Thomas Roger to be cornet of horse.⁹⁶ On the 5th he was a teller for the majority in the House approving Sir William Row as a member of the commission to be named in the bill for relief of persons who had surrendered upon articles;⁹⁷

⁹⁴ *C. J.*, vii, 128.

⁹⁵ Hodgkin, *George Fox*, p. 168. Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 102 n., with Firth's suggestion as to Fox's story being a mistaken memory of Cromwell's letter to Lenthall after Dunbar on the subject of lawyers. Cromwell was never, apparently, in favor of abolishing tithes, as he regarded them as a vested interest of landed property. The phrase "rolled into the grave with infamy" occurs in Cromwell's speech of Sept. 12, 1654.

⁹⁶ Sold by Sotheby with the property of the Earl of Radnor and others in 1928.

⁹⁷ *C. J.*, vii, 129.

and on May 10 he was instructed to discuss with the Irish and Scotch committee the "agreement with Lieutenant-colonel Finch for taking five foot companies to Ireland, and how it may be made good to him."⁹⁸ Two days earlier he had written to one of the officers designed for Scotland:

For the Honourable Colonel Fairfax, at Newcastle or elsewhere

SIR,

I received your letter together with the petitions of the under officers and soldiers of your regiment, and upon perusal of those and other papers relating to that business, by some chief officer here, to whom I referred the consideration thereof, they gave me this account; that upon the whole they find that you only stand chargeable to give an account to the under officers and soldiers of your regiment of what money is justly due unto them, as having alone given receipts for the same, and so is likewise for what is due to the state (if any be). And therefore it will concern you to require an account from all those whom you have entrusted with the receipt or disposal of any of the said money, it being not proper for me to issue forth a commission in this case; forasmuch as several of the persons concerned are not at present members of the army. And as to Captain Cottrell, he may be, upon your desire when you come into Scotland, required by the commander-in-chief there to give in his accounts and to answer what is objected against him. I desire and advise you without delay, to call in such persons as you have entrusted with the receiving of the said money to a speedy account whilst they are forthcoming, and that the money is in responsible hands; so committing you to God, I rest,

Cockpit, May 8, 1652.

Your loving friend,

O. CROMWELL.⁹⁹

Three days after writing this letter, the General was instructed to send the regiments of Colonel Deane and Colonel Fairfax to Scotland with all speed,¹⁰⁰ and two days later he was authorized to give Colonel Bingham, the governor of Guernsey, leave to come to England.¹⁰¹ On the surface, all or most of these details were only such as naturally fall to the commander-in-chief of an army; but like such details, when taken in connection with the orders and the activity during April, they indicate the trend of far more important matters, and in that view they are not so insignificant nor so wearisome as they seem. They suggest the lines which the government was taking. The first was the stamping out of the remnants of resistance in Scotland and Ireland. Steps had been taken to force Argyll to accept the supre-

⁹⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 236.

⁹⁹ In *Excerpta Antiqua; or A Collection of Original Manuscripts*, ed. John Crofts (York, 1797), p. 112.

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 238.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

macy of the English Parliament, which he did on April 26 and confirmed it later in the year.¹⁰² From Argyll's country, Deane and Robert Lilburne planned an advance into the Highlands, but the summer campaign was not, in the end, successful, and the north remained unconquered. On the other hand, the customs duties at Berwick and Carlisle were abolished, and the establishment of a provisional Court of Judicature of four English and four Scottish judges, which began to sit on May 18,¹⁰³ gave Scotland what it long needed—protection of the commonalty against the "great men" who had hitherto largely monopolized the administration of justice. None the less there remained a strong and natural opposition to the English occupation, which was never quite subdued nor the people reconciled to the presence of an English army which held them in subjection.

That spirit of nationality was no less strong in Ireland, where the situation was not unlike that in Scotland. There the work of conquest and destruction had continued unchecked, or even intensified, after the arrival of Ludlow. By the middle of May there were left only the scattered forces under Clanricarde and Muskerry, a few strongholds, the stubborn, if impotent, opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy, the bands of "Tories" and "bog-trotters," and the deep and enduring hatred of the people, which, unlike the feeling of the Scots, long outlasted the English occupation. In June, Clanricarde himself retired from Ireland to his English estates in Kent. Muskerry preceded him by only a week in surrendering, and with these men gone, little or nothing remained to oppose the English.¹⁰⁴

However slow the progress toward a settlement of the kingdom in the eight months after the battle of Worcester had seemed to the impatient souls in the army, who had looked forward as eagerly to the accomplishment of their desires after the defeat of Charles II as they had anticipated the millennium after the execution of his father, much had been done and much more begun. The reform measures then making their slow way through the Commons were substantial contributions to the new order. As yet the greatest of all these issues—the form which that new order should take—had not been fairly faced; nor is this surprising. The victory was too recent; the situation still too disturbed; the opinions as to what should be done too various; the problems raised by the peace too pressing, to permit more sweeping change. Parliament had been too busy to embark on what was certain to be a long, slow and highly debatable process of formulating a new system which would meet with the approval of the many diverse elements of the revolutionary party, to say nothing of the masses of

¹⁰² See Firth, C. H., *Scotland and the Commonwealth* (Scottish Hist. Soc. 1895).

¹⁰³ *Perf. Diurn.*; and see also Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 131 ff.

¹⁰⁴ For the Irish situation see Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts* . . . ch. xxxv.

the people which remained to be convinced or compelled to accept it. Yet this, though it still remained in the background, was the fundamental problem on which the future of the Commonwealth depended, and some approach to its solution could not long be delayed.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DUTCH WAR

MAY—AUGUST, 1652

From the battle of Worcester the Independent leaders had returned in a state of exaltation which reflected the relief they felt at the removal of the last threat to their ascendancy. Some of them even dreamed of extending that ascendancy and the principles for which they fought to every nation of the world, so far did their enthusiasm lead. From that crowning mercy, no less, Cromwell had returned as the conquering hero for whom no praise was too great, no honors too high. Nothing then seemed too good for the man who had beaten down the foes of the revolutionary cause and made its success not only possible but secure. It had even seemed for a moment that he might rise at once to the highest post in the state and under whatever title thenceforth direct its destinies. It had seemed, too, that now the victory was won, there would be immediate leisure and opportunity to put into effect the dream of "building a new Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land." A century and three-quarters later another great revolutionary observed of the effects of the French Revolution that, "men, having achieved liberty, looked about and asked, 'What shall we do with it?'"

In no small measure that was what happened in England after Worcester. The months following that victory, therefore, formed an important, even a vital period in the history of the Puritan Revolution. Into it had been crowded efforts to find a new basis for the settlement of the kingdom both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The attempt to dissolve the existing Parliament, indeed, had met with small success and until that was done, in the minds of the enthusiasts, there seemed little hope of that "permanent" settlement which all men at all times have continually sought and never found. The period set for its dissolution was too far in the future for those who desired to wipe the slate clean and begin again and that remained a vexed and vexing problem to which there seemed, for the time being, no answer. But apart from that, much had been accomplished in the way of establishing a new order. The reorganization of the governments of Scotland and Ireland and their incorporation into a British Commonwealth was well under way; a new theory and practice of church establishment was on the road to fulfilment; the Commonwealth had been recognized by most foreign powers and England had once more taken her

place in the European system. Finally, to those powers it seemed evident that she had found, or was finding, a new master. Though Cromwell remained merely a member of the Council of State and of Parliament, as head of the army in the three kingdoms and the ever-victorious commander of a devoted following in that army, in the Council and in Parliament, he seemed to them not merely the first among equals, as he had long been, but indisputably the first man in the state, and to him, in one fashion or another, they had addressed themselves. So much had Ireland and Scotland, Dunbar and Worcester done for him.

None the less there are few periods in his life which are so unsatisfactory to his biographer—and doubtless, to him—as the twelve-month which followed Worcester. It was, indeed, filled with a variety, if not an amount of business scarcely equalled even in his busy career hitherto. Nothing of importance was done without his presence or consent. He took part in an infinity of committees, investigations, reports; he wrote many commissions and official communications; he devoted himself to the minutiae of civil, military, even academic affairs. Yet with all of this, the stream of action which had thus far flowed so full and strong and so apparently irresistible, seems somehow to lose itself in the bogs and swamps of administrative detail and party politics, through which it is difficult to trace any clear current of his activities and still more difficult to find a clue to his thoughts and plans until the very end of this period of apparent inaction and indecision.

It might be expected that a time when the future of the Commonwealth hung, as it were, in the balance, and when Cromwell was the chief man in its affairs, there would be a multitude of documents from his pen of interest and importance. On the contrary there are few, if any, periods of equal length since he came into prominence which are so barren of documentary material of any great significance. He was quite obviously concerned with many matters of far-reaching importance, yet there is little record of them save scattered notices and hints in the writings of others and in official minutes. His own writings are of the most casual character, and in so far this may seem disappointing. Yet there may be a certain significance in this. At this time, as at others of like importance, it is his silence not his words which tell the story. To quote his anonymous biographer again, his "Privacy and Silence in his Managements were to him Assistance beyond all Arts and Sciences." Among his other qualities as "a natural king" he had that "unsearchable" heart which Solomon commended.

Moreover what applies to him applies to the whole period. In these months the fate of many men and many principles was decided, and the conflict among them was no less important for the revolutionary

movement than for him. But for the most part it went on underneath the surface. It is difficult to discover and still more difficult to describe, though on it hung the fate of the Commonwealth and of Cromwell himself. It is apparent that once the burst of almost hysterical rejoicing over Worcester was over, there came, as always, a reaction. Washington returned from Yorktown to be confronted with the triumph of the Congressional politicians in the dreary period of the Confederation; Napoleon from Italy to face the politicians of the Directory; and Cromwell came back from Worcester to be involved in the politics of the Commonwealth. The reasons for this were in every case the same; it was the fear of dictatorship which turned men against the conquering hero. The struggle of principles and interests and personalities, now that the fear of the enemy had gone, burst out in full fury. There was no lack of opinions as to what should be done next, but there was little agreement among them, and agreement was essential. The Royalists had been conquered; the Presbyterians cowed; the Levellers suppressed; but none of them had been annihilated. They were all still there; and they were all opposed to the party in power. That party was composed of diverse elements held together in part by a common interest in what they called "liberty," whether religious or political; in part by the mere fact of being in power, in part by fear of what would happen to them if they should lose that power.

There were among them men of the highest and most unselfish principles; lofty idealists and single-hearted theorists. But there were among them, as well, fishers in troubled waters, time-servers, speculators, office-holders who found their profit in these times of stress and strain for their fellow-countrymen. There were too many who, like the Republican Haselrig and the Leveller Wildman, found their political opinions of great advantage to their personal fortunes. The better elements of the party looked forward to the rebuilding of the edifice of government and society; the worser elements looked only to holding the advantage they had won. There arose, in consequence, three roughly defined groups, neither clearly differentiated from each other nor homogeneous within themselves. There were the convinced Republicans, equally fearful of the restoration of monarchy and of a military dictatorship; the time-servers, prepared to accept any form of government which would advantage them; and the group, chiefly army officers, which desired to replace the dominance of the existing Parliament by some new system which should be, as they conceived it, unlike the existing House, neither provisional nor corrupt and selfish, but of whose character and composition, save that it should be of "honest" and "godly" men, they had no very definite ideas.

What, then, of Cromwell at this parting of the ways? What was his position and what were his opinions? It seems evident that he be-

longed to the third group, for whatever else he was, he was never a Republican. It seems no less evident that there were men prepared to follow him wherever he should lead. Two years later Milton listed some of them—Lambert, Desborough, Whalley, Overton, Pickering, Strickland, Sydenham, Montague, Lawrence and—prematurely—he added “Sidney (an illustrious name, which I rejoice has steadily adhered to our side,”¹ though Sidney was soon to regard Cromwell as “a tyrant and a violent one.”² To these he might have added further the “Cromwellian colonels,” and in general the regicides. On the other side there was a party formed or forming against him and his supporters, to block his designs, to discredit, or even, if possible, to displace him. It is revealed in many ways—by Milton’s sonnet, by the testimony of Whitelocke, by Cromwell’s own words, and by the current of events. It numbered among its members Republicans, Levellers and Presbyterians; men as different as Vane and Marten and Haselrig. Making every allowance for Clarendon’s bias and his settled conviction, so unconsciously flattering to Cromwell, that every move was planned by him long in advance with superhuman subtlety, the Chancellor gives no bad picture of the situation in the months following Worcester:

“From the time of the defeat at Worcester,” he writes, “Cromwell did not find the Parliament so supple and so much to observe his orders as he expected they would have been. The Presbyterian party, which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his army of the Independent party, were bold in contradicting him in the House, and crossing all his designs in the city, and exceedingly inveighed against the license that was practised in religion by the several factions of Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers and the several species of these, . . . And all these, how contradictory soever to one another, Cromwell cherished and protected, that he might not be overrun by the Presbyterians, . . . yet he seemed to shew much respect to some principal preachers of that party, and consulted much with them how the distempers in religion might be composed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the war of Holland, that so there might be no proposition made for the disbanding any part of his army, which otherwise could not be prevented, yet he found the expense of it was so great, that the nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of the land-forces. . . . But that which troubled him most was the jealousy that his own party of Independents had contracted against him; that party that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved Vane, thought his power and authority to be too great for a commonwealth, and that he and his army had not dependence enough on, or submission to, the Parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him now most solicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his power and authority must

¹ *Defensio Secunda*.

² *Trial* (ed. 1772), p. 32, quoted in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. “Algernon Sidney.”

quickly be attended with. He observed that those his old friends very frankly united themselves with his and their old enemies, the Presbyterians, for the prosecution of the war with Holland, and obstructing all the overtures towards peace. . . ."³

It is not necessary to accept Clarendon's story on its own authority, for it is apparent from many indications that what he said of the drawing together of his supporters and the forming of factions against the General is, in the main, true. The details are all but unknown to us. It was not the kind of material which lends itself to the written word or finds its way into history save by accident; but that it was there cannot be doubted. There are hints of it in many sources; and were there no other proof of its existence, the final explosion revealed that underneath the surface of affairs volcanic fires were banked for an eruption which was to alter the whole face of the English political landscape.

During this period Cromwell was busy with many things of which we can have small knowledge save by their results. Of some of them we know a little; but nothing more clearly reveals how little than Clarendon's reference to the Dutch war. After all the negotiations with Mazarin and de Retz, French monarchists, French Frondeurs and Spaniards, it was with none of these that he and his colleagues were most concerned, but with the Dutch, who for the moment seem to have been almost overlooked by the astute gentlemen who had endeavored to keep their governments informed of the plans and projects of the Commonwealth. For suddenly all their speculations in regard to Dunkirk, like the negotiations with Mazarin and Condé, Monarchists, Frondeurs and Huguenots, were thrown into the background by a series of events which led to the next great episode in the history of the Commonwealth.

THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES

MAY, 1652

On the 12th of May, 1652, the same day, as it happened, that the forces of Galway and Leinster yielded to the English, and Irish resistance virtually came to an end, Captain Anthony Young, despatched by Blake to meet Sir George Ayscue's fleet then returning from Barbadoes, fell in with a dozen Dutch ships off the Start east of Plymouth in the Channel. At Young's demand their admiral struck his flag in accordance with the deference which the English required of all foreign ships in the four seas surrounding the British Isles. The Dutch vice-admiral, however, refused this so-called "honour of the flag" unless Young came aboard and pulled it down himself. The English ships cleared for action and one of their frigates fired on the

³ Clarendon, *History*, xiv, 1-2.

Dutch rear-admiral, who complained that he could not strike his flag while his superior officer still flew his ensign. Inquiring of the admiral in command the reason for such defiance, Young was told that the defiant officers were probably drunk. A few volleys from the English guns persuaded the vice-admiral to yield the honour of the flag, but though he had not replied to the English fire, the Dutch commander refused Young's demand that he be permitted to take that officer into port. Young carried the matter no further; but despatch-boats from both fleets were hurried off to report this incident to the commanders of the respective sea-forces, Tromp off the Flemish coast and Blake in the Downs.⁴

Six days later, on May 18, Tromp at the head of forty-two sail appeared off the Downs, explaining to Bourne, who lay there with nine ships, that he had been compelled to leave his position off the Flemish coast by a northeast storm. In the absence of Blake who had sailed with the main English fleet toward Rye, Bourne accepted the Dutch admiral's explanation. But Tromp anchored off Dover, failed to salute the castle, spent the day exercising his men with volley firing of small arms, and finally sailed toward Calais as Blake was seen approaching from the west. On the way, the Dutch commander was informed of the incident at the Start and advised that seven homeward-bound Dutch merchantmen were in danger from Blake's squadron of some fifteen vessels. Tromp, therefore, turned about and made his way toward Fairlight; Blake put out to meet him, barring his way off Folkestone; and as the Dutch fleet swept across the English line, refusing to strike its flags, Blake sent two shots across Tromp's bow. The Dutch admiral, who, it appears, was about to launch a boat to explain his position to Blake, was infuriated, ran up his red battle-flag, and fired a broadside into Blake's flag-ship. Then ensued a straggling fight which lasted until nightfall, when Tromp, attacked in the rear by Bourne's squadron, drew off with the loss of two vessels. On their part, the English flag-ship, the *James*, was badly damaged, but otherwise Blake's loss was slight.⁵

Such was the news which startled the capital, the country and the Council of State in the ten days following Young's encounter with the

⁴ *Perf. Diurn.*, May 18 (Letter from Portsmouth); Young's letter in Heath, *Chronicle*, pp. 315-16; Tromp's letter to States General, *ibid.*, p. 319. For the whole of the Anglo-Dutch war of 1652-4 the most detailed account is to be found in the great monograph of C. Ballhausen, *Der Erste Englisch-Holländische Seekrieg* . . . (1923). See also Sir W. L. Clowes, *Hist. of the Royal Navy*, vol. ii, chs. 20, 21, (1897), by far the best account in English.

⁵ Blake's letter, May 20; Bourne's letter, May 29; Tromp's letter, May 20/30, in Heath's *Chronicle*, pp. 316-320; *Merc. Pol.*, May 20-27; *Perf. Diurn.*, May 21. Secondary accounts in Gardiner, *op. cit.* (with references); Geddes, *John de Witt*; Aitzema; and de Jonge; see *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell* for further references.

Dutch squadron off the Start, and began a long and costly struggle between the English Commonwealth and the Republic of the United Netherlands. "Great events," wrote Machiavelli, "flow from small circumstances but great causes," and of this the Anglo-Dutch war was a striking illustration. The causes of that conflict ran deep into the past; they were as wide as the commerce of the world and as deep as the long-enduring rivalry between the two chief mercantile and naval powers of Europe. How old the quarrel and how deep the hatred had been evidenced a year before the hostilities broke out by the republication of a tract first issued in 1624 under the title of *A Treatise discovering the horrid cruelties of the Dutch upon our people at Amboyna*. How close it came to Cromwell is revealed by the fact that it was dedicated to him by its editor, John Hall, who had served Cromwell as a journalist and who, according to Hall's biographer, was paid a hundred pounds pension for his pamphleteering activities by Cromwell and his colleagues of the Council.⁶

The massacre of Amboyna in 1623, which destroyed the English factory there and with the loss of Poleroon deprived them of their posts in the Moluccas or Spice Islands and drove them to the mainland of India, was the end of the first chapter of Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the far east. Their entry into that field had come with the invasion of the closely-guarded sea-ways to Asia when Portugal had come into the hands of the Spanish crown nearly forty years before. On her and her colonial empire, as on Spain, had fallen the furious attack of the two Protestant maritime powers, England and the United Netherlands, the latter just winning its independence from the Spanish crown. Between them they all but drove Portuguese commerce from the seas and broke Portuguese monopoly of Asiatic trade. But hardly had they accomplished this, when they fell out with each other. Each founded an East India Company; each sought to control the rich spice trade of the East; each settled colonies in the western hemisphere; and each strove to exclude the other from the new sources of wealth and power. In this contest each was at first hampered by internal strife; but while the English quarrel between crown and parliament turned into civil war, the Netherlands came under control of the house of Orange. The English domestic difficulties, the troubles in France, and the Thirty Years' War in Germany, relieved the Dutch of foreign competition at the same moment that they produced an array of talent unequalled in Europe, and Holland entered on a golden age. For a full quarter of a century in arts and arms, colonies and commerce, wealth and power, she enjoyed an ascendancy out of all proportion to her size and resources.

But with the Peace of Westphalia and the end of the English civil

⁶ Art. "John Hall" in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, quoting a memoir of Hall by John Davis of Kidwelly (1657).

wars, her rivals were free to challenge that ascendancy. The death of William II and the revival of the Republic under John de Witt had been followed by an effort to negotiate an alliance between the two Protestant maritime powers. That had failed, owing partly to the demands of the English agents, St. John and Strickland, partly on account of the trade rivalry which had produced an infinity of charges and recriminations, and St. John had returned from his fruitless mission full of bitterness not lessened by the open sympathy and protection afforded to the English Royalist exiles by the Dutch government. Within a month of his return, the Navigation Act had been framed and its passage after the battle of Worcester, with the prohibition of trade with the still Royalist colonies of Virginia, Barbados, Bermuda and Antigua, struck a heavy blow at Dutch commerce. It was, in fact, the enforcement of the Navigation Act which produced this first collision, for Ayscue had brought back with him a number of Dutch prizes and it was to help protect them from escape or recapture that Blake had sent out Young's squadron.

Yet though the Navigation Act was an immediate and direct cause of Dutch dissatisfaction, it was not the only reason for their feelings toward the English. The privateering warfare which had gone on between the Commonwealth and the French monarchy had involved Dutch commerce deeply. English commanders had continually seized and searched Dutch vessels for French goods, or goods destined for France. Against this the Dutch government had continually protested—though with no avail—on the modern ground that neutral ships made neutral goods, save for contraband of war. This claim the English had denied and there lay in this, as well as in the Navigation Act, ground for Dutch opinion that the Commonwealth authorities were determined to crush the commerce of the Netherlands.

Apart from these more immediate causes of hostilities, the roots of the war which now broke out lay deep in the past and in the hearts of the combatants. The Dutch had not won their supremacy by purely commercial means, nor had they been made humble by their great success during the preceding half a century. They were proud of that success and not willing to submit to rivalry from any other power. On their part the English clung to their tradition as masters of the seas which had reached its climax in the great days of Queen Elizabeth. They deeply resented their exclusion from the rich spice trade; they cherished the bitter memories of that ancient wrong; they envied the success of their rivals; and now that their domestic troubles seemed at an end, and they were possessed of powerful forces both by land and sea, their mercantile element pressed for revenge and opportunity to drive the Dutch from what was almost a monopoly of world commerce. Nor was Dutch pride and ambition to retain that primacy less than English desire to challenge it. Thus

there was a party in each country which, if not bent on war, was not averse to a trial of strength.

There was, as well, a party in each state opposed to hostilities. On the English side that element was chiefly inspired by religious motives. To many of its members a struggle between the two great Protestant powers seemed peculiarly unfortunate, and religious motives were then still powerful. The memories of the Armada were still fresh, the spirit of the Thirty Years' War which had just been concluded was still vigorous, and that of the English civil wars even more potent in the minds of men who conceived the world torn between the spirits of light and darkness, as represented by Calvinist and Romanist, the children of light and the sons of Zeruiah. On the other hand, the Peace of Westphalia was the last European settlement in which religion played a leading part; for the future the affairs of this world were to be superior in their claims to those of the next; and it is evident that certain elements in the Commonwealth were bent on war for trade and naval supremacy whatever the religious implications of that policy.

It is no less evident that, despite their pride and their determination to hold their dominance on the sea, despite Tromp's breach of sea-custom, the Dutch were prepared to make every effort to avoid hostilities, which, whatever the outcome, could not but injure the commerce and fisheries on which their lives depended. Their desire for peace was natural. As an entry for maritime trade into western Europe, Holland was admirably situated; but for the continuance of that trade it was essential to keep the seaways open to her ports. Of these there were but two—one through the English Channel, the other around the north of the British Isles—and both were at the mercy of the English and, measurably, of the French. To keep her lines of trade and her North Sea fisheries open, then, it was necessary to be on friendly terms with both powers, or to be strong enough to defy them, and both these ends the Dutch had sought.

So long as England and France had been torn with domestic strife and the Netherlands had been directed by the single, capable authority of the House of Orange, that task had not been difficult. But England was now united, if only by force of arms, while the Netherlands were divided by the rivalry between the Orange faction and the now dominant republican mercantile party headed by the commercial element of Amsterdam. Despite the talents of its leader, John de Witt, the government had lost the centralized warlike and statesmanlike qualities which had marked the Orange ascendancy. It was honeycombed with personal and political rivalries, and its strength had declined as its wealth increased. Moreover, dependent as it was on its trade and fisheries, the movements of its navy were largely, if not wholly, dictated by the necessity of protecting the

fleets which poured the trade of the world and the products of the North Sea fisheries into its ports, while the English commanders were measurably free to sail where they pleased to intercept the incoming convoys of the Dutch. Finally, though the Dutch mercantile marine was the largest and most efficient in the world, the dominance of the mercantile element had made neither for administrative nor for warlike efficiency in naval affairs. In Tromp and de Ruyter and their colleagues, the Netherlands had an unsurpassed body of naval commanders, but they were not properly supported by the home government, nor were they all of one political persuasion.

On the other hand, England was not dependent for her existence on her sea-borne commerce, but was nearly, if not quite, self-contained. Not merely had she now a united and powerful government in a strategic position with respect to Dutch commerce, but with the success of its military operations both by land and sea, the Commonwealth was not only prepared, but willing, if not anxious, to fight, if for no other reason, to give employment to its armed forces, which were now out of proportion to the necessity for their use at home. Though the Dutch outnumbered the English on the sea, the English fleet in recent years had greatly increased in numbers and efficiency. From the days of Ship Money, Charles had paid great attention to sea-power, and since his death that work had been carried on by Vane and the Navy Commissioners who had added some forty men-of-war. The English navy, therefore, if not the largest, was the best built, manned, and supplied in Europe; and, unlike the Dutch who had seen their last great naval engagement more than a dozen years before, when Tromp had swept Oquendo's fleet from the seas at the battle of the Downs, it was in good fighting trim from constant exercise. Again unlike the Dutch, the English naval commanders were not only of one mind in politics but they were amphibious. Blake, Deane and Monk were transferred from the army to the quarter-deck with conspicuous success, and it is notable that English troops were used not only to guard the shores but to reinforce the crews as occasion served.

Somewhat belatedly, it would appear, the States General had waked to the danger from the English, and it was not until February, 1652, that it determined to fit out a hundred and fifty ships of war in addition to some seventy-five already in commission. The result fell far short of their design, for by the end of April the Dutch had but eighty-eight men-of-war in any condition for service. But the effect of the news of their warlike preparations on England was—as always in such cases—to rouse the Council of State to fresh activity to meet the threat. In addition to reinforcing the summer guard, hurrying forward new naval construction and buying more ordnance,

it demanded aid from the port towns in raising and equipping additional vessels fit for war.

Since the days when Cromwell had been commissioned to take part in the war of protests and counter-protests between Dutch and English merchants, he had been more or less involved in these matters. Now, as commander-in-chief, he had a more direct and immediate concern with them, as his recent visits to the ports and ship-yards indicate. From them, no doubt in part at least, arose the stories of his designs on Dunkirk; but it seems evident that they had to do as much or more, if not entirely, with the Dutch situation. As to his own share in bringing about that conflict and his attitude toward it, there remains no evidence of much consequence. Here, as in so many other periods, he left little or no trace of his opinions in any concrete form, and it is only possible to guess from scattered hints, general probabilities and ultimate results what his position was.

It has been said that the war was pushed forward by a group in Council and Parliament in which men like Scot and Haselrig and possibly St. John were prominent; and that Cromwell, so far from belonging to that group, was, like most of the army officers, opposed to it. The war party, it has been said further, demanded peace terms from the Dutch which would have been more disastrous than even the dubious fortunes of war; and Cromwell was not in sympathy with this. It has been urged that he hesitated to fight fellow-Protestants and so was reluctant to engage in a struggle which, it seems generally agreed by dispassionate observers, was largely fomented by the Commonwealth.⁷

All this is doubtless true; but on the other hand, he was a soldier not averse to war; he had an army and, in effect, a navy more or less under his control and no work for them; and it is apparent from all his actions that he had no objection to turning his conquering arms against any whom he might consider enemies of the Commonwealth. Moreover, apart from commercial and colonial rivalry, he had grounds for disliking them. The Dutch had given sanctuary to the English Royalists; they had supplied arms and ammunition to Charles and the Scots; and had William II lived, they might well have supported an attempt to restore the Stuart monarchy. If it seems inconceivable that England could have gone to war had he been strongly opposed to it, it must not be forgotten that he seldom, if ever, openly opposed the tendency of what seemed the stronger party, that at this moment his own position was being undermined, and that he had revealed his desire to undertake some adventure on the Continent. This much is certainly true. Whatever his attitude toward the war, the Dutch

⁷ For this view see Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, ch. xxii.

considered him one if not the chief of its promoters, as their satires indicate; and though his government made the peace which ended it, they regarded him all his days as one of the most dangerous and bitterest of their enemies. And, whatever his share in its inception, naturally and inevitably he did his best to help his country win, once the conflict had begun, however much he was against such a policy.

He was called upon at once. On news of Young's engagement, the Council of State approved that commander's actions⁸ and sent Blake blank commissions for vice- and rear-admirals, with a message that Cromwell and Bond would soon be with him for a conference on that and other matters.⁹ To this they added orders to revictual his ships and prepare for action, but to come no nearer London than Gravesend. When news came of the engagement between Blake and Tromp, Penn was made vice-admiral; Bourne, rear-admiral; and Cromwell was instructed to order all fleet-officers to stand by ready for call, to move foot-soldiers to the coast to send on board the fleet, if necessary, and to recruit his own and Ingoldsby's regiments to full strength. English vessels were hurried out of the Thames;¹⁰ orders were despatched to hold all Dutch shipping then in English ports;¹¹ and on May 19, Cromwell and Bond were ordered to attend the Council meeting on the next day, which they did.¹²

In curious contrast to these feverish preparations for naval war, the only document which remains from Cromwell's hand at this moment was a letter in his capacity as Chancellor of Oxford University:

For my Reverend, worthy Friends, Mr. Vicechanc: and the Convocation of the University of Oxon.

WORTHY SIRs:

Being informed of the abilities of Mr. Peter Fiatt, Fellow of Exeter College, I do hereby desire that he may proceed Batchelor in Physick, and Mr. Appletree of Allsouls, Master of Arts. I am,

Your very loving Friend and Chancellor,

Westminster,

O. CROMWELL.¹³

May the 20th 1652.

Before the Council adjourned on the day he signed that letter, May 20, there came the news of Blake's engagement with Tromp.

⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 243.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 249, 251.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

¹³ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-59*, p. 163. Mr. Fiatt matriculated, 13 Feb. 1648-9; B.A., 31 May 1649; B. Med., 9 July 1652; D. Med., 18 June 1657. Mr. Thomas Appletree, fellow All Souls Coll., M.A., 24 July 1652; B.C.L., 11 Apr. 1654; 'son of one of the Parliamentary visitors'; admitted to the Inner Temple, 1650, as son and heir of Thomas, of Doddington.

The next day the Council expressed its approval of the English admiral's action and Cromwell set out for Dover with several army officers to investigate the reason for the engagement.¹⁴ They were entertained by the Mayor and others in Canterbury, as they passed through, with a banquet, beer and tobacco, at a cost of exactly £21/9/9 as appears from the bill which the hosts presently rendered.¹⁵ Thence they proceeded to Dover where the General examined two Dutch captains, Sebastian Tuynman and Siphe Fook,¹⁶ with two other Dutch captives and Captain William Brandley of the English fleet.¹⁷ The Council had voted to meet on Sunday, the 23rd, if necessary in Cromwell's judgment, and on that afternoon he brought in his findings.¹⁸ Apparently as soon as the meeting was over, assured that he and Bond as well as Blake would be kept advised in regard to ships and preparations, he left London again in pursuance of his duties as commander-in-chief.

It is not easy to determine whether those duties involved control of the sea as well as the land forces, but it is evident that these were closely connected. On the 24th Tromp's letter of explanation of the incident in the Downs was sent to him together with an account of an audience with the Dutch ambassadors who had hastened to express their regret at the encounter, and thanks for his active interest in the affair.¹⁹ On Tuesday he was at Rochester with Bond, attending to various matters, among them the manning of the *Resolution*, of eighty-eight guns and a crew of 550 men, which was soon to become Blake's flag-ship as the largest and most powerful of his fleet.²⁰

It was in the course of these activities that he signed on May 25 one of the few documents which record his connection with the war which had now broken out:

To the Brethren of the Trinity House

Desiring them to recommend to the Commissioners of the navy an able, godly and well-affected mariner, to take charge, as master, of the State's ship *Resolution*, now being fitted for the sea and ready to fall down the river.

Rochester, May 25, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.

DENNIS BOND.²¹

¹⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2) p. 252; *Perf. Diurn.*, May 22.

¹⁵ The bill, dated June 6, is cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.*, 9 App. I (Canterbury Mss.), p. 164.

¹⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 135; Tromp's letter, *ut supra*.

¹⁷ *C. J.*, vii, 135; *Clarendon Papers* (ed. Macray), ii, 136.

¹⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 252, 254, and attendance records.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-56.

²⁰ *List of the Navy at Sea*, repr. in *Life of Richard Deane*.

²¹ *Trinity House Corporation Mss.*, 17th Century folio, "Transactions, 1613-1658 to 1661," cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.*, 8 App., p. 248. One Severne was appointed master on June 10. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652), p. 524.

From the inspection of the fleet and the investigation into the engagement between Blake and Tromp he returned to Westminster on the following Wednesday afternoon, attended the Council meeting and made ready his report.²² Four days later, he signed another of his requests to Oxford in behalf of one who had been a medical student for some seventeen years and was just now taking his degree—by grace of the Chancellor-General, and as a “constant friend to Parliament”:

To the Reverend Doctor Greenwood Vicechancellor of the University of Oxon, These

SIR,

Forasmuch as Mr. Jonathan Maud Probationer in Phisick was by an order of the late Committee for the regulation of the Universities bearing date the 4th of July 1650 enabled for taking the degree of Doctor of Phisick, and forasmuch as it is certified under very good hands that his conversation is pious and sober, and he hath been a constant friend to the Parliament, I desire in observance of the aforesaid order he may be admitted by the University to the said degree.

I rest

Your very loving friend,

O. CROMWELL.²³

Cockpitt May the 29th
1652.

Apart from the references to his activities as commander-in-chief as the war began, the documents relating to his life at this moment are insignificant and the references to him no less trifling. He had, it appears, been negotiating to send “a couple of pad nags and a couple of hounds” to France, and on May 31 there was issued a license to transport them.²⁴ It does not appear to whom they were to be sent, but it may be to the governor of Rochelle, the Comte du Daugnon, who sent an agent with two fine horses as a present to Cromwell at about this time.²⁵ It is still less apparent how these presents were transported in this disturbed period. The Admiralty Committee was then preparing an Act for calling home all English mariners and forbidding them to serve foreign powers and Penn was suggesting even stronger measures. In a letter of June 2 to Cromwell, he advised putting new commanders into merchant ships drafted for war service, as the present captains were in most cases part owners and had no desire to risk their ships in an engagement;²⁶ and

²² *Perf. Diurn.*, May 26; *Merc. Pol.*, May 20–27.

²³ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647–1659*, p. 161. Maude received the degree of D. Med. 30 June 1652.

²⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651–2), p. 565.

²⁵ Paulucci to Morosini, June 3/13, 1652. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647–52), p. 245.

²⁶ Nickolls, *Original Letters*, p. 86; Bisset, ii, 383 n.; Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, i, 427.

that somewhat drastic measure was adopted some months later.²⁷

Only such few and scattered notices of him remain. Among them is a reference to his appointment of Samuel Winter, chaplain to the Parliamentary commissioners in Ireland, to the headship of Trinity College, Dublin, to the great advantage of that foundation, it has been said, by the introduction of Fellows of his own Independent persuasion from England:

Appointment

Samuel Winter to be Provost or Master of Trinity College, Dublin.
June 3, 1652. (Signed) O. CROMWELL.²⁸

THE REARRANGEMENT OF THE FORCES

By the first of June, 1652, despite the efforts of the peace advocates on each side, it seemed apparent that this undeclared war between England and Holland would be fought out. It was in vain that the Dutch envoys apologized for Tromp's actions, declaring that he had acted contrary to his instructions.²⁹ The report of the English Parliamentary committee, of which Cromwell was a member, sent to investigate Tromp's clash with Blake laid all the blame on the Dutch admiral; and meanwhile national spirit rose on both sides, especially in Holland, infuriated by the Navigation Act and the continual attacks on her merchant ships for which she could get neither apology nor redress nor promise of cessation. Though the Dutch did what they could to retaliate, it seems evident that their losses were far greater than those of the English; that the English admirals were making every effort to interrupt Dutch trade; and that the English privateers and even the navy profited greatly by the captures and seemed loath to give up this source of revenue.³⁰

On their part, if the Dutch alleged the recent deliberate attempt of the English to cripple their commerce, the English exhumed the death of Courthopp at Dutch hands in the East Indies in 1620, the loss of Poleroon and the massacre of Amboyna in the three years following. More immediately they resented the arrangement which the Dutch had just made to commute the so-called Sound Dues with Denmark and their exclusion from like privilege. Yet there were many English, as there were many Dutch, opposed to the war. The Presbyterians were reported to be against it; those who had sent their

²⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3).

²⁸ Entered on College Register and noted in J. W. Stubbs, *History of the University of Dublin*, p. 89. According to Mrs. Lomas, Cromwell's next signed document extant is one to Commissioners of Monthly Assessments for Chester, but this rightfully belongs in 1653.

²⁹ Letter June 3/13 in *Perf. Diurn.*, June 10; and Heath, *Chronicle*, p. 320.

³⁰ Clowes, *Royal Navy*, ii, 24, 101.

money into Holland during the civil wars were naturally for peace.³¹ Vane was apparently among the opposition;³² and the army officers were supposed to be, in general, against hostilities;³³ though the navy seemed anxious to fight. Cromwell seems to have aligned himself with the army, but hoped, it was said, that if war must come, the predictions of those who prophesied it would be short, might be fulfilled.³⁴

The authorities of the Commonwealth might well have such a hope. Their navy had been increased and England's prestige on the continent with it, but the expense had been proportional; and in 1652-3 the cost of its maintenance absorbed more than half the revenue.³⁵ The government was hard pressed to find money; the navy had a continuing deficit; and now that the resistance of Ireland and Scotland had been largely crushed, it seemed that there might be a possibility of making those nations support their armies of occupation in whole or part. It seemed, indeed, that the whole army establishment might be cut down and part of that other great source of Commonwealth expense be diverted to the navy. Thus, on June 2, Parliament referred to the Council the problem of retrenchment of army expenditures to finance the war and Cromwell's advice on this was naturally sought;³⁶

The record of the Council's activities reveals something of the tense situation created by the war. It sat twice a day, and a committee to prepare an answer to the Dutch communications, of which both Vane and Cromwell were members, was appointed to meet at six o'clock in the morning on June 5.³⁷ Later that same day Parliament received a further report on the information gathered by the General on his visit to Dover;³⁸ while another committee to which he had been appointed on June 3 considered a petition from the "distressed inhabitants of Loddington" in Leicester and were ordered to take care of others of like nature.³⁹ Again, on June 11, the multiplicity of demands made on him was illustrated by his appointment to a committee to consider a petition from the vice-chancellor of Oxford for the selection of visitors, in which, as chancellor, he was officially concerned.⁴⁰

Meanwhile his obligations were in some measure modified. On May 19 Parliament abolished the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland and

³¹ *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 261.

³² Sikes, *Life of Vane*, quot. in Willcock, *op. cit.*; and cp. p. 816.

³³ Gardiner, *ut supra* quoting Cardenas.

³⁴ *Hollandsche Mercurius*, p. 36 (June, 1652).

³⁵ See Clowes, *op. cit.*, ii, 106; and Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, ch. xxxiii.

³⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 138. Willcock (*Life of Vane*) says he clashed with Vane on the issue of reducing the army.

³⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 278.

³⁸ *C. J.*, vii, 139.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *C. J.*, vii, 141.

with it went the office of Lord Deputy. Cromwell retained his post as commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland and Scotland as well as in England, and the commissioners in the two former countries were retained in charge of civil affairs. This obviously affected the position of Cromwell's closest rival for popularity among the soldiers, Lambert, and the relations between the two commanders. Lambert had accepted the post of Lord Deputy in the preceding January, come to London, and made elaborate preparations for his new dignity, only to be deprived of the office with the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy. Much put out, he refused the post with an inferior title and withdrew in disgust. This might well have made him Cromwell's enemy, the more so in that gossip suggested that the rivalry between Mrs. Lambert and Mrs. Ireton added fuel to the flame of Lambert's resentment. Ludlow and Mrs. Hutchinson declare that the General avoided this hostility by giving up the balance of the pay due him as Lord Lieutenant—some £2,000—to reimburse Lambert for his extravagant outlay for the new office,⁴¹ and, by persuading him that Parliament was responsible for the slight, converted him into a firm follower and an equally firm opponent of Parliament. They also add that it was at Cromwell's request that the title of Lord Lieutenant was abolished; but in the close vote on the question it was his followers, Whitelocke and Harrison, who were tellers against it, while Marten, who was one of his bitterest opponents, and Haselrig, who was certainly no convinced Cromwellian, were tellers for the measure.

Thus Lambert was not only reconciled with his General, but, feeling himself betrayed by Parliament, began to press Cromwell strongly for its dissolution. In later years, however, he came to believe that all this was only a part of a carefully designed plan of Cromwell's to further his own ambitions. He testified that the General had assured him that "not anything troubled him more than to see honest John Lambert so ungratefully treated."⁴² This, he concluded, had been mere hypocrisy intended to delude him into furthering the movement for dissolution, and in this belief he was supported by the Republicans.

Whatever lay behind the abolition of the title of Lord Deputy, the question of the supreme command of Ireland was first to be settled. Reminded by the Council on June 15 that something must be done before Cromwell's term of office expired on the 23rd, Parliament voted that supervision of Irish affairs should remain in his hands by virtue of his commission as captain-general of all the forces,⁴³ which had

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142; Whitelocke, p. 536; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 623.

⁴² Thurloe, *State Papers*, vii, 660.

⁴³ Resolution in Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist.*, iii, 324, from Ms. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. Proclamation, Cork, June 26, in Crawford, ii, 62, from P. R. O. Dublin.

been granted for an indefinite period, until Parliament should release him from his post. He was now authorized to appoint and commission a commander-in-chief of the Irish army, then reckoned at thirty-four thousand men, and all military commissions previously issued by him were ordered to continue in force.⁴⁴ The government of civil affairs, however, remained to be considered by the Council, and, having requested the General to be present when it was discussed, the Council instructed the Irish and Scotch Committee to prepare a commission and instructions for the civil commissioners who were to be sent to govern Ireland.⁴⁵ Though Parliament first gave him authority to make the appointment, the General declined that responsibility, and asked the Council to name someone, with his approval;⁴⁶ and there, for the time, the matter rested, while among his other engagements in that week he attended the marriage of his daughter, Mrs. Ireton, with the man who was presently to succeed her former husband at the head of the army in Ireland—General Fleetwood.

The appointment of Fleetwood involved more than the nomination of a new head of Irish affairs. It was bound up with the whole problem of the army and Parliament and with Cromwell's own position and plans. The reasons for the change are, and probably must remain, obscure. Whether it was a matter of economy, of personal motives, or of some plan which has not come to light can hardly be determined. It had, however one curious corollary. The story goes that Mrs. Lambert who shared her husband's pride in his appointment as Lord Deputy had affronted Mrs. Ireton, which not only offended Cromwell but brought Fleetwood to express his sympathy for the young widow. Whether or not this was the beginning of their romance, it is certain that they were married on June 8;⁴⁷ and it is also true—whatever its significance—that on the day of Fleetwood's marriage to Mrs. Ireton, the Council instructed Cromwell to order Lambert's regiment, "or such other regiment as he saw fit," to Ireland.⁴⁸ That probably had little or nothing to do with this curious episode which was soon to have important consequences, especially after the marriage and Fleetwood's appointment.

⁴⁴ *Merc. Pol.*, June 10-17; *Perf. Diurn.*, June 16; *C. J.*, vii, 142; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 491. Cp. Statement of Commissioners, Aug. 11, 1652 (*Irish R. O. A.* 90, 50, p. 215) for statement that there were on that day 34,128 men.

⁴⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 294-5.

⁴⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 143. Cromwell's choice for commander-in-chief is not known but the fact that, after giving him the power to make the choice unassisted, Parliament asked Council to appoint one with Cromwell's approval may mean that the General wished to appoint his new son-in-law but hesitated to lay himself open to criticism, and insisted that the appointment should come from the Council.

⁴⁷ Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, pp. 360-1. Newsletter of June 12 in Clarke Mss. Cp. *Hist. MSS. Comm. Repts.*, 6, App. (Farington Mss.), p. 436.

⁴⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 282.

Meanwhile the efforts of the peace parties in England and Holland to avert the war broke down. On June 5 Pauw had been sent to second the efforts of the Dutch envoys, Cats, Schaeff and Van de Perre, who had been in England since December. He arrived on June 11, and in his capacity as ambassador extraordinary had delivered the documents entrusted to him by his government concerning the dispute and was closeted with the Council of State for many hours. The Council had prepared its case and its demands, and a final audience was set for June 21, at which Cromwell was especially requested to be present. From that session, however, as from many others, he was absent. For more than a week he had not been in his place at the Council, probably on account of his activities in supervising military and naval preparations, in the course of which, as Paulucci reported later, he had been to "Bruue" to aid in the equipment of the fleet.⁴⁹

It may be that his presence at the Council meeting was desired solely in connection with the war; but it was possibly on account of another matter. Some days earlier the Duke of Buckingham had sent the General a letter by his agent and "familiar," Colonel Ellis Leighton, which Cromwell had delivered unopened to the Council, which, having discussed the matter, ordered Leighton to leave England within thirty days. On July 3 Buckingham's letter was returned to Leighton who was given ten days to leave the country.⁵⁰ This seems to have been one of the earliest of those innumerable intrigues which the reckless and unscrupulous Buckingham was to pursue throughout the rest of his life. It was at this moment, according to report, he was aspiring to the hand of the widowed Princess of Orange. And in addition to these negotiations, and to others through Leighton and Titus with the Presbyterians and the Levellers, he communicated with Lilburne and Lambert.⁵¹ By whatever means, it is apparent that, despairing of the Stuart fortunes, he proposed to secure his own.

There was now no hope of peace between England and the Netherlands. The Dutch envoys were informed that no proposals short of payment for all injuries inflicted on English commerce would be entertained. This was to all intents and purposes a notice that the war would continue, for it was inconceivable that the Dutch who considered themselves the aggrieved parties, would consent to such a one-sided arrangement. In fact, even while these negotiations were

⁴⁹ Paulucci to Sagredo, June 19/29, July 16/26. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), pp. 262-3.

⁵⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 302, 317.

⁵¹ Lady Burghclere's *Life of Buckingham*, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art, "George Villiers" (by C. H. Firth).

going on, Ayscue attacked the Dutch fleet outward bound for Portugal on June 12 and took half a dozen of its forty merchantmen as prizes. The Dutch government bent to the storm of indignation roused by these continual aggressions and on June 20 instructed Pauw to present his final demands for redress. These refused, he and his colleagues prepared to leave England and each side strained every nerve to prepare for the conflict.⁵² The English were busy fitting out ships, including four recently captured from the Dutch, but money was scarce and the Council was hard put to it to find supplies, though it was reported, doubtless with much exaggeration, that sixteen thousand soldiers had been embarked.⁵³ Though little or no record of his activities remains Cromwell was unquestionably deeply engaged in these preparations. That he was busy about the fleet is shown by the fact that Captain Harrison, in command of the squadron in the Thames, was commissioned to receive orders from the Council, the General or Ayscue.⁵⁴ Beyond that brief notice, there are but two references to him in these days: The one is that on June 22 a petition from Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty⁵⁵ was referred to him; the other is that on the next day he and Vane as tellers defeated the party led by Sir William Masham and Marten in a vote putting the duties of the Committee for Indemnity into the hands of the Commissioners for Compounding;⁵⁶ which indicates that he was in his place in Parliament on that day.

At this moment he had to consider another problem wholly unconnected with public affairs. It appears that his daughter Mary, now fifteen, had been visiting her friend Elizabeth Wharton, eldest daughter of Lord Wharton, and that either through her efforts as a matchmaker, or in some other way, it had been suggested that a marriage should be arranged between Henry Cromwell and Elizabeth Wharton. That suggestion had been approved by Cromwell, but it seems that the matter had not gone far, owing to some objection on the part of the young lady in question, if we may judge from the General's letter in regard to the matter:⁵⁷

[*For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These*]

MY DEAR LORD,

Indeed I durst not suddenly make up any judgment what would be fit for me to do or desire, in the business you know of, but being en-

⁵² Gardiner, ii, ch. xxii; and Clowes, *Royal Navy*, ii, ch. xxi.

⁵³ Paulucci to Sagredo, June 19/29. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 253.

⁵⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2) p. 330

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁵⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 144.

⁵⁷ She later (1659) married Robert Bertie, third Earl of Lindsey. Henry Cromwell married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Russell of Chippenham in 1653. Dalby, Broughton and Gower were settled on Henry, according to Noble.

gaged to give you an account upon our last conference, I shall be bold to do that, and add a word or two therewith.

For the estate I mentioned, I cannot now (by reason my steward is not here) be so exact as I would; but the lands I design for this occasion are Burleigh, Oakham, and two other little things not far distant; in all about 1900*l.* per annum. Moreover Dalby [and] Broughton, 1600*l.* per annum. Burleigh hath some charge upon it, which will in convenient time be removed. This is near twice as much as I intended my son; yet all is unworthy of the honourable person.

My Lord, give me leave to doubt that the lady hath so many just scruples, which if not very freely reconciled may be too great a temptation to her spirit, and also have after-inconveniences. And although I know your Lordship so really, yet I believe you may have your share of difficulties to conflict with; which may make the business uneasy. Wherefore, good my Lord, I beg it, if there be not freedom and cheerfulness in the noble person, let this affair slide easily off, and not a word more be spoken about it, as your Lordship's thoughts are. So hush all, and save the labour of little Mall's fooling, lest she incur the loss of a good friend indeed. My Lord, I write my heart plainly to you, as becomes, my Lord,

Your most affectionate servant,

30 June, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁸

Further than this only two documents seem to survive from this period; the first a pass, the second a protection:

To all Officers and Souldiers under my Command and others whom this may concern.

Suffer this bearer, Mrs. Mary Roules, and her children, with her sister and necessities, quietly to pass from London into Ireland without any trouble or molestation.

Given under my hand and seal the first of July, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁹

To all Officers, Souldiers under my command, and others whom it may concern.

These are to charge and require you, upon sight hereof, not to quarter any officers or soldiers in any the colleges, halls or other houses belonging to the University of Cambridge; nor to offer any injury or violence to any of the

⁵⁸ Original in *Carte Mss.* ciii, 77, in the Bodleian Library, endorsed by Wharton: "My Lord Generall to mee about his Sonne." Pr. in *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 7, 1856; Prendergast and Russell's report on the *Carte Mss.* in *32 Rept. of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. I, pp. 24-5.

⁵⁹ Original in Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal. (H. M. 1351). This, said to be dated July 5, is recorded as sold to a Mr. Smith of New York for \$60. *Times*, Apr. 28, 1911; *Am. Bk. Prices Current*. To one unfamiliar with the 17th century hand, the "first" might well be misread the "fift."

students or members of any of the colleges or houses of the said University. As you shall answer the contrary at your peril.

Given under my hand and seal the first of July, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁶⁰

By the time he wrote these, the Dutch situation had gone beyond any possibility of peaceful settlement. The Dutch ambassadors had refused to give a definite answer to the English demands and had continued to insist on the repeal of the Navigation Act. Under pretext of the necessity of discussing the matter with their government, they left Chelsea on June 30,⁶¹ and the breach with Holland was virtually complete. To that the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, whether he approved of the war or not, could not be indifferent, since, apart from other considerations, the army and the navy were so closely allied and so interdependent. Of this there are many illustrations. On July 2, he was ordered to send three hundred men from his regiment to merchant ships in Tilbury Hope, whence they were to be shipped to the Downs, and to be followed by four hundred recruits. To further strengthen the English position and give aid to the fleet, Cromwell and Bond discussed with Colonel Purefoy plans for drawing troops from the inland counties to Dover.⁶² This was part of a general coast defence scheme, in pursuance of which the General ordered a troop to Deal in Kent, and Lambert's regiment to protect Yarmouth and the Suffolk coast, where Monk was presently sent to see to the fortifications,⁶³ while Cromwell was presently instructed to order Yorkshire forces to Scarborough and adjacent ports.⁶⁴

In the meantime he was requested by Parliament to "supply any defects concerning military commissions in Ireland occasioned by the vote of June 15," and much time was spent by the Council debating a choice of a commander-in-chief. Whether or not Cromwell's influence determined that choice, it fell on his new son-in-law, Fleetwood. He was chosen on July 8, and on the next day his appointment as commander-in-chief and one of the commissioners for civil affairs was confirmed by Parliament.⁶⁵ On that day Cromwell wrote another of his numerous recommendations to Oxford; and on the next he signed Fleetwood's commission:

⁶⁰ Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.*, 2, App., p. 115. (*Clare Coll. Mss.*). Pr. in Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, iii, 452, from *Baker Mss.*, xxxvi, 154.

⁶¹ Council of State to Blake, June 30. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 307.

⁶² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 314.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 323, 332 and *passim*. Cromwell was ordered on July 12 to send Monk to Scotland but it does not appear that he went, for in August he was at Yarmouth. *Ibid.*, pp. 329, 381.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁶⁵ *C. J.*, vii, 150, 152; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 320, 322.

For the right worth the Vicechancellor and the rest of the Convocation of the University of Oxon, These

GENTLEMEN,

Having perused and considered of the enclosed petition of Mr. Thomas Steevens and others, whereunto the Vicechancellor and Mr. Owan have declared their approbation by their subscriptions, I do think fit and do hereby desire that the several petitioners may have the respective degrees conferred on them according as is desired in the said petition.

Gentlemen

Your very loving Friend and Chancellor,

Cockpitt, 9th of
July 1652.

O. CROMWELL⁶⁶

To Major-General Charles Fleetwood, commander-in-chief of the army and forces in Ireland

Oliver Cromwell esq. captain-general and commander-in-chief of the armies and forces raised and to be raised by authority of Parliament within the Commonwealth of England:

By virtue of the power and authority to me derived from the Parliament of England, and in pursuance of a vote of the same Parliament of . . . of . . . last past, I do hereby constitute and appoint you commander-in-chief under myself, of the army and forces within the dominion of Ireland, raised and to be raised by authority of the Parliament of England, giving and granting unto you full power and authority to rule, govern, command, dispose, and employ the said army and forces, and every part thereof, and all the officers and others whatsoever of and belonging to the same, in, for, or about all defences, offences, executions, and other military and hostile arts and services for the beating down and suppressing of the rebellion within the said dominion, and for the settling and maintaining of the public peace there; and also (if need require) to lead and conduct the said army and forces, or any part thereof, against the rebels, as well English as Irish, and open enemies of the public peace there, and them to pursue, invade, resist, kill, and destroy by all ways and means whatsoever. And also to command all garrisons, forts, castles, and towns within the said dominion, already garrisoned and fortified, or to be garrisoned and fortified. And also full power and authority to assign and grant commissions to all such commanders, officers, and governors of the said army, forces, or garrisons as shall be thought necessary and requisite for the command and government of the same. And also full power and authority to execute, or cause to be executed, martial law, according to the course and customs of wars, and according to the laws and ordinances of wars allowed by any act or ordinance of parliament, upon or against any person or persons offending against any of the said laws or ordinances of war. And also full power and authority from time to time by yourself, or others deputed and authorized by you, to take up and use such carriages, draughts, horses, boats, and other vessels, as in your discretion shall be thought needful for the conveying and conducting of the said army and forces, or any part thereof, or for

⁶⁶ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, p. 166.

bringing or carrying ordinance, artillery, ammunition, money, victuals, or any provisions or utensils of war necessary or requisite for the same army or forces, or any part thereof, to or from any place or places, in order to the said service. And also full power and authority to do and execute all other things incident and belonging to the place of a commander-in-chief of an army, and which shall be requisite and necessary for the carrying on and accomplishment of the premises. And all commanders, officers, and soldiers of the said army, forces, and garrisons are hereby required to obey you, as their commander-in-chief, according to the discipline of war; and all sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers and persons whatsoever within the said dominion, are likewise required to be aiding and assisting to you in their respective counties and places for the ends and purposes aforesaid. And you are in the prosecution and execution of all and singular the premises, to observe and follow all such instructions, orders, and directions, as you shall from time to time receive from the Parliament of England, the Council of State, or myself.

Given under my hand seal at arms, the 10th of July 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁶⁷

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE DUTCH WAR JULY–OCTOBER, 1652.

Politics within politics divided the attention of those in power with the events of the Dutch war in this summer of 1652, as the army nursed its grievances against a Parliament which, as they declared, would neither meet its desire for reform nor give way to a body which would endeavour to correct the abuses for whose abolition the officers conceived that the war had largely been fought. They had borne the burden and heat of the day; they had taken the risks; and they now demanded their reward, not so much for themselves as for the country which, as they conceived, they had saved from royal and episcopal tyranny only to hand it over to a corrupt and incompetent Parliamentary remnant which had begun a war of which they did not approve. Meanwhile that war entered on another and more active stage. As he went back to his country, Pauw had fallen in with Tromp's fleet on July 3 and had given the Dutch admiral such information as he had of the position and strength of the English naval forces. Ayscue was then in the Downs with some fifteen or sixteen ships, while Blake was in the North Sea in search of the Dutch herring fleet. Acting on Pauw's information and perhaps on his suggestion, Tromp endeavored—though on account of unfavorable winds without success—to crush Ayscue. Thence he sailed to attack Blake. Learning of his activities, the Commonwealth authorities were greatly alarmed. The Dutch were superior in numbers to the English fleets and still more superior in financial resources.

⁶⁷ Pr. in Thurloe, *State Papers*, i, 212–13, from the Hardwicke Papers. A copy is *Add. Mss.* 4156, f. 71, dated July 30.

Council and Parliament took strong measures to supply their deficiencies by the introduction of an "additional bill" for the sale of lands forfeited for treason. On July 15 a committee, including Cromwell, was directed to consider the best way to raise money by the bill,⁶⁸ and every effort was made to turn these resources into cash. It was no less necessary to reform the financial system, and on July 27 a committee on which the General was also named to serve, was directed to consider 'bringing the Treasury into one channel.'⁶⁹

These did not exhaust the demands made on the chief man-of-all-work. Besides war and finance, administrative and military duties, he was now called on to consider three curiously diverse matters. The first was a small problem raised by the re-entry of England into foreign affairs. Sir Oliver Fleming had been Master of Ceremonies since 1643, but during the civil wars his duties had been scarcely more than nominal, for there was no court and foreign emissaries had been few. Now, however, with the re-establishment of more settled, if not more normal, government, and with the influx of foreign envoys, those duties had greatly increased and his income of £200 a year was insufficient to meet the demands made on it. In consequence the Council commissioned Cromwell and Neville to suggest to Parliament that his salary be increased to an amount at least sufficient to meet his indebtedness.⁷⁰ The second of these unrelated minor items of business was a conference held between the General and three other members of the Council and a certain Philip Batalion concerning the latter's proposal for bringing down the price of coal, which had risen during the war and had produced unrest in London, dependent as it was on the coal-ships from Newcastle for that fuel.⁷¹ Finally, among these details he found time to write three letters to Oxford, two of them addressed from Sion House, the college-alms-house, in which part of his regiment was now quartered.⁷²

For my assured good Friend Dr. Greenwood Principall of Brasen-nose College and vicechancellor of the University of Oxon.

GOOD MR. VICECHANCELLOR,

I am desired by a worthy friend of mine Mr. Holland and a member also of the Parliament to recommend to yourself and the convocation a Nephew of his, one Thomas Shelton, Commoner of Lincolne College. That whereas he wants only one term to go out Batchellor of Arts, it may be indulged to him by the said Convocation this present terme, which I entreat

⁶⁸ *C. J.*, vii, 150, 151, 154.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vii, 159.

⁷⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 334.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁷² See an order of Feb. 22, 1652-3 for their removal. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3) p. 178.

you in my name to move to the said convocation, and the rather for that it is the lowest concession of this kind that can be granted, as also that the said Shelton being a Commoner, and not of the foundation, no advantage can hereby be taken by seniority, either in point of dividend Office Chamber or the like to the prejudice of any other, which being all that at present I have, or upon this occasion I need to trouble with, I rest

Your very affectionate Friend and Chancellor,

Sion House,
this 20th of July 1652.

O. CROMWELL⁷³

*For the right worth Dr. Greenwood Vicechancellor and the rest of the
Convocation of the University of Oxon, These*

GENTLEMEN,

Having perused the enclosed petition of George Gale Fellow of University College in Oxford, and having considered the contents thereof together with the subscription of the vicechancellor and Mr. Rous: my desire in the behalf of the petitioner is that he may be forthwith created to the degree of Batchellor of Phisick to the which he hath bent his studies, I rest

Gentlemen

Syon House,
July 21, 1652.

Your loving Friend,
O. CROMWELL⁷⁴

*To the Reverend and Worthy Vicechancellor Dr. Greenwood:
These in Oxford*

HONOURED SIR,

Whereas I have been credibly informed that Ralph Worstly, student in Pembroke College, has fully and satisfactorily completed his exercise in order to his degree of Bachellor of Arts, and that his conversation during his abode in the University has been such as has spoken him civil in his life and faithful to the state. It is my desire, that whereas he wants nothing in reference to his degree but time, that, what is lacking thereof (which I hear amounts to five terms) may be dispensed withal and he be admitted to the degree and privileges of Bachellor of Arts, and that such as are concerned in it be informed of my desire herein, I rest

Your loving friend,

July the 27th, 1652.

O. CROMWELL⁷⁵

By July 1652 the Dutch war was fully under way, though no great advantage had been gained by either side thus far. While Tromp was foiled in his effort to crush Ayscue, Blake had found the herring-fleet

⁷³ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, pp. 166-7. Mr. Holland is, presumably, Cornelius Holland.

⁷⁴ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, p. 166. George Gale was created B.A. Magdalen College on Apr. 15, 1648, and B.Med. July 24, 1652.

⁷⁵ Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, p. 170. Ralph Worseley matriculated 27 Nov. 1650 and received his B.A. on 12 Oct. 1652.

off the Orkneys on July 12, captured or dispersed its guard-ships, taken a few of the herring "busses," and sent the rest home. This reverse Tromp arrived too late to prevent. On July 26 he sighted Blake to the west of the Shetland Islands, but a terrific north-west storm, from which Blake escaped by finding shelter in the lee of the islands, scattered Tromp's fleet, wrecked four of his ships, and compelled him to return home to refit. Though he brought back his flagship and half of his fleet and most of the rest straggled home in the ensuing weeks, he faced bitter reproaches for his failure and presently resigned.⁷⁶

Despite this, the English began to perceive that, contrary to their hopes and expectations, the struggle would be long and stubbornly contested. Every effort, therefore, was made by the English war-party to find money for its continuance and by the peace-party to find means to end it. It is notable that Cromwell was apparently too busy to attend the Council meetings between July 16 and July 27, being absorbed, evidently, in his military duties. The activities of the ship-yards, where a new type of frigate was being built, were redoubled, especially after the formal declaration of war by the Dutch; and so great was the interest in the navy, Paulucci reported, that Cromwell took all the House of Commons to inspect a great galleon twenty-five miles down the Thames.⁷⁷

The great problem was money. The unfortunate Royalists were subjected to new impositions to support the struggle, and a new bill for the sale of lands forfeited for treason made its way through the House, in which Cromwell was defeated on August 2 in an effort to keep Lord Craven's name out of the list of forfeiture sales.⁷⁸ Reviving an old idea, on July 9 a committee had been appointed to consider the destruction and sale of the now unused cathedrals. Paulucci reported that £120,000 had been offered for the stone and lead of St. Paul's and £15,000 for Canterbury.⁷⁹ Its choice fell on Canterbury, but fortunately its plans were never carried out; and, in default of this source of income, on August 4 the lands of twenty-six Royalist delinquents were ordered sold and proposals were made to strip the sequestered castles and dispose of their materials and contents.⁸⁰

Meanwhile the peace-party bestirred itself. On July 21 Hugh Peter, himself of Dutch descent and sometime an exile in Holland, persuaded the Dutch congregation at Austin Friars to petition Parliament to resume peace negotiations with the States General. To

⁷⁶ Clowes, Ballhausen and Gardiner, *ut supra*; *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 2-9; *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 269.

⁷⁷ *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 270.

⁷⁸ *C. J.*, vii, 160.

⁷⁹ *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 267, 276.

⁸⁰ Gardiner, ii, 189.

this Cromwell seems to have lent his countenance. "I do not like the war," he is reported to have said to those who brought the petition to him, "and I commend your Christian admonition. I will do everything in my power to bring about peace."⁸¹ In the meantime he busied himself not only with such military duties as ordering two hundred men to be ready to go on board the *Sovereign* and the *Antelope* on July 29,⁸² but entertained several ministers and officers at the Cockpit to discuss sending some ministers to Ireland with fitting "encouragement."⁸³ Besides this he wrote to a Mr. Hungerford a letter which he considered of enough importance to send by a messenger, but of which we otherwise know nothing:

For my honoured Friend Mr. Hungerford, at his House: These

SIR,

I am very sorry why occasions will not permit me to return to you as I would. I have not yet fully spoken with the gentleman I sent to wait upon you; when I shall do it, I shall be enabled to be more particular. Being unwilling to detain your servant any longer, with my service to your lady and family, I take leave, and rest,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.⁸⁴

30th July 1652.

In this interval Hugh Peter had again been active. Within this fortnight the artist Balthazar Gerbier, a Zealander by birth, carried to the Hague a letter from Peter to Nieuport assuring the Dutch statesman that men like Cromwell, Vane, Bond and Whitelocke were desirous of peace.⁸⁵ It was apparent from these and other incidents that the parties in Council and Parliament were dividing sharply on this new and unfamiliar issue of foreign affairs, and it is scarcely less evident how the lines of that division ran. On the one side were the Cromwellians, anxious to gain a foothold on the Continent, whether

⁸¹ Aitzema, iii, 731, 732, quoted in Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 187-8.

⁸² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 347. Paullucci was much impressed with the *Sovereign*.

⁸³ Owen, Caryll, Lockyer, Peter, Goodwin, Sympson and Brookes; Fleetwood, Hewson and others. For the "encouragement" see order of July 29. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 351.

⁸⁴ Original in Tangye Collection. Pr. in Collinson, *History of Somersetshire* (Bath, 1791), iii, 357n; *Gentleman's Magazine*, lx, 1186; Lomas-Carlyle, CLXXXV. It may have been to Colonel Anthony Hungerford, who had petitioned for money due him, £100 of which was paid on July 26 to enable him to go to Ireland (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 351); or it may have been to Henry Hungerford, a Parliamentarian and possibly the agent of the deceased Sir Edward Hungerford, who had lent Parliament £500. Henry was trying to get it back, his petition being referred to a committee of which Cromwell was a member, Feb. 18, 1653 (*C. J.*, vii, 260).

⁸⁵ James Geddes, *Administration of John de Witt* (1879), i, 281n.

at Rochelle, Bordeaux or Dunkirk, prepared to negotiate or even fight for that end and leaning to France, whether Frondeur or monarchist. On the other were the anti-Cromwellians, bent on trade rather than religion or politics, and determined to crush their Dutch rivals. They were no less anti-French; and by the end of July they had succeeded in having the French envoy, Gentillot, sent home.⁸⁶

They even leaned toward Spain, and on August 12 requested the Spanish ambassador, Cardenas, to draw up a commercial treaty between his sovereign and the Commonwealth. At almost the same moment there began another episode in the war with the Dutch. Tromp's resignation had brought his great colleague and rival, de Ruyter, to the head of the Dutch navy, and, ordered to convoy the outward-bound merchantmen through the Channel, on August 16 he was attacked by Ayscue and after a long and fierce running fight he took his convoy through while Ayscue put into Plymouth to refit. After this engagement with de Ruyter, Peter made another and most injudicious effort in behalf of peace, appealing to Ayscue, who was known to be opposed to the war, to resign his commission as a protest against its continuance. But whatever his private convictions, Ayscue was a loyal officer. He sent Peter's letter to Parliament, which severely reprimanded the officious minister. A burst of popular indignation, reinforced by stories of the wealth Peter had stored away in the Netherlands during the English civil wars, forced him to withdraw temporarily from his post of preacher at Whitehall, though it was generally believed that he remained under Cromwell's protection. On September 11 he preached once more before the General, and, apparently, rehabilitated himself in the good opinion of his congregation, who one and all cried down the 'libels' which had been spoken and printed against him.⁸⁷

Thus at the end of the first twelvemonth after the battle of Worcester the situation of affairs, so far as Cromwell was concerned, was far from satisfactory. If he had been opposed to the Dutch war, he had not been able to prevent it; if he objected to the course taken by the majority in Parliament, he had found no means to make his objection effective; if he desired the House to speed reforms, he had not been able to spur it into action; if he had dreamed that his successes in the field would give him a decisive voice in the settlement of the kingdom, he had been disappointed. There is no direct evidence of any of these things, whatever one may conjecture, only of the fact that he and Parliament had drifted apart. So far as one may judge, he had lost ground. As Clarendon wrote, he "did not find the Parliament so supple and so much to observe his orders as he expected they

⁸⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 326; Gentillot to Brienne, July 1/11, cited in Gardiner from *Harl. Mss.* 4551, f. 150.

⁸⁷ *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 283. *Weekly Intelligencer*, Sept. 13.

would have been"; and, noting the opposition not only of the Presbyterians but of many Independents and Cromwell's drawing the sectaries together against his opponents, he continues:

"In this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his army; and again erects another council of officers, who, under the style, first, of petitions, and then of remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the army. . . ." ⁸⁸

Whatever the animus of his account, his facts are correct, and as five years earlier the Council of the Army had become, as it were, a kind of Parliament, so now it began to challenge the supremacy of the House. On the relations between the two bodies, then, depended the events of the ensuing period and Cromwell's fortunes with them.

⁸⁸ Paulucci to Sagredo, Sept. 9/19, Clarendon, *History*, xiv, 3.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MOVEMENT FOR REFORM

AUGUST–DECEMBER, 1652

Though to counterbalance Tromp's failure the Dutch won a decisive victory over a little English squadron off Elba on August 27 and began to drive the English from the Mediterranean, and though meanwhile matters went badly for the Commonwealth in the Baltic during the month of August, 1652, even the war was overshadowed by a domestic problem. This was the resurrection of the question of dissolution and reform. Since November the feeling on that subject had increased until a resolution had been adopted by the House to consider how to fill up its ranks, and the grand committee for setting a time for dissolution had been revived. Meanwhile the army had grown more and more impatient of the delay which seemed to them only an effort to avoid dissolution and keep the existing Parliament in power. The minority, including Cromwell and most of the officers, who had been opposed to the Dutch war, hoped for some solution which would increase their strength in the House. They were now reinforced by Lambert and Harrison, who presently replaced Vane in charge of the bill for a new representative,¹ each determined to have Parliament dissolved.

In consequence the debates in the army council were filled with demands for dissolution. On August 3 a newsletter reported that "His Excellency and the council of officers sat yesterday from nine in the morning till six at night, they keep all private."² It was not long private, for on August 10 there was published *A Declaration of the Armie to the Lord General Cromwel for the Dissolving of this Present Parliament*. Its presentation could have been no surprise to him. His name did not appear among the signatures to the petition, which, in an amended form, was presented to the Commons on August 13, but there can be no doubt that he knew about it, or that he was in sympathy with most, if not all, of its provisions. Of the six who presented it—Whalley, Barkstead, Worsley, Goffe, Hacker and Okey—all were recognized Cromwellians and all but the last followed his fortunes to the end. Okey was one of the strongest advocates of disso-

¹ *C. J.*, vii, 244.

² Quoted in Firth's ed. of Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i, 348n.

lution and it has been suggested that whatever objection Cromwell may have had to the original form of the petition was due to his disapproval of the demand for immediate action. This, in its final form, was modified to read "speedy consideration may be had of such qualification for future and successive Parliaments as" might secure "the election only of such as are pious and faithful in the interests of the Commonwealth."³

The petition included demands for the propagation of the Gospel and the support of ministers by other means than tithes; the replacement of profane and scandalous office-holders by "men of truth, fearing God and hating covetousness"; the appointment of county committees to redress grievances in the excise; the payment of the debts of the Commonwealth before allowing private claims; the payment of soldiers' arrears; the consolidation of the revenue into 'a single treasury' and the publication of a national balance-sheet. To these were added demands for the appointment of a committee outside of Parliament to report on monopolies, pluralities and excessive salaries; the relaxation of guild regulations so that disbanded soldiers might find work; suppression of vagabonds and employment for the poor; that promises made to Royalists under Articles of War be kept; and that consideration be given to the resolutions of the committee on the reform of the law which had been appointed in the preceding January.

It is apparent that with perhaps only one exception—the question of tithes—this document echoes Cromwell's contentions for many months, even years. He had been desirous of reforms in the administration of the law; he had stood as the champion of the poor, especially of the soldier; he had urged reforms in the personnel and methods of administration, financial probity, simplification and publicity of revenue and expenditure. He had over and over again protested against the breaches of the Articles of War by the committees on compounding and delinquency; and he had served on various committees dealing with these subjects. If he differed on the matter of the continuance of tithes, he was not irrevocably committed to their maintenance. The document, indeed, reads like a Cromwellian programme. Everything indicates that he was in sympathy with it; that he encouraged, if he did not actually inspire the petition. It is not necessary to go as far as Whitelocke's suggestion that this may have been part of Cromwell's design, to realize that it was in accord with his ideas. Whitelocke records:

"In discourse of it with Cromwell, I advised him to stop this way of their petitioning by the officers of the army with their swords in their hands, lest in time it might come too home to himself; but he seemed to slight, or rather

³ Printed also in *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 13, 1652; and *Merc. Pol.*, 12-19 Aug.

to have some design by it, in order to which he put them to prepare a way for him."⁴

There was every reason for Whitelocke's suspicions. On August 13 the petition was presented to the House by Cromwell's cousin, Edward Whalley, supported by the other signers, of whom Barkstead had just been made Lieutenant of the Tower.⁵ It was read and referred to a committee of thirty-four, on which sat Cromwell, Harrison, nine colonels and a major,⁶ which was ordered to meet on August 17 and from day to day thereafter.

Though the petition did not demand the immediate dissolution of Parliament nor prescribe the method of choosing its successors, those were the two questions at issue. In particular the line of division came on the second. Under the influence of men like Vane, Marten, Sydney, Neville and the Republicans generally, the House favored the plan of recruiting members to the required number rather than holding a general election. That policy was, in fact, the one on which the existing House had acted and by which a considerable number of its members, especially among the officers who now opposed it, had obtained their seats. Against that stood the party of the army represented by Harrison who himself had been a "recruited" member in 1646. It demanded immediate dissolution without committing itself to what should come after, save in the most general terms. That was, indeed, the crux of the whole matter. Whenever and however the existing Parliament should be dissolved, what should take its place, who should determine the qualifications for membership in the new House, and what should they be? This, rather than the mere question of dissolution was the issue between the officers and the Parliamentarians.

As to Cromwell's position at this moment, the Venetian envoy testified that the General refused to sign the officers' petition though,

"it is supposed that he consented to its being drawn up and presented . . . as it demands a new Parliament, of which he entirely approves. Some indeed believe that the first idea proceeded from him, but as his sagacity and daring are extreme, so he has the skill to parry every attack and maintain himself in favour with both parties. He thus keeps in his hands an independent authority which he exercises in the distribution of all military appointments, while his unpretending manner of life, remote from all display and pomp, so different from the former fashion of this kingdom, wins him universal applause, though he is not generally loved. Meanwhile his wealth, or rather his treas-

⁴ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 541.

⁵ Appointed August 12. *C. J.*, vii, 163. It may be noted that immediately after his appointment Massey escaped.

⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 160.

ure in this sense [credit?] increases daily and he will thereby aim at establishing his authority more and more."⁷

Different as they were, the English lawyer and the Italian diplomat appear to agree in that each seems to look forward to a post for the General even higher than that which he then occupied. On the other hand Ludlow declares that though Cromwell 'vehemently desired' to be rid of Parliament, he dissuaded the army council from putting a clause in its petition demanding that a definite period be put to the sitting of the House.⁸ That move may be variously interpreted, but it is evident that in it he had his way. Despite the party which opposed him in Parliament and Council, despite the apparent defeat of his foreign policy, despite everything, if he was not, as the Dutch *Hollandsche Mercurius* called him, "master of all,"⁹ he had no serious rival for that post, not even Lambert, of whom the Royalists had some hopes. "The Duke of Buckingham," wrote one of their agents, "has gone to Ghent with Col. Leighton and young Titus, who is the agent between them and their party in England; his great privacy is with Lilburne and the other two. Lord Hopton refuses to be drawn into their business. What they intend is grounded on Lambert's discontent and they have some by-plot to destroy Cromwell's person."¹⁰

That hope was as vain as the prospect of detaching Lambert from the revolutionary cause. Meanwhile amid these mines and countermines of politics, on the day before the officers' amended petition was presented, August 12, the Act of Settlement for Ireland was passed, and the issue of the *Perfect Diurnall* for that day gives some notion of the character of that act by printing a list of more than a hundred names of persons excepted from pardon for both life and estates.¹¹ On August 24 instructions for Cromwell and the Commissioners were read in Parliament, and, having voted to select new commissioners under the Act of September 6, Cromwell was presently named with Ludlow, Fleetwood, Miles Corbet, John Jones and John Weaver to make up the list of the governors of that island.¹²

These greater affairs of state were, as usual, interspersed with lesser concerns. On August 24 Cromwell wrote to the Justices of the Peace of Wiltshire in behalf of the widow of a Captain Burden,¹³ and on the 27th he intervened in behalf of a man with whom he was to have some

⁷ *Cal. S. P. Venetian* (1647-52), p. 270.

⁸ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i, 348-9 and n.

⁹ *Hollandsche Mercurius*, 1652, p. 36, quoted by Gardiner, ii, 181n.

¹⁰ "R. F." [R. Watson] to Edgeman, Bruges, Aug. 19/29, Macray, *Cal. Clar. Papers*, ii, 146 (no. 800).

¹¹ *Perf. Diurn.*, Aug. 12.

¹² *C. J.*, vii, 169, 174; instructions pr. in full, *ibid.*, 167-8.

¹³ *Cal.* in Waylen, *House of Cromwell*, p. 276.

connection later, Daniel Searle, the newly appointed governor of the Barbadoes:

*For my worthy friends the Commissioners for Compounding sitting at
Haberdashers' Hall, London*

GENTLEMEN,

Whereas Daniel Searle, Esq., Governor of the Barbadoes, being now there executing the trust reposed in him by the Parliament; the House in his absence taking special notice of the good services of late performed by him, and withal of the great losses and damages formerly by him sustained, have thought good to confirm and revive a former order, bearing date the third of March 1647, made for his relief. My desire is therefore that you make speedy satisfaction unto his wife, according to the said orders, she being unable to attend here without much loss to her family.

I rest, your loving friend,

At the House, 27th inst. [August, 16]52.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁴

On the day he wrote to Searle, Cromwell was appointed to a committee to consider the petitions of people seeking relief and decide which were to be presented to Parliament and which to the courts of justice.¹⁵ Finally, as the end of another chapter of his family as well as of his official history, Cromwell's new son-in-law, Fleetwood, set out for Scotland with his retinue to sail thence to northern Ireland. It was, apparently, more of a loss to Cromwell than one might have imagined, judging from a letter written about this time to an unidentified friend:

To a personal friend

DEAR SIR,

I make use of this for want of a better way of address to you. It's not hard to persuade I could have wished myself in the room of my letter, though but for myself, but indeed much more to have seen your face, and my dear Lady's, though you in trouble, with which (if I know my heart) I have as truly sympathized as a naughty heart would let me. Indeed I have had ingenuity, for, that you are very dear to me, my thoughts and prayers can witness. Let me hear from you as you can. Instead of pitying you I can a little bewail myself. Have I one friend in our society to whom I can un-

¹⁴ According to his story, Searle had been a London merchant, lost money in 1642-3 and was forced to emigrate. He had loaned money to Parliament, lost goods and his "estate in France" while his wife had to leave Exeter, lost her marriage portion to the Royalists, and she and her husband had "discovered" many delinquents. It is a good story, which Mrs. Lomas, like Cromwell, apparently believed. Cp. her account in *Lomas-Carlyle*, iii, 436-7. The letter is in *S. P. Dom. Interr.* A, cviii, 54; *Lomas-Carlyle*, Suppl. 72.

¹⁵ *C. J.*, vii, 171; *Perf. Diurn.*, Sept. 2.

bowell myself? You absent; Fleetwood is gone; I am left alone—almost so—but not forsaken. Lend me one shoulder. Pray for me. The Lord restore you. My hearty love to you and your dear Lady. If I had more you should have it.

I rest

Yours to love and serve you

O. CROMWELL¹⁶

Sept^{br} the 1st
1652

By the first of September the situation of the war, so far as the relations of England and Holland were concerned, was but little changed, but in another quarter that situation suffered a sudden and startling development. While the Dutch and English had been engaged on the sea, the siege of Dunkirk by the Spaniards had continued. Gravelines had fallen to them in May and, hard-pressed, with no hope of relief in sight, d'Estrades had notified the Spanish commander that unless supplies reached him before September 6, he would surrender. The Spanish ambassador had meanwhile been active in London. On September 1 he had obtained an order from the Council of State to Blake to prevent the supplies then being collected in Calais by the French admiral, Vendôme, from reaching Dunkirk, on the ground that it was a justifiable act of reprisal for French injuries to English commerce. On the next day he presented the draft of a commercial treaty between the Spanish king and the Commonwealth to the Council. On September 4 the French supply-ships convoyed by eight men-of-war under Vendôme set sail from Calais, and on the next day Blake, acting under his instructions, attacked Vendôme, took seven of his warships, and captured or dispersed the supply-ships. In consequence Dunkirk surrendered on September 6 as d'Estrades had promised.

Such was the circumstance which brought the Commonwealth into active and official hostility to France. The English Council's action has been described as a "mere incident in a war of reprisals legitimated by the fact that the commanders of the French King's fleet in the Mediterranean had been the first aggressors."¹⁷ It has also been ascribed to the irritation of the Council, and of Cromwell in particular, at Mazarin's delay in handing over Dunkirk to the English, and in recognizing the Commonwealth.¹⁸ There was some fear that it

¹⁶ Holograph original, with seal, sold by Sotheby, May 31, 1912 for £210. Cp. *London Times*, June 1, 1912. Listed in Quaritch Cat. no 429 (1929), item no. 47 (with facs. of entire letter, from which this transcript is made). Again listed for sale by Quaritch in 1935, and in 1936.

¹⁷ Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 190.

¹⁸ T. de Larroque, "Relation de la Defense de Dunkerque," in *Collection Meridionale*, iii. (1872).

might lead to war; but Parliament ordered the crews of the captured vessels to be returned to France—though it kept the ships and their cargoes, rejecting Vendôme's plea for their restitution on the ground that it "did not know the Duke"¹⁹—and Mazarin declined to fight.

Any such small addition to its resources was welcome, for the Commonwealth was hard pressed for money and supplies. On the day that d'Estrades surrendered Dunkirk, Cromwell was appointed with Nicholas Love to suggest some means by which money could be borrowed on the security of the delinquents' lands to supply the army in Scotland and the fleet.²⁰ Following suggestions made earlier, some of the sequestered castles not yet disposed of were being stripped of their brass guns. At this time, on September 10, a report of the Committee on Compounding, declaring that Chepstow and other Monmouth properties belonged to Cromwell,²¹ was confirmed when Francis Bethune, who was bringing in the guns from the northwest garrisons, was ordered to leave those at Chepstow alone as they were the property of the Lord General.²²

It was at this moment, too, that Cromwell was able to be of service to the minister he had long admired and with whom he had been so closely associated. The term of the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Greenwood, was about to expire, and instead of renominating him, the General seized the opportunity of recommending John Owen, who was duly elected. A month later the chancellorship was put in the hands of a commission of which Owen was made the head,²³ so that until Cromwell's death he was the chief director of the University's destinies.

To the Reverend and my worthy Friends the Vicechancellor and Convocation of the University of Oxford

GENTLEMEN,

I understand that the time for the nominating a vice-chancellor for the next year is now approaching, and considering how great need there is of continuing the government of the University in an able and faithful hand, I do hereby nominate and appoint John Owen Dean of Christ Church to the place of Vicechancellor to you for the year following, not being unmindful of the integrity, care and vigilancy of Dr. Greenwood, who hath

¹⁹ Gardiner, ii, 191, from *C. J.*, vii, 175, and Salvetti's letter of Oct. 1/11.

²⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 392.

²¹ Brereton's report on Thurloe's petition was made Aug. 12, 1652. *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 602.

²² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 398.

²³ See Cromwell's recommendation of Oct. 16.

these two last years managed the same, being ready to serve you in all things which may promote the good of the University.

I rest

Your loving friend,

Whitehall

Septemb. 9, 1652.

O. CROMWELL²⁴

On September 14 the committee to which had been referred the officers' petition on August 13 reported that to facilitate the passage of the bill on elections, it should be taken out of the grand committee where it had been buried since the preceding May and the question referred to a small, select committee.²⁵ To this the House agreed, ordering that this new body should be the same as that which had just reported and a blank left for the date of dissolution, thus abandoning its previous dissolution date of November, 1654.²⁶ This much, at least, the army agitation had accomplished; and it is notable that in this new committee the name of Cromwell was included and that of Vane omitted. The omission of the latter has been interpreted as due to his objection to legislating under pressure from the army, and to the fact that he favored partial elections against a dissolution and a general election.²⁷ These may both be true, but it is also true that Vane had been absent in Scotland in August at the time when the committee for the army petition was appointed, though he had now returned.²⁸ In any event, the committee now named was dominated by the officers; and, thus inspired, Parliament made some show of meeting their demands for reform.

While this struggle between the army leaders and Parliament went on, Cromwell was called upon to attend to the infinite variety of details which distracted his attention from the greater affairs of state. The financial strain of the war was now so heavy that the reduction of the army establishment seemed unavoidable; and the Council ordered the general officers—of whom Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison and Monk were the only ones then in the vicinity of London—to attend the Irish and Scotch committee on the morning of September 15,²⁹ though there is no way of telling whether or not Cromwell was present then or at another committee of which he was a member and which met that same afternoon to consider an Act for enabling Ferdinando, Earl of Huntingdon, to sell lands to pay his debts.³⁰ A week

²⁴ Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, p. 170. Cromwell's letters nominating Owen for Vicechancellor, for the years 1653 to 1656 inclusive, are also in the Acts of Convocation. Pr. in *Visitors' Register* (Camden Soc., 1881), p. 353n.

²⁵ *C. J.*, vii, 164.

²⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 178.

²⁷ Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 226-7.

²⁸ *C. J.*, vii, 164, 178.

²⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), iv, 400.

³⁰ *C. J.*, vii, 182.

later he was asked to attend a meeting of the Council of State to discuss the perennial problem of the remaining Scotch prisoners, which still disturbed the English authorities,³¹ but he was not there. On September 24 he was put on a committee to consider Alderman Fowke's petition for indemnity for his losses and sufferings incurred more than twenty years earlier when he had been imprisoned for refusing to pay tonnage and poundage. That ancient grievance was now redressed by a grant to him of forest lands in Essex worth £500 a year.³² On September 28 the General was in the House endeavoring to keep out of the Act for relief of persons on Articles of War a clause providing that the Act should not stand in the way of any resolution of the House concerning particular persons, in which he was defeated by one vote.³³ On the next day he was present by request at the Council meeting to discuss a petition from Roger Alsop, the Marshal-General; and on the last day of the month he was authorized by the Council, where he was present, to send Lambert's regiment to strengthen Hull and Yarmouth, and to reduce his own regiment and that of Ingoldsby from the sixteen hundred, to which they had been recruited when some of them had been sent on board the fleet, to their regular strength of twelve hundred.³⁴

From these scattered and unrelated notices of his activity during September it might be surmised that he was chiefly concerned with what was, after all, his main business in life at the time, the affairs of the army, whether in connection with the details of its management or in support of its contentions for reform. But at this moment that was overshadowed by the news of a battle between Blake and the new commander of the Dutch fleet, the Hollander, de With, which took place on September 28 off the Kentish Knock. The Dutch admiral, who for political reasons had replaced the Zelander, Tromp, had put to sea with orders to seek out the English and fight, orders which were highly agreeable to the character of de With. Reinforced by de Ruyter's squadron which had beaten up the Channel from the west, the Dutch commander with some sixty-four vessels was confronted by Blake and Penn with a much more powerful force and, thanks to that and to the disinclination of some of his captains, mostly Zealanders, to fight, de With was defeated, and Dutch commerce felt

³¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 411. On Oct. 8 he was again asked to attend to discuss the question of the prisoners. *Ibid.*, p. 433.

³² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 416, 455. Fowke was the next Lord Mayor of London.

³³ *C. J.*, vii, 186.

³⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 421, 423-4. On Oct. 7 Cromwell's regiment of 1200 men was ordered to be continued six weeks longer. *Mercurius Politicus* reported (Sept. 16-23) an absurd rumor from Rotterdam that Lambert was on his way to London with 14,000 men to overthrow the government and that Cromwell was on his way to Oxford.

the full weight of English privateering. It was considered in England that this was virtually the deciding victory; but their successes in the Mediterranean and their control of the Sound, together with the absolute necessity of protecting their fleets through the Channel and around the British Isles, made the continuance of the war not only advisable but essential for the Netherlands. In consequence, while the English not only dispersed their ships but sent a squadron to the Sound and even dismantled the batteries overlooking the Downs, the Dutch strained every nerve to equip a new fleet.³⁵

The reasons for this were largely financial. While the Dutch were able to finance the war without resorting to fresh loans, the English were hard pressed for funds, and on October 1 "the distracted state of the Treasury" was considered and the committee, of which Cromwell was a member, which had been appointed in July to consider an Act to bring the various branches of the revenue into one channel, was revived.³⁶ On October 7 the General was put on another committee of no less importance to consider the Declaration for uniting Scotland with England before it was presented to the House on the following day. A deputation from Scotland had come to work out the final details of the Union, and twelve separately confirmed members of the Commons, of whom Cromwell was one, were ordered to meet with the Scots in the old House of Lords on October 12 to make the last preparations for this momentous step.³⁷

It was perhaps no wonder that, confronted with the great issues which pressed upon him and his colleagues—the war, the proposed reforms, the army and Parliament, and the union with Scotland—Cromwell was eager to divest himself of some of his lesser responsibilities, among them some of the duties of the chancellorship of Oxford. In consequence, perhaps at Owen's suggestion, to ensure that affairs at Oxford would run smoothly without his active help, he appointed a committee composed of Owen as vice-chancellor; Dr. Goddard, the General's old physician in Ireland and Scotland and now head of Merton; Thomas Goodwin, president of Magdalen; Peter French, prebend of Christ Church and husband of Cromwell's sister, Robina; and John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham, who presently married Mrs. French on her husband's death. In effect it put the chancellorship into commission, as appears by his authorization:

*By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the
University of Oxford*

Whereas divers applications have been made unto me, from several of the

³⁵ See Gardiner, ii, 194-98; Clowes, *Royal Navy*, ii, 167-70; and Ballhausen.

³⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 159, 188.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 189. The other members were Vane, St. John, Fenwick, Salwey, Haselrig, Whitelocke, Lisle, Harrison, Sidney, Scot and Marten.

Members of the University of Oxford, concerning differences which have arisen between the Members of the said University about divers matters which fall under my cognisance as Chancellor: And forasmuch as differences and complaints of the like nature may happen and arise between them: And considering that it would be very troublesome and chargeable to the parties concerned to attend me at this distance about the same: And the present burden of public affairs not permitting me so fully to hear and understand the same as to be able to give my judgment and determination therein:

I do hereby desire and authorise Mr. John Owen, now Vicechancellor of the University, and the Heads of the several Colleges and Halls there, or any five or more of them (whereof the said Vicechancellor to be one), to hear and examine all such differences and complaints which have, or shall arise, between any of the said Members; giving them as full power and authority as in me lies to order and determine therein as, in their judgments, they shall think meet and agreeable to justice and equity. And this power and commission to continue during the space of six months now next ensuing.

Given under my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

O. CROMWELL.

*By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the
University of Oxford*

Whereas within the University of Oxford there frequently happen several things to be dispensed, granted and confirmed, wherewith the Vicechancellor, Doctors-Regent, Masters and others of the said University, in their Delegacies and Convocations, cannot by their statutes dispense, grant or confirm, without the assent of their Chancellor: And forasmuch as the present weighty affairs of the Commonwealth do call for and engage me to reside, and give my personal attendance, in or near London; so that the scholars of the said University and others are put to much charge and trouble by coming to London to obtain my assent in the cases before mentioned: Therefore, taking the premises into consideration, For the more ease and benefit of the said scholars and University, and that I may with less avocation and diversion attend the councils and service of the Commonwealth:

I do by these presents ordain, authorise, appoint and delegate Mr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vicechancellor of the said University; Dr. Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Warden of Merton College; Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College; and Mr. Peter French, Prebend of Christchurch, or any Three or more of them, To take into consideration all and every matter of dispensation, grant or confirmation whatsoever which requires my assent as Chancellor to the said University, and thereupon to dispense, grant, confirm, or otherwise dispose thereof, as to them shall seem meet; and to certify the same to the Convocation. And all and every such dispensation, grant, confirmation or disposition made by the aforesaid Mr. John Owen, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Peter French, or any three or more of them, shall be to all intents and purposes firm and valid, in as full, large and ample manner as if to every such particular act they had my assent in writing under my hand and seal, or I had been personally present and had given my voice and suffrage thereunto.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

O. CROMWELL,³⁸

Though the journal of the Council of State at this time is full of orders and commissions regarding supplies for the fleet, the disposal of prizes, the fortification of ports, the direction of the commanders, and like war-time measures, so far as any record of his activities reveals, Cromwell was concerned in these no more than his colleagues. That record, is, in fact, curiously scanty. On October 19 he was asked by the Council to have the commander at Chepstow furnish soldiers to help collect the excise in Monmouth and Radnor counties;³⁹ but for the next nine days, except for his attendance on three Council meetings, there is no trace of him. On October 28 he wrote to recommend for a degree a man, who, created M. A. in December, became in time a superior bedel of divinity, later Master of Charterhouse and finally Master of Eton—John Boncle, or as Cromwell spells it phonetically, Bunkley:

For the Reverend the Vicechancellor and members of Convocation in the University of Oxford

GENTLEMEN:

I desire to be tender in engaging you to confer academical degrees upon persons who have not by converse amongst you, or performance of exercises according to the statutes of the University, approved themselves deserving the same. But there is a person, Mr. John Bunkley by name whose eminent learning and worth is such, that I account I may very freely commend him unto you, and desire of you that he may be created Master of Arts, which degree in the judgment of learned men, to whom he is known, he is like to adorn no less, than that, to commend him, so that it can be no act unworthy of yourselves herein to answer the desire and expectation of

Your affectionate friend and chancellor,

Octob. 28th
1652

O. CROMWELL⁴⁰

The day following the letter in behalf of Boncle, Cromwell was named with St. John, now Chancellor of Cambridge, to consider a petition of John Pell, the mathematician, requesting encouragement to remain in England instead of accepting an invitation to return to the continent, where he had taught at Breda and Amsterdam for

³⁸ From the Archives of Oxford University, *Acts of Convocation* (1647-1659), p. 173. Communicated by E. G. Parker. Carlyle, App. 25.

³⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), p. 446.

⁴⁰ Copy in Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation*, 1647-1659, p. 176. John Boncle was created M.A. 22 Dec. 1652, superior bedel of divinity, 1652-3, master of the Charterhouse School, 1653, fellow at Eton, 18 Sept. 1665, and later Master. See Cromwell's recommendation of him as Esquire Bedel, 15 Dec. 1652.

several years. The Council delegated the two chancellors to confer with Whitelocke in the matter, suggesting that Pell be asked to read lectures on mathematics and be given means to stay in England.⁴¹ In consequence he was awarded £200 a year and remained in Cambridge until, some three years later, Cromwell found employment for him on a diplomatic mission to the Swiss cantons.

These were mere details. The main business before the Council, Parliament and the General for the moment was the union with Scotland. On October 28 the committee appointed for that purpose, with Cromwell present, made a report to the Council on the representation from Scotland; and the Scottish deputies read a reply or supplementary report. From these it appeared that of the thirty shires only twenty had sent representatives to the conference which had met in Edinburgh to consider the question, though most of the others had assented to the Union. Of the twenty shires represented, only fifteen had signed the commission of the twenty-one deputies who had come to London, and the chief burghs were even less well represented. Their authority, therefore, appeared somewhat dubious. None the less, with Scotland occupied by an English army, with considerable sections of the people at least not actively opposed to the union, and its opponents in no position to make their objections felt, the result was hardly open to question. On the next day Whitelocke reported an analysis of the situation to Parliament,⁴² which naturally decided that the representation warranted pushing the business through.⁴³

But even Scotland and the war were less important in Cromwell's life than the great issue of reform and the dissolution of Parliament which had been raised by the petition of the officers. With it was coupled revived interest in religion. The Venetian envoy noted at this time that matters of religion, especially the sects, occupied much of the time and attention of those in authority.⁴⁴ The Committee on the Propagation of the Gospel was revived on October 8;⁴⁵ and some time in this period of renewed religious agitation, the Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, William Dell, sometime secretary to Archbishop Laud but now far removed from that position, delivered at Cromwell's house his discourse on *The Crucified and Quickened Christian*.⁴⁶ Some time also in this period the leader of the "Diggers," Gerard Winstanley, issued his *Law of Freedom in a Platform, or True Magistracy Restored, Humbly presented to Oliver Cromwell . . . where-*

⁴¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2), pp. 461, 495.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 459-60.

⁴³ *C. J.*, vii, 202-3.

⁴⁴ Paulucci to Sagredo, Oct. 9/19. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1647-52), p. 297.

⁴⁵ *C. J.*, vii, 190.

⁴⁶ Published 1652.

in is declared what is Kingly Government and what is Commonwealth's Government, with its socialistic, even communistic plan for the regeneration of England.⁴⁷

It had been often remarked during the period of the civil wars that such meetings, especially the prayer-meetings held among the officers and soldiers, invariably portended some startling change in affairs; and at this moment they were apparently revived. As Cromwell himself later declared, a series of meetings was arranged between the chief officers and the leading members of Parliament.

"I believe," he said, "we had at least ten or twelve meetings, most humbly begging and beseeching of them [the Parliament men] that by their own means they would bring forth those good things which had been promised and expected; that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the army, but from their own ingenuity; so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation . . . of the people."⁴⁸

There were, and there had been for some time, an infinity of rumors in regard to the disturbed situation of affairs and the grave dissatisfaction of the army. Lambert was said to be replacing dismissed officers with his own nominees. Balthazar Gerbier spread a rumor in Rotterdam that Cromwell had a design to set the young Duke of Gloucester on the throne with himself as Protector, after the model of Edward VI and Somerset;⁴⁹ and there seems some reason for the report. One thing was certain; it was that change impended. It only remained to see what form it would take. The leaders of the army and many of their followers were thoroughly disgusted with Parliament, honeycombed with cliques, with enough venal members to smirch the reputation of the whole, and determined to cling to their places to the last. As the pamphleteer John Hall wrote:

"the House being by the last purge made thin . . . there was an opportunity given them to become so familiar with one another, that what by their ordinary at Whitehall, and what by their conferences at the Speaker's chamber before the sittings of the House, little was determined but out of design and faction: oppositions and conjunctions were laid, private interests intervened—and these commonly by way of exchange—needless things mightily insisted upon, whilst thousands of poor creditors and petitioners starved at their door with their printed papers unheard, unregarded, unless a crafty solicitor had undertaken—for it is a term I hear as common as practice among lawyers—to make some members, and this with such success as commonly taught them what it was to trust."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Published 1652.

⁴⁸ Speech July 4, 1653.

⁴⁹ *Nicholas Papers*, i, 310.

⁵⁰ *A Letter written to a Gentleman in the Country* (May 3, 1653), ascribed to Milton by Thomason and Masson but Gardiner agrees with Firth that it was by Hall. See *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 228n. It is immaterial whether Hall or Milton wrote it. They were both

This tract has an interest even beyond the fact that it echoed Cromwell's sentiments. There had been a long and tolerably close connection between its author and the General, who had taken Hall to Scotland where he had written various pamphlets in explanation or defence of the activities of Parliament and its commander. In the preceding year he had dedicated his reissue of the Amboyna tract to Cromwell, and he was a co-editor of *Mercurius Politicus* which was, as its sub-title indicated, *In Defence of the Commonwealth*.⁵¹ He seems to have been as pro-Cromwellian as his fellow-editor, John Milton, and it is not beyond the bounds of reasonable conjecture that he was not merely voicing the sentiments of his superior but that it was an inspired publication.

This and the petition of the officers, taken in connection with the meetings which he himself described, raises one of the great problems concerning Cromwell's methods and his character. It is apparent that a great part of the controversy over that much mooted question has arisen from the interpretation of his character by one group on the ground of what he said, and by the other on what he did. It is no less apparent that, as he rose to power, what he refrained from saying—in any fashion which has survived—is no less, indeed far more, important than his reported utterances, so far as the evaluation of his motives is concerned. What has in some measure escaped attention is that he so often found spokesmen for his own opinions, and so often remained in the background of great disputes, appearing as a mediator or a champion of compromise between two contending factions, and though leaning to the extremer side, welcomed as a moderate in comparison with the more advanced elements of his party. Consequently, in the situation which now began to develop between the army and the Parliament, as in so many other cases, he seemed to take the only course possible to prevent something worse. There has seemed to be a species of inevitability about his choice, which has been one of the strongest arguments in favor of even his most violent acts, and he has seemed to his defenders the antagonist of forces whose more disastrous results he averted.

To his own generation, even to many who supported him, however, many of his choices did not seem inevitable nor all his actions defensible, and this has raised the greatest problem of his character and career. Was he, in fact, a mediator between warring factions, or did he help foment situations which enabled him to play that part at the right moment? To Royalists, Republicans and Presbyterians he

Cromwellians and both contributors to *Mercurius Politicus*, and it may well have been written in that office by either one or both of them.

⁵¹ See my *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell* and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. "John Hall," and references in each.

seemed rather the latter than the former. One need not accept the theory that he saw the end from the beginning, or believe that he made his way to the head of the army and so of the state by any well-conceived, long-pondered and ambitious plan. One may even admit that there was a certain inevitability about his whole career, that, being what he was, once having taken up arms, no other result was conceivable. One may agree with the Determinists that one step led inexorably to the next and so to the headship of the state.

One may believe all this, and all good of Cromwell. Yet none the less the original question remains. Did he merely seize his opportunities as they came along or did he help create those opportunities? Against the simple conclusion that he had no choice, or that his problems were set for him without volition on his part, may be set the fact that if he had something of the meekness of the dove in his outward carriage, he had something of the subtlety of the serpent in his intellectual operations, else he would never have been able to overthrow his opponents. He was able to get other men to try out the temper of a situation before he took his stand; he was skilled in the art of dividing and so ruling his enemies. From the beginning of his political career he was notable for his astuteness in taking advantage of divisions which arose among the parties in the state, and one need only look at his campaigns in Ireland and Scotland to perceive both of these qualities. In the breach between the Independent army and the Presbyterian Parliament, as in the breach between the army and the King, in Pride's Purge and in the execution of the King, he seemed pushed forward by fiercer spirits to whose insistence he yielded with every outward show of reluctance; yet there were honest men—on his side as well as on that of his opponents—who believed that he had encouraged, if he had not actually instigated, the very agitation which he professed to moderate.

It is, perhaps, impossible to decide, and each must judge for himself according to his own interpretation of the evidence; nor is there any better example of Cromwell's methods than this last great crisis in his rise to power. If he opposed the Dutch war and its supporters, it was not Cromwell but his "familiar," Hugh Peter, who bore the brunt of that opposition. If he desired the dissolution of Parliament, it was not he but the officers around him who took the active steps. If he wished to discredit Parliament, it was not he but his journalists who made the charges. In those earlier crises he had fled to the army after long and earnest consultations with his colleagues and followers and continual disavowal of any intention of using force against the Parliament; and his decision to push forward the execution of the King was made after like searchings of the spirit with those same officers, and disguised almost to the very end. It was so now. As in earlier days, officers and pamphleteers attacked the Parliament; long

consultations were held with his supporters; fears aroused of the reduction or disbandment of the army; animosity stirred against Parliament. Whether he instigated, or encouraged, or sympathized, or merely took advantage of all this; whether he created, or helped to create, the situation; or whether he was only a passive instrument, he was at least prepared to seize the opportunity.

And it so happens that at this moment we have a certain insight into his mind, denied to us on so many other occasions. Among his many recollections of Cromwell which he later set down, Bulstrode Whitelocke recorded a conversation which he had about this time with the General. It is perhaps the most illuminating picture of Cromwell's mental operations which has come down to us; as revealing as a lightning stroke on a dark and stormy night, showing not merely the immediate surroundings but in some measure lighting up the way which had led to this last turn in the road to power:⁵²

Conversation with Whitelocke c. November 1652

"It was about this time that the Lord-General Cromwell, meeting with Whitelocke, saluted him with more than ordinary courtesy; and desired him to walk aside with him, that they might have some private Discourse together. Whitelocke waited on him, and he began the Discourse betwixt them, which was to this Effect:

CROMWELL, "My Lord Whitelocke, I know your Faithfulness and Engagement in the same good Cause with myself and the rest of our Friends, and I know your Ability and Judgment, and your particular Friendship and Affection for me; indeed I am sufficiently satisfied in these Things, and therefore I desire to advise with you in the main and most important Affairs relating to our present Condition."

WHITELOCKE, "Your Excellency hath known me long, and I think will say that you never knew any Unfaithfulness or Breach of Trust by me; and for my particular Affection to your Person, your Favours to me, and your public Services, have deserved more than I can manifest; only there is, with your Favour, a Mistake in this one Thing, touching my weak judgment, which is incapable to do any considerable Service for yourself or this Commonwealth; yet, to the utmost of my Power, I shall be ready to serve you, and that with all Diligence and Faithfulness."

CROMWELL, "I have Cause to be, and am, without the least Scruple of your Faithfulness, and I know your Kindness to me your old Friend, and your Abilities to serve the Commonwealth, and there are enough besides me that can testify it: And I believe our Engagements for this Commonwealth have

⁵² Carlyle, observing that this account is "unfortunately much dimmed by just suspicion of dramaturgy on the part of Bulstrode . . . a secret royalist in the worst of times," omits the conversation, being, as he says, "in quest of certainty and insight, and not of doubt and fat, drowsy pedantry." Lomas-Carlyle, ii, 255-6. Gardiner, on the other hand, accepts the story virtually without reservation. *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 231n. Except for Carlyle, all biographers of Cromwell have regarded it as genuine, as there seems every reason to believe it is.

been, and are, as deep as most Men's; and there never was more Need of Advice, and solid hearty Counsel, than the present State of our Affairs doth require."

WHITELOCKE, "I suppose no Man will mention his particular Engagement in this Cause, at the same Time when your Excellency's Engagement is remembered; yet to my Capacity, and in my Station, few Men have engaged further than I have done; and that (besides the Goodness of your own Nature and personal Knowledge of me) will keep you from any Jealousy of my Faithfulness."

CROMWELL, "I wish there were no more Ground of Suspicion of others, than of you. I can trust you with my Life, and the most secret Matters relating to our Business; and to that End I have now desired a little private Discourse with you; and really, my Lord, there is very great Cause for us to consider the dangerous Condition we are all in, and how to make good our Station, to improve the Mercies and Successes which God hath given us; and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken in Pieces, by our particular Jarings and Animosities one against another; but to unite our Counsels, and Hands and Hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought, with so much Hazard, Blood, and Treasure; and that, the Lord having given us an entire Conquest over our Enemies, we should not now hazard all again by our private Janglings, and bring those Mischiefs upon ourselves, which our Enemies could never do."

WHITELOCKE, "My Lord, I look upon our present Danger as greater than ever it was in the Field, and (as your Excellency truly observes) our Prone-ness to destroy ourselves, when our Enemies could not do it. It is no strange Thing for a gallant Army, as yours is, after full Conquest of their Enemies, to grow into Factions and ambitious Designs; and it is a Wonder to me that they are not in high Mutinies, their Spirits being active, and few thinking their Services to be duly rewarded, and the Emulation of the Officers breaking out daily more and more, in this Time of their Vacancy from their Employment; besides, the private Soldiers, it may be feared, will, in this Time of their Idleness, grow into Disorder; and it is your excellent Conduct which, under God, hath kept them so long in Discipline, and free from Mutinies."

CROMWELL, "I have used, and shall use, the utmost of my poor Endeavours to keep them all in Order and Obedience."

WHITELOCKE, "Your Excellency hath done it hitherto even to Admiration."

CROMWELL, "Truly God hath blessed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do so still. Your Lordship hath observed most truly the Inclinations of the Officers of the Army to particular Factions, and to Murmurings that they are not rewarded according to their Deserts; that others, who have adventured least, have gained most; and they have neither Profit, nor Preferment, nor Place in Government, which others hold, who have undergone no Hardships nor Hazards for the Commonwealth; and herein they have too much of Truth, yet their Insolency is very great, and their Influence upon the private Soldiers works them to the like Discontents and Murmurings."

"Then as for the Members of Parliament, the Army begins to have a strange Distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much Cause for it; and really their Pride, and Ambition, and Self-seeking, ingrossing all

Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and their Friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent Parties and Factions; their Delays of Business, and Designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the Power in their own Hands; their meddling in private Matters between Party and Party, contrary to the Institution of Parliaments, and their Injustice and Partiality in those Matters, and the scandalous Lives of some of the Chief of them; these Things, my Lord, do give too much Ground for People to open their Mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the Bounds of Justice, Law, or Reason; they themselves being the Supreme Power of the Nation, liable to no Account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other Power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them: So that, unless there be some Authority, and Power so full and so high as to restrain and keep Things in better Order, and that may be a Check to these Exorbitancies, it will be impossible, in human Reason, to prevent our Ruin."

WHITELOCKE, "I confess the Danger we are in by these Extravagances and inordinate Powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended; yet as to that Part of it which concerns the Soldiery, your Excellency's Power and Commission is sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due Obedience; and, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but, by your Wisdom, you will be able still to do it.

"As to the Members of Parliament, I confess the greatest Difficulty lies there; your Commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the Supreme Power of the Nation, subject to no Controuls, nor allowing any Appeal from them: Yet I am sure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved; too many of them are much to blame in those Things you have mentioned, and many unfit Things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major Part of them, when great Matters come to a Decision."

CROMWELL, "My Lord, there is little Hopes of a good Settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of Fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us; we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to Confusion; and these Men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their Ways; some Course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them."

WHITELOCKE, "We ourselves have acknowledged them the Supreme Power, and taken our Commissions and Authority in the highest Concernments from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a Way for it."

CROMWELL, "What if a Man should take upon him to be King?"

WHITELOCKE, "I think that Remedy would be worse than the Disease."

CROMWELL, "Why do you think so?"

WHITELOCKE, "As to your own Person the Title of King would be of no Advantage, because you have the full Kingly Power in you already, concerning the Militia, as you are General. As to the Nomination of Civil Officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and altho' you have no Negative Vote in the passing of Laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the Taxes are already settled, and in your Power to dispose the Money raised. And as to Foreign Affairs, though the ceremonial Application be made to the Parliament, yet the Expectation of good or bad Success in it

is from your Excellency; and particular Solicitations of Foreign Ministers are made to you only: So that I apprehend, indeed, less Envy and Danger, and Pomp, but not less Power, and real Opportunities of doing Good in your being General than would be if you had assumed the Title of King."

CROMWELL, "I have heard some of your Profession observe, That he who is actually King, all Acts done by him as King are as lawful and justifiable as by any King who hath the Crown by Inheritance from his Forefathers: And that by an Act of Parliament in Henry the Seventh's Time it is safer for those who act under a King, be his Title what it will, than for those who act under any other Power. And surely the Power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood and revered by the People of this Nation, that the Title of it might not only indemnify, in a great Measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great Use and Advantage in such Times as these, to curb the Insolences of those whom the present Powers cannot controul, or at least are the Persons themselves who are thus insolent."

WHITELOCKE, "I agree in general with what you are pleased to observe as to this Title of King; but whether for your Excellency to take this Title upon you as Things now are, will be for the Good and Advantage either of yourself and Friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt; notwithstanding that Act of Parliament, 11 Hen. VII. which will be little regarded, or observed to us by our Enemies, if they should come to get the upper Hand of us."

CROMWELL, "What do you apprehend would be the Danger of taking this Title?"

WHITELOCKE, "The Danger, I think, would be this: One of the main Points of Controversy betwixt us and our Adversaries is, whether the Government of this Nation shall be established in Monarchy, or in a Free State or Commonwealth; and most of our Friends have engaged with us upon the Hopes of having the Government settled in a Free State, and to effect that have undergone all their Hazards and Difficulties, they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the Government of a Commonwealth they shall enjoy more Liberty and Right, both as to their Spiritual and Civil Concernments, than they shall under Monarchy; the Pressures and Dislike whereof are so fresh in their Memories and Sufferings.

"Now if your Excellency should take upon you the Title of King, this State of your Cause will be thereby wholly determined, and Monarchy established in your Person; and the Question will be no more whether our Government shall be by a Monarch, or by a Free State, but whether CROMWELL or STUART shall be our King and Monarch.

"And that Question, wherein before so great Parties of the Nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this Means become, in effect, a private Controversy only. Before it was National, What Kind of Government we should have, now it will become particular, Who shall be our Governour, whether of the Family of the Stuarts, or of the Family of the Cromwells?

"Thus the State of our Controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable Party) having their Hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your Hands will be weakened, your Interest straitened and your Cause in apparent Danger to be ruined."

CROMWELL, "I confess you speak Reason in this; but what other Thing can you propound that may obviate the present Dangers and Difficulties wherein we are all engaged?"

WHITELOCKE, "It will be the greatest Difficulty to find out such an Expedient. I have had many Things in my private Thoughts upon this Business, some which perhaps are not fit, or safe, for me to communicate."

CROMWELL, "I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no Prejudice come to you by any private Discourse betwixt us; I shall never betray my Friend; you may be as free with me as with your own Heart, and shall never suffer by it."

WHITELOCKE, "I make no Scruple to put my Life and Fortune into your Excellency's Hand; and so I shall, if I impart these Fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency; therefore my best Way will be to smother them."

CROMWELL, "Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitelocke, let me know them; be they what they will they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you: Therefore, I pray, do not conceal those Thoughts of yours from your faithful Friend."

WHITELOCKE, "Your Excellency honours me with a Title far above me; and since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my Thoughts herein; and humbly desire you not to take in ill Part what I shall say to you."

CROMWELL, "Indeed I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you."

WHITELOCKE, "Give me Leave then, first, to consider your Excellency's Condition. You are environ'd with secret Enemies: Upon your subduing of the public Enemy, the Officers of your Army account themselves all Victors, and to have had an equal Share in the Conquest with you.

"The Success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their Minds; and many of them are busy and of turbulent Spirits, and are not without their Designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the Saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves.

"They want not Counsel and Encouragement herein; it may be from some Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your Power and Greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in Time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your Wings.

CROMWELL, "I thank you that you so fully consider my Condition; it is a Testimony of your Love to me, and Care of me, and you have rightly considered it; and I may say without Vanity, that in my Condition yours is involved and all our Friends; and those that plot my Ruin will hardly bear your Continuance in any Condition worthy of you. Besides this, the Cause itself may possibly receive some Disadvantage by the Strugglings and Contentions among ourselves. But what, Sir, are your Thoughts for Prevention of those Mischiefs that hang over our Heads?"

WHITELOCKE, "Pardon me, Sir, in the next Place, a little to consider the Condition of the King of Scots.

"This Prince being now by your Valour, and the Success which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low Condition; both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any Terms, whereby their lost Hopes may be revived of his

being restored to the Crown, and they to their Fortunes and native Country.

"By a private Treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your Friends and their Fortunes; you may make yourself and your Posterity as great and permanent, to all Human Probability, as ever any Subject was, and provide for your Friends. You may put such Limits to Monarchical Power, as will secure our Spiritual and Civil Liberties, and you may secure the Cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the Power of the Militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you.

"I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private Treaty with him for this Purpose; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the Occasion. It is out of my Affection and Service to your Excellency, and to all honest Men; and I humbly pray you not to have any Jealousy thereupon of my approved Faithfulness to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.

CROMWELL, "I have not, I assure you, the least Distrust of your Faithfulness and Friendship to me, and to the Cause of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much Reason for what you propound; but it is a Matter of so high Importance and Difficulty, that it deserves more Time of Consideration and Debate than is at present allowed us: We shall therefore take a further Time to discourse of it."

"With this the General brake off, and went to other Company, and so into Whitehall; seeming, by his Countenance and Carriage, displeased with what had been said; yet he never objected it against me [Whitelocke] in any public Meeting afterwards: Only his Carriage towards me, from that Time, was altered, and his advising with me not so frequent and intimate as before; and it was not long after that he found an Occasion by honourable Employment, to send me out of the Way. . ."⁵³

No one can read that conversation without feeling that in general it is true; that it reveals what had been in Cromwell's mind for some time, how long no one can say; and that it represents not only the situation of the moment but in some degree at least the motives which animated Cromwell and his followers in this last great crisis of the Commonwealth. It echoes all the old arguments; it breathes the spirit of an army and its leader bent on a new order; and it expresses more clearly than any other of Cromwell's utterances what seem to be his real convictions and his remedy for the ills of the state. It is the only record which remains of this important period which is of any consequence. The rest are insignificant. He ordered the removal of the inferior officers of Ingoldsby's regiment and their families from St. James's palace; he considered Pell's petition;⁵³ he attended the Council about a third of the time. On November 18 he noted on a paper concerning the case of Lord Vaux of Harrowden and his wife, the Countess of Banbury, against a certain John White, late

⁵³ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, pp. 548-51; repr. in *Old. Parl. Hist.* xx, 104-112.

⁵⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1651-2) pp. 474, 495.

of Reading, which the Committee for the Advance of Money had asked their counsel, Brereton, to draw up for Parliament to be presented by the Speaker and the Lord General:

Notation

"We have considered the above case, but the important affairs of the Commonwealth are so numerous that we cannot find opportunity to move Parliament in it. As we consider it cognizable by you, we advise you to resume the business, and decide it according to your rules."

(Signed) WILLIAM LENTHALL, Speaker,

November 18, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁵

To this the committee answered, after the manner of its kind, on the following February 15, that it could do nothing more than refer the case back to Parliament. But it is evident from even this brief and unsatisfactory glimpse of the General that he was too disturbed to take an interest in such a matter as had often in the past absorbed much of his time and attention. Five days later he set his hand to a receipt for the hundred shillings due him as Lord High Steward of Gloucester:

23 Novemb 1652.

Recd of the Maior and Burgs of Glouc ^r by the hands of Mr. Dorney Townclerke of the said City, the day and year aboves ^d the some of ffive pounds as being a fee due to me as Lord high Steward of the said Citty, I say Recd . . .	}	£ s. d. 05 00 00
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O. CROMWELL.⁵⁶

These two trifling documents are all that remain in writing of the month of November, 1652, in Cromwell's life. Nor is that surprising; for, apart from his conversations with the officers and the subterranean intrigues which went on against the background of the war, there were two other events in this period which gave point to his refusal to take an interest in the troubles of Lord Vaux. The first was the election of a new Council of State on November 24, the day after he signed his receipt for Gloucester. In accordance with the provisions of the arrangements under the *Agreement of the People*, the Council was chosen yearly. Of its forty-one members, twenty-one were eligible for re-election, the other twenty were chosen from outside, though members of earlier Councils were eligible for re-election after an interval of a year. In the present somewhat disturbed situa-

⁵⁵ *S. P. Dom. Interregnum A.*, cxlviii, 81. See *Cal. Comm. for Advance of Money*, p. 1317. Summary in Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 73. Cp. p. 360.

⁵⁶ Pr. in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 411; Carlyle, App. 28. Cal. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 12 App. ix (Gloucester), p. 507.

tion of politics the election to the new Council was naturally of much significance; and it might have been expected that there would be important changes in its membership.

That, as it happened, was not the case, despite the testimony of Paulucci who says that the peace party was successful in the choice of its candidates. Of the twenty-one old members re-elected, all but Morley, Wallop and Wentworth had been among those re-elected the previous year, and these three had been on previous Councils. All of the twenty new members except four—Colonels Sidney, Norton and Ingoldsby, and the Earl of Salisbury—had been on the third Council, and Salisbury had been a member of the first and second Councils. Some of the army members were excluded, but others, including Harrison and Skippon, were chosen in their places. Marten was defeated; and Blake and Fleetwood, possibly on account of their new duties, were not re-elected; nor was this surprising in the case of Blake who had been chosen to only one Council and then by the narrowest of margins. As usual, Cromwell, Whitelocke and St. John stood at the head of the poll, but, surprisingly, Rolle nosed Vane out of fourth place. And, as usual, Parliament showed an astonishing interest in the election, casting 121 votes as against its attendance on the next day of 62.

It is difficult, in large measure it is impossible, to unravel the tangled skein of parties and politics at this moment, to differentiate between the peace and war parties, between Cromwellians and anti-Cromwellians, between those who desired immediate dissolution and those who differed from that position in whole or part. Some men are easy to place. Harrison and Lambert favored immediate dissolution; Marten and Scot were opposed. Haselrig objected to the proposal of men like Harrison to dissolve and put the government into the hands of a small council. Vane championed the recruiting of the House through a series of bye-elections. St. John, though he was charged with being Cromwell's "dark lantern and privy councillor"—a charge which he later bitterly denied—seems, like Cromwell, not to have committed himself openly, but was doubtless for dissolution. The army officers were supposed to be wholly in favor of getting rid of the old Parliament; the politicians of the House were against it, and there was good reason for this antagonism.

If in practice Parliament was at the mercy of the army, in theory the army was the creature of Parliament, which could give or withhold supplies, confirm or refuse to confirm commissions, dictate policies, and direct the course and use of the armed forces. It might even change commanders; it might, in the last resort, vote to reduce the army to impotence or abolish it. That, under the circumstances, was practically inconceivable, but the legal authority was there and at every stage the army and its leaders had paid it at least lip-service.

They had fought and conquered in the name of Parliament; they had followed its instructions—and without its sanction they had no legal existence. Moreover each party to the dispute realized the weakness of its position and each was irritated by the situation in which it found itself. So long as their interests were identical, so long as they were held together by the common necessity of self-preservation, the underlying antagonism was concealed or suppressed. Now that they had won, it was certain to break out. The situation, moreover, was complicated by the fact that many officers—and Cromwell among them—sat in Parliament. Some of them, like him, had, in fact, been members of Parliament before they were officers, and some of them were torn between their two loyalties. Holding strong opinions as many of them did, it was not easy for men who realized the force behind them to bow to the will of the majority in Parliament when it conflicted with their judgment or desires. The result was that they came to despise the politicians who seemed to them mere self-seekers, corrupt and careless of the public good, yet who prevailed over those who felt themselves the saviors of society and the real masters of the state. The continuation of that situation they were determined to prevent; and there was another element which disturbed both army and Parliament and made the position of both difficult and delicate.

They realized that they were in a minority, that they were hated by the great mass of the people, that they did not dare to appeal to the country, and that there was an exiled king and a powerful popular interest in his restoration. It behooved them to walk warily, for even then the Royalists and Presbyterians were looking forward hopefully to the day when they should fall out among themselves and the king should enjoy his own again. It was, then, natural that there should be hesitation and doubt, even amid this clash of opinions and interests, for the next step the Commonwealth took, if it proved a false one, might well be its last.

These party maneuvers were suddenly interrupted by news of the most disturbing character. At the end of November a great fleet of Dutch merchantmen, reckoned at three hundred vessels, was prepared to sail after its usual fashion at that time of year to all quarters of the world. Every effort had been made by the Dutch to protect it. Some seventy-three men-of-war under their ablest commanders, Tromp and Evertsen as admirals, de Ruyter as vice-admiral and Floriszoon as rear-admiral, had been gathered to protect its passage through the Channel. To oppose that passage Blake lay in the Downs with no more than thirty-seven ships, so hard-pressed were the English for money and so certain were they that the battle off Kentish Knock had crippled their antagonists beyond recovery. The result was a disaster for their fleet. On November 29 Tromp appeared with

his whole force which on the next day defeated Blake with severe losses. Tromp carried his convoy through in triumph; the Dutch regained control of the Channel;⁵⁷ and Blake hastened to present his resignation to the Council, which, only two days before the battle, had joined Monk and Deane with him as his colleagues.⁵⁸

This was a staggering blow to the English war party. The Council refused to accept Blake's resignation; began an investigation of the battle, especially of the conduct of various captains who had refused to fight;⁵⁹ and did its best to find means to reinforce the fleet to meet Tromp when he returned from his convoy mission to the Bay of Biscay with the incoming merchantmen. That, it was known, would not be for two or three months, a period which would provide opportunity to re-equip the navy. In pursuance of that plan the efforts to raise money were redoubled. Three days before Blake's defeat, Parliament had voted to sell the royal palaces of Windsor, Hampton Court and Somerset House, together with Enfield Chase, state property at Greenwich, and even Hyde Park, for ready money to meet the expenses of the war; and it is notable that Cromwell was on the committee which was named to bring in the bill which included the residence voted to him after Worcester.⁶⁰ Though the plan fell through—possibly for lack of purchasers—and Hampton Court was later restored to him,⁶¹ it reveals the straits to which the revolutionary government was reduced to find money. In spite of itself it was driven on December 10 to the unpopular measure of restoring the assessment from £90,000 a month to its old figure of £120,000.⁶² The lands of the delinquents were presently ordered to be sold, together with several houses which had belonged to Charles I, and the matter of the sale of the cathedrals was again revived.

It was apparent from these strong measures that the Commonwealth was near the end of its resources. The effect of this on Cromwell was considerable. Not only was he to be deprived of Hampton Court but his army was in grave danger of drastic reduction. The appointment of Deane to the fleet demanded a successor for him in Scotland, and this necessitated a readjustment of the officers in that service. Deane was left in nominal charge, but Colonel Lilburne was made acting commander; Overton was given charge of the western counties and Morgan of the forces north of the Tay.⁶³ In the face of

⁵⁷ See Gardiner, *ut supra*; Clowes; and Ballhausen, for an account of the battle.

⁵⁸ Printed in Deane, *Life of Richard Deane*, p. 526. *C. J.* vii, 222.

⁵⁹ Instructions in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 3.

⁶⁰ *C. J.*, vii, 222, Hampton Court was ordered sold on Dec. 31. *Ibid.*, vii, 239.

⁶¹ The sale was stayed by the Little Parliament on Sept. 26, 1653. *Ibid.*, vii, 324.

⁶² Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 653.

⁶³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), pp. 8-9; Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 62ff.

Tromp's success and the recent depredations of the Dutch on the Kentish and Sussex coasts, Cromwell was ordered to send more foot to Dover and a horse regiment to strengthen the guards which he had already stationed in the ports.⁶⁴ The Isle of Wight seemed a natural danger-point, and the Council, having listened to Colonel Sydenham's proposals for its fortification, ordered the General to send part of the regiments of Barkstead and Constable thither, and the rest to Harwich and Landguard Fort which commanded its harbor.⁶⁵

Such were the first steps taken by the new Council to meet the situation caused by Tromp's victory. On December 2 it appointed its standing committees, continuing Cromwell on that for Irish and Scotch affairs, and on the Committee for Trade and Plantations and Foreign Affairs, now increased to twenty members.⁶⁶ On that day the General sent an order to Colonels Thomas Mason, G. Twisleton and Thomas Madrin to audit Colonel John Carter's disbursements for Conway Castle; though it would appear that it was many months before Carter was repaid, if he ever was,⁶⁷ for the Committee of the Army had little money at its command. How strained its resources were is evidenced by the fact that on December 6 it was ordered by Parliament to confer with the General and other officers to see how its appropriation of £80,000 a month could be made to cover the army expenses without resorting to free quarter.⁶⁸ The Committee on Compounding was equally short of funds. To Cromwell's complaint that a man blinded at Marston Moor had received only a fifth of the compensation voted him in 1647, it replied by advising him to obtain a fresh order:

*To the Honourable the Commissioners for Compounding at
Haberdashers' Hall: These*

GENTLEMEN,

The Parliament having been graciously pleased to grant an order unto you for the payment of an hundred pounds unto one Thomas Cave, who was of my regiment at Marston Moor fight, in which service he lost both his eyes; of which sum, as I am informed, he hath hitherto received only twenty pounds, and that he is at present in a very sad and perishing condition unless speedily relieved; wherefore I earnestly desire you to take

⁶⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), pp. 2, 8, 9.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 21.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶⁷ Audited 20 Feb., 1652-3. Carter petitioned Cromwell for reimbursement Mar. 10, 1653-4. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 18 (1654).

⁶⁸ *C. J.*, vii, 226. The same day the Army Committee was ordered to pay Cromwell's regiment for two more months. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 13.

his distressed condition into consideration, and that you will cause the remainder of the said moneys to be forthwith paid unto him.

Not doubting of your ready compliance to so good and charitable a work,
 I remain, gentlemen,
 Your assured friend,
 O. CROMWELL.⁶⁹

Cockpit,
 December 9th, 1652.

On the day that the General wrote this letter he was placed by Parliament on a committee to consider a bill for constituting commissioners for the affairs of the admiralty and the navy, to report the next day, December 10, as part of the effort made to restore the weakened strength and morale of the sea-forces.⁷⁰ On that same day he wrote to Anthony Hungerford to apologize for some "unhandsomeness," now unknown, on Cromwell's part:

For my honoured Friend Anthony Hungerford, Esquire: These

SIR,

I understand, by my Cousin Dunch, of so much trouble of yours, and so much unhandsomeness (at least seeming so) on my part, as doth not a little afflict me, until I give you this account of my innocency.

He was pleased to tell my wife of your often resorts to my house to visit me, and of your disappointments. Truly, had I but once known of your being there, and had concealed myself, it had been an action so below a gentleman or an honest man, so full of ingratitude for your civilities I have received from you, as would have rendered me unworthy of human society. Believe me, Sir, I am much ashamed that the least colour of the appearance of such a thing should have happened, and could not take satisfaction but by this plain-dealing for my justification, which I ingeniously offer to you. And although Providence did not dispose other matters to our mutual satisfaction, yet your nobleness in the overture obligeth me, and I hope shall whilst I live, to study upon all occasions to approve myself your family's and your

Most affectionate and humble servant,

Cockpit,
 10th December, 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

My Wife and I desire our service be presented to your Lady and family.⁷¹

The new Act for the assessment of £120,000 a month for six months was passed on the day that Cromwell wrote this letter, December 10;

⁶⁹ Signed. Seal of arms, broken. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum A.*, cxvi. 60. Lomas-Carlyle, Supp. 74. And see *Cal. of Committee for Advance of Money*, p. 855.

⁷⁰ *C. J.*, vii, 227.

⁷¹ Pr. in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Bath Mss.*, ii, 106-7, from a copy of the original at Farley Castle, Somerset. Pr. also in Oliver Cromwell, *Memoirs of the Protector* (1822), ii, 488; Carlyle, CLXXXVI. See Collinson, *History of Somersetshire*, iii, 357. Another letter of this date, to Cromwell's daughter-in-law, Dorothy, is listed in *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept. 2, App.*, (Mss. of Mrs. Prescott), p. 98, but it has been impossible to locate it.

and he was named to the committees for Cambridge, Ely, Huntingdonshire, Essex, Hampshire and Glamorganshire, which gives some indication of the distribution of his now numerous and valuable estates.⁷² It appears from the records of the new Council that he was more regular in his attendance in that body than in its predecessor. And it is even more notable that he was permitted to send his secretary, Malyn, to the committee sitting to discuss the question of liberated prisoners, to give information as to those set free by the General himself.⁷³ On the 15th of December, however, he was required to report in person to the Admiralty Committee on the disposition of five hundred men he had lately sent to Rochester.⁷⁴ On that day he wrote another recommendation to Oxford:

*To the Reverend the Vicechancellor and the members of Convocation
of the University of Oxford*

GENTLEMEN,

I did, not long since, recommend unto you Mr. Bunkley to be created Mr. of Arts, as a person who in respect of his singular worth was like to adorne that degree. I now understand that there is a vacancy of one of the Esquire Bedle's places; and truly his eminent learning and piety being such (as I am informed) I cannot but judge that, in that station he would be a very considerable ornament to your University; and that I may do you a good office by recommending him to your election into that place, and that by such an act of yours you would advantage yourselves and do that which would be acceptable unto your best friends as well as testify your respects unto

Your affectionate friend and chancellor,

[before 15 Dec. 1652]

O. CROMWELL⁷⁵

Driven forward by the problem of securing money for the war and by its recent ill success, the revolutionary government was not merely endeavoring to find means to support the tremendous burden of its army and navy, but it was seeking means to make its administration less expensive and more effective than the haphazard arrangements which had sufficed for the period of the civil wars but was now found too cumbersome and too costly to be continued. It had already taken steps to consolidate its finances. It had appointed a committee to supervise the armed forces; and on the motion of the Committee for the Army a "Committee for the Army and Treasurers at War" was

⁷² Firth and Rait, ii, 653.

⁷³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 25. Order of Dec. 14.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁷⁵ Oxford Univ. Archives, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-1659*, pp. 177-8. No date is given but it was read in Convocation Dec. 15, 1652. Cp. Cromwell's recommendation for the degree of M.A. 28 Oct. 1652.

now created with Cromwell as a member.⁷⁶ To those duties he also added, apparently, the appointment of postmasters, as bids on contracts for carrying letters handed in to the Council's committee for the posts were sealed on December 23 with Cromwell's seal, pending their consideration by Postmaster-General Prideaux and the committee on the posts.⁷⁷ It is, in fact, difficult to find any phase of government or appointment in which he did not have a part, or dominate, so many threads were gathered in his hands at this moment. And, apart from other considerations, it is not difficult to perceive that if, as he intimated to Whitelocke, "a Man should take it on him to be King," and if he were the man, the transition would not be so great as one might imagine. So far had he come toward supreme power it was no wonder that it might well seem only a step from the threshold to the throne itself. It was evident to him as to others that England had not only changed profoundly but was destined to still greater change. The end of the revolutionary movement had not yet been reached, though what that end would be, some had already begun to conceive—whether as friends or foes—and Cromwell perhaps among them.

In two directions that change was apparent. The army had long since lost the peculiar character of "godliness" which the Presbyterian minister, Richard Baxter had noted in its earlier stages; but it had retained and developed the spirit of a state within a state. He had observed several years earlier the tendency of its leaders to compare themselves with the knights and barons who had followed William the Conqueror six centuries before to the conquest of England. That spirit had grown as the spirit of Puritanism had waned. The army still contained men of profound religious feeling, many of whom, like Harrison, were inclining more and more to the extremer sects. Many more paid at least lip-service to the "good old cause." But it now had a large element of more or less professional soldiers. Like Parliament, it was no longer dominated by religious motives as it had once been. That spirit was replaced by more moderate, if not more worldly, motives, and if there was no less concern for true religion, there was far more consideration for form and organization, order and system, in church affairs, among soldiers and people alike.

Of this there were at this moment two striking instances. The first was the demand for the preaching ministry in Wales, to which Cromwell and his officers were devoted but to which Parliament paid but little attention. The second was the formation of the so-called "Worcestershire Association." This was the creation of Baxter, who, organizing his own parish of Kidderminster, extended that organization

⁷⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 230.

⁷⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 110.



OLIVARIUS CROMWELL PRINCIPALIS ANGELI
 TENENS ET GUBERNATOR HIBERNIE CUNO
 CRIMINE FACINOROSI QUAE ADIUT MUNDI
 QUAELIBET PROLE COMITATUR CLIPON
 R. J. B. H. P. C. 1658. P. 16. M.
 D. 16. 1658. P. 16. M.

REVERENDI DON. GENERALIS LEO
 NISSE. ACADEMIE CANCELLARIUS
 N. 16. 1658. P. 16. M.
 N. 16. 1658. P. 16. M.

OLIVER CROMWELL AT ABOUT THE AGE OF 52. FROM THE ORIGINAL BY F. MAZOT (22" x 17")
 IN THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.

to the county of Worcester, bringing within its fold not only Presbyterians but Independents and moderate Episcopalians. It was the earliest form of that movement toward church unity which has so attracted modern minds, and it took concrete shape at this moment in a petition to Parliament on December 22, asking that the "peaceable" divines of each party be called together to report on "a meet way for accommodation and unity."⁷⁸ Parliament, troubled with many things at this moment, had neither time nor inclination to take up such a programme; but it was extended little by little to other counties by the energies of its advocates and took its place alongside the official proposals to bring order out of the religious chaos into which England had fallen. Deeply as Baxter distrusted and disliked Cromwell, bitterly suspicious as he was of what he called later the "intolerable" sects, much as he might have disagreed with Owen in his plan for church government, it was evident to the Presbyterian as to the Independent that some form of order and organization was necessary to replace that system to which Laud had devoted his life. Like Owen and Baxter, Cromwell perceived that liberty was not enough; and from this moment there came various moves to regulate its more extreme manifestations and drive a wedge between the "fanatics" and the more reasonable elements.

That he still took an interest—and a share—in the government of Oxford, his note of December 28 to Owen indicates:

To Mr. John Owen, Vice-Chancellor, and the rest of the Convocation of the University of Oxford

Understanding that there has been an augmentation of allowance granted to five of the Beadles of the University of Oxford by Convocation, and likewise by the Committee of Parliament for the University, which continued until 13 November last, and that there are the same grounds for the continuance thereof, he desires that it may be continued until a larger and more competent subsistence be found for them.

Cockpit, Dec. 28, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁷⁹

Finally, as the last document we have of this period of his life, there is a letter whose date is uncertain, though it seems to have been written in 1652 and possibly about this time:

For the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland: These

DEAR CHARLES,

I thank you for your loving letter. The same hopes and desires, upon your planting into my family, were much the same in me that

⁷⁸ *The Humble Petition of the County of Worcester; The Worcestershire Petition Defended*; Calamy, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*; C. J. vii, 233.

⁷⁹ Copy in the Archives of Oxford University. Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 75.

you express in yours to me. However, the dispensation of the Lord is, to have it otherwise for the present; and therein I desire to acquiesce; not being out of hope but that it may lie in His good pleasure, in His time, to give us the mutual comfort of our relation, the want whereof He is able abundantly to supply by His own presence; which indeed makes up all defects, and is the comfort of all our comforts and enjoyments.

Salute your dear wife from me. Bid her beware of a bondage spirit. Fear is the natural issue of such a spirit; the antidote is, Love. The voice of fear is (If I had done this; if I had avoided that, how well it had been with me!)—I know this hath been her vain reasoning.

Love argueth on this wise: What a Christ have I; what a Father in and through Him! What a name hath my Father: Merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth; forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin. What a nature hath my Father: He is Love—free in it, unchangeable, infinite. What a Covenant between Him and Christ, for all the seed, for every one: wherein He undertakes all, and the poor soul nothing. The new Covenant is grace to or upon the soul, to which it is passive and receptive. I do away their sins; I'll write my law, &c.; I'll put it in their hearts; they shall never depart from me, &c.

This commends the love of God: it's Christ dying for men without strength, for men whilst sinners, whilst enemies. And shall we seek for the root of our comforts within us; what God hath done, what He is to us in Christ, is the root of our comfort. In this is stability; in us is weakness. Acts of obedience are not perfect, and therefore yield not perfect peace. Faith, as an act, yields it not, but as it carries us into Him, who is our perfect rest and peace; in whom we are accounted of, and received by, the Father, even as Christ Himself. This is our high calling. Rest we here, and here only.

Commend me to Harry Cromwell. I pray for him, that he may thrive, and improve in the knowledge and love of Christ. Commend me to all the officers. My prayers indeed are daily for them. Wish them to beware of bitterness of spirit, and of all things uncomely for the gospel. The Lord give you abundance of wisdom, and faith and patience. Take heed also of your natural inclination to compliance.

Pray for me. I commit you to the Lord; and rest,

Your loving father,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

The boy and Bettie are very well. Show what kindness you well may to Colonel Clayton, to my nephew Gregory, to Claypole's brother.⁸⁰

In such fashion ended the year 1652, which had begun with such high hopes of a speedy and "permanent" settlement of the affairs of the kingdom and closed in such an atmosphere of doubt and discouragement, of "bitterness of spirit" among the officers. Much had, indeed, been done, and much more begun, but to men who had borne,

⁸⁰ Carlyle, CLXXXVII, from *Add. Mss.*, 4165, f. 1. The letter was begun by a secretary but finished in Cromwell's hand. The children mentioned in the postscript are probably Ireton's children, or possibly Fleetwood's by his first marriage, for each had a daughter Elizabeth.

as they believed, all the burden and danger of the war, peace had not brought the immediate rewards they had hoped and expected. Royalist Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian, Irish and Scotch had been beaten down. King, Lords and bishops had disappeared, yet new foes arose to thwart the hopes of honest men. Parliament itself seemed to stand in the path which led to the Heavenly City of their dreams and against it, in consequence, they turned their next attack.

What form that attack should take and what would happen if it should succeed were as yet undefined. To their minds only one thing was certain. It was that the "pious and faithful" must control affairs. Beyond that all was as yet undetermined, yet that lack of definition was not due to lack of plans. The Levellers, and still more the Diggers, were bent on a democratic, if not a communistic order of society. The Republicans clung to the idea of a Commonwealth; the monarchists, whether Anglican or Presbyterian, to the restoration of the Stuarts; and lawyers like Whitelocke sympathized with that answer to the problem. While Vane and his followers fought for the continuance of Parliament in its existing form, their opponents were determined to replace it with a very different body and some of the officers were already considering substituting for it a committee or council. Among these various factions Cromwell made his way, and to him, it is apparent, there had already occurred the solution which all the others feared.

It was the solution which nearly every other revolutionary movement finds or has forced upon it—that of some form of dictatorship. In his mind, it seems evident, that had taken the shape not only of a government "with something monarchical in it," but of himself as that monarch. "What if a man should take it on him to be king?" Whatever their other effects, the shrewd and penetrating objections of Whitelocke must have made him see the dangers and difficulties of such a move, especially at this moment. The time was not yet ripe for any commoner to grasp at sovereignty. The way which led to the throne was full of pitfalls and obstacles. If one were to attain to supreme power, it was necessary to bridge the one and remove the other; and whether or not he pictured this to himself in such definite form, whether he planned and plotted to that end, whether he directed the current of affairs or merely allowed himself to be carried forward by it, the result was the same as he pressed forward to that goal.

CHAPTER XV

THE CRISIS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

*"And art thou summed at last and measured? Nay.
For what is princely puissance? 'Tis to stand
On tops and turrets of the blazing day,
Thy speech and acts all naked, thou alone
Concealed; thou only, save to Him that planned
The labyrinthine heart of kings, unknown."*

William Watson, *Cromwell*.

The eighteen months which followed Cromwell's return from Worcester form the most critical period in the revolutionary movement and in his own career. Yet despite the brave words and flowing narrative of some of his biographers, we know but little of the inner history of his activities and we are not likely to learn much more. It is possible to imagine, it is difficult or impossible to prove what he thought or did, for as always when he turned from war to politics, in contrast with the clear-cut military record, we plunge into obscurities and complexities difficult to penetrate and still more difficult to understand. His course, in consequence—the figure is threadbare but still serviceable—is only to be traced, like that of the mole, by the surface disturbances resulting from his underground activities. Yet as we may follow the track of that industrious animal by those evidences, though we know little of his aims and methods, we can deduce something of Cromwell's movements from the effects which they produced, as they were chronicled by observers at the time.

This space of eighteen months may be roughly divided into two parts, one of some fifteen months ending in Blake's victory over Tromp in February, 1653, the other of some three months ending in the overthrow of the Rump Parliament. Like the earlier period which ended in Pride's Purge, each saw a struggle between the army and the Parliament, though the character of that struggle altered as it progressed. It is, then, important to observe that as part of the readjustment of political forces in the summer of 1652 there had apparently been re-assembled the Council of Officers which had played such a great part in earlier events, but which had been allowed to lapse during the General's absence in Ireland and Scotland. This was not only part of the realignment in politics but a

symbol of his re-entry into that field as well as of the new situation which England, especially Parliament, now faced. The army party, of which he was the head, now had a force to set against even Parliament itself if its demands were not met, a force the more important in that it was supported by the only fully organized and in particular the only armed portion of the people of the three kingdoms. It is necessary, then, to consider the situation in which that people and their government found themselves at this moment.

That situation is not easy to determine. It is obvious that as a result of the late wars there had been great losses in men, money and material. The largest, richest and previously most influential part of the nation, the Royalist Anglicans, had been bled white. There had been an enormous transfer of property from its hands into those of the nation or of individuals of the victorious party. In large part the activities of that party had been financed out of the spoil of the crown, the church and the Royalists; but by this time that source of supply was rapidly being exhausted. As Cromwell later testified:

"all your treasure was exhausted and spent . . . all accidental ways of bringing in treasure, to a very inconsiderable sum, consumed; that is to say the lands are sold, the treasures spent; rents, fee-farms, King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops', Dean-and-Chapters', delinquents' lands, sold . . ."¹

On the other hand, the champions of the Parliament declared that not only had it, as Ludlow said, "established the liberty of the people . . . maintained a war against the Dutch . . . recovered our reputation at sea, secured our trade and provided a powerful fleet,"² but as Slingsby Bethel wrote, "the kingdom was arrived at the highest pitch of trade, wealth and honour that it in any age ever knew."³ To support this he asserted that there was £500,000 in the treasury, besides stores worth several hundred thousand pounds, and that the army had been advanced pay for two to four months, so that in spite of a debt of half a million pounds, the country was more than solvent. Cowley reckoned the surplus at £800,000;⁴ and others like Mrs. Hutchinson added their testimony to the same effect.

It has always been possible to find figures to support political arguments; but figures do not tell the tale. The remark of a modern financier that "money is a state of mind" is more to the point in a case like this. Whatever the state of the treasury balance-sheet, according to the observations of the Venetian envoy at this moment there was grave dissatisfaction and distress, especially in the capital.

¹ Speech, Sept. 4, 1654.

² Ludlow, *Memoirs* (ed. Firth), i, 349.

³ Bethel, *The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*. 1668. Repr. *Harl. Misc.*, i, 280.

⁴ A. Cowley, *Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell*.

Food was scarce; trade almost at a standstill; and coal at famine prices; for since Blake's defeat the Thames had been all but closed to English ships and London was virtually blockaded by sea.⁵ The sailors were mutinous, the army dissatisfied, and the soldiers were not only quarrelling among themselves but openly hostile to the navy. Neither soldiers nor sailors were paid; and the goldsmith-bankers were refusing further credit to a government which failed to meet its obligations.⁶ The authorities were said to be at their wits' end to meet the situation, and, as he wrote, near the end of December, 1652, in a debate on the tax levies and making good the "public faith" bills,⁷ Cromwell had offered to contribute £6,000 to the state, but no one else following his lead, the offer was apparently dropped.⁸

That the "quick assets" of the plunder of church, crown and Royalists had been or were being rapidly exhausted seems certain, and the consequence must inevitably be an increase in taxation, repudiation of debts, abandonment of policies, or all three. It might even mean a change in government, for the administration seemed to have reached the point which all revolutionary governments reach in time—bankruptcy, whether in finance or reputation or both—and at any rate was obviously nearing the end of its mandate. Three things seemed absolutely essential if the Dutch war was to go on. The first was that the pay of the navy must be increased; and that was done on December 21 by raising the seamen from 19s to 24s a month and the officers in proportion. The second was that discipline must be restored; and on Christmas Day, 1652, the first articles of war for the navy were promulgated, while the captains who had refused to fight were sent up for trial, though it appears that they escaped punishment. The third was that some means must be found to secure naval materials, whose supply had been cut off by the Danes who had closed the Sound to English vessels; and on almost the last day of 1652, Lord Lisle was accredited ambassador to Sweden to try to break the blockade of the Baltic established by joint action of the Danes and Dutch.⁹

The expense of refitting and recruiting the navy bore hard on the army. While the seamen's pay was being raised, the Committee of the Army, having met with the General, recommended the disbandment of various units, including the garrisons of Bristol, Cardiff, Shrewsbury and Portsmouth, and the removal of their guns and

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1653-4), pref., vii-viii.

⁶ Paulucci to Sagredo, Jan. 14/24, and Feb. 5/15, 1652-3. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1653-4), pp. 12, 25.

⁷ Discussed on Dec. 23, (*C. J.*, vii, 234) probably the session to which Paulucci refers as the "last sitting of Parliament."

⁸ Same to same, Dec. 24/Jan. 3, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1653-4), p. 2.

⁹ Cp. Oppenheim, *Administration of the Royal Navy*, p. 311; Clowes and Gardiner, *ut supra*.

ammunition,¹⁰ with the reduction of the pay of the forces to bring the army budget to £76,000 a month.¹¹ The army, already incensed by Parliament's delay in pushing forward the reforms urged by the Council of Officers, naturally did not take kindly to this move, and the usual results followed. A group of soldiers began to meet at that center of agitation in this period, Great Allhallows in Thames Street, to pray for a new representative;¹² and the Council of Officers met daily at St. James's during the first week in January for prayers and preaching.¹³ Whatever his connection or sympathy with this movement, Cromwell officially co-operated with the government to check its more open manifestations, but discontent was spreading throughout the army. To meet its proposals, on January 6 Parliament ordered an Act for "an equal representative" to be brought in with all speed. This time it was not Vane, who had been selected for that duty a year earlier, but Harrison, who was perhaps the bitterest opponent of the prolongation of the existing Parliament,¹⁴ to whom the Bill was entrusted.

That day or the next, according to the news-sheets, the officers had another meeting at St. James's, with Cromwell present, and directed a committee to draw up the conclusions they reached as to the steps necessary to save the situation.¹⁵ The General's sympathy with the army was obvious, but according to the Venetian envoy he still endeavored to find some compromise by which the authority of the Parliament might be maintained.¹⁶ In those very words, however, lay the suggestion not only that the army was the dominant element in the situation but that the threat to do away with Parliament was increasing from day to day. It was apparent that another and perhaps the greatest crisis in the history of the Commonwealth was near. Few outside of those who feared to lose their seats in Parliament in case of a dissolution were satisfied with the situation of affairs. The soldiers and the Londoners were not the only element discontented with the government. The ministers were beginning to combine against it; the Cavaliers again began to raise their heads and dream of the collapse of the revolutionary party and a restoration of monarchy.

On the other hand there was something to be said for Parliament. It was not wholly composed of office-holders and self-seekers. It contained many men who feared, rightly enough, that once it was

¹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), pp. 89, 90, 92, 95.

¹¹ *C. J.*, vii, 241-2. (On Jan. 1, 1653.)

¹² Paulucci to Sagredo, Jan. 7/17, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1653-4), p. 9. Gardiner, from Paulucci to Morosini, Jan. 6/16, in *Letter Book*, R. O.

¹³ *Ibid.*, from Bordeaux to Brienne, Jan. 6/16, in *Arch. des Aff. Étrangères*.

¹⁴ *C. J.*, vii, 244.

¹⁵ *Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 7; *Merc. Pol.*, Jan. 8.

¹⁶ Paulucci to Sagredo, Jan. 14/24, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1653-4), p. 12.

dissolved there would remain little or nothing but the power of the sword. Earnest Republicans believed that Parliament had done a great work, that despite the venality of some of its members, it was on the whole, as Ludlow wrote, "disinterested and impartial," of "great skill and experience in the management of public affairs," and "not unwilling to put an end to their power and to content themselves with an equal share with others."¹⁷ It had, in fact, even since Worcester, accomplished no little in the way of legislation; and, as the new year began, under pressure from the army it turned to consider measures of far-reaching consequence, despite the war which absorbed the greater part of its energies.

Partly by its own actions and character but equally by outside circumstances it was being forced into an impossible situation. Its defect lay in the fact that no such assembly has ever been able to endure the strain of peace; it has only functioned successfully when its life was in danger. With no disposition to defend its members and their actions, there are two things to be said of it. The first is that its history has been written by its enemies. The second is that no such body of men endeavoring to satisfy at once the demands of ordinary administration, carry on a foreign war, and initiate a programme of domestic reform, could possibly succeed in meeting the objections raised to its every move, especially by a highly critical set of military masters who were unable to agree even among themselves exactly what should be done. Finally there must be taken into account the deep-seated and well-grounded fear that the alternative was dictatorship.

It is easy to say that this was the only and the inevitable solution of England's difficulties at that moment. It is one thing to view her situation from the calm and undisturbed position of a far-distant future; but to men who faced the prospect of an England ruled by force, the matter was neither so agreeable nor so inevitable as it seemed to later generations. It is small wonder that Parliamentary leaders strained every nerve to avoid that solution. Now, as then, it may be that the dishonesty and ineptitude of politicians drive men to accept dictatorship as the only remedy; but now as then, by men outside its power, the remedy is often regarded as worse than the disease. Such a system is not a pleasant thing to men who have been accustomed in some sort to manage their own affairs, however badly; and it is among the ironies of history that many of those who now pressed hardest for the dissolution of this Parliament were presently opposed to the dictatorship which was the result of their maneuvers. As yet there was no overt move toward such a solution, but there was

¹⁷ Ludlow, *Memoirs* (ed. Firth), i, 349-50.

the ever-present threat of another purge such as had already deprived the House of most of its members, and its weakened constitution was in no state to survive that step.

Amid these mines and counter-mines of politics, Cromwell took occasion at this moment to attend to his private business. On January 11 he signed two deeds, one to Sir Roger Crowden, the other to Alice Fleminge, involving premises in his new manor of Burghley, near Oakham in Rutlandshire.¹⁸ On the 18th he was ordered to confer with the Irish and Scotch committee in reference to a petition of Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce;¹⁹ and on the 21st he was directed to order money sent to Scotland to enable the disbanded soldiers there to return to England.²⁰ In compliance with this, he sent an order to a Mr. Hatter at York to take the money, and wrote to Colonel Lilburne, then acting commander-in-chief in Scotland:

To Colonel [Robert] Lilburne, in Scotland

[SIR,]

The Council of State, being made acquainted with the condition of those soldiers who have been lately disbanded in Scotland, and of the necessities and exigencies many of them will be put unto through want of money to bear their charges to their respective homes in England, have made an order—the copy whereof is enclosed—in pursuance of which I have sent to Mr. Hatter at York to take up a sum of money there to pay so many of those soldiers as come that way, who shall be found to be in want, viz.: To the foot soldiers a fortnight's pay and to the horse-men eight or ten days' pay as there shall be occasion, for defraying their charges to London or to their respective homes.

Upon conference with Major-General Deane we have thought fit that all the train horses in England except thirty-two, with a proportionable number of drivers, shall be sent into Scotland by Quarter-Master Curtise and mustered there. And that when moneys are to be sent to the army in Scotland the carriages in England shall convey it to York, and there the carriages from Scotland shall receive it from them and carry it into Scotland. And in respect that one of the quartermasters of the draught-horses is to be reduced we think fit that Mr. Capell, who was formerly clerk to the Commissary, being now one of the quartermasters, shall be reduced and return to be clerk again under the present Commissary in the room of Mr. Woods, who is at

¹⁸ The first is listed with two other Cromwell deeds in Sotheby's catalogue of the Earl of Malmesbury's collection, for sale in March, 1929. The other, witnessed by Nat. Waterhouse, Will Malyn and C. Harvey, is in the possession of the author.

¹⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 108.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114. The money was to be repaid out of the General's "exigent moneys." *Ibid.*, p. 139.

present clerk to the Commissary, Mr. Woods having an ensign's place in Leith. I have no more at present, but rest,

Your loving friend.

O. CROMWELL.²¹

Cockpit,

January 22, 1652[-3].

The Council of Officers continued its meetings throughout January, apparently not only with Cromwell's approbation but with his presence, and something of the same situation was created as had existed earlier at Newmarket before the expulsion of the Eleven Members. On the 8th it was reported to have named a committee which met with the Council of State on the 13th and reached an agreement that a new Parliament should be chosen.²² On the 27th it drew up a letter to all the armed forces in the three kingdoms asking the soldiers to support its demands, which it enumerated. That manifesto, whose language echoed that of the officers in the preceding August, was sent out the next day. Its preamble was, as usual, a religious exhortation. Its demands were, the establishment of "successive Parliaments consisting of men faithful to the interests of the Commonwealth, men of truth, fearing God and hating covetousness"; law reform; liberty of conscience without encouragement "to such as are popish or profane in the exercise of their superstitious forms and licentious practices"; and, finally, assurance of "due countenance and encouragement to those who faithfully dispensed the Gospel." There was little in it to which any one could object; and it concluded that these had all "been promised by Parliament, and, as we are informed, are under present consideration."²³ But if its contents seemed innocuous, the fact that it was another step in organizing the army as a political force was ominous to the domination of the Parliament.

What share Cromwell had in this is easy to guess but impossible to prove. The Venetian envoy reported on January 24 that:

"The military, offended for the reasons given previously, and resenting the growing power of the Presbyterians in parliament, to the detriment of the more numerous Independents, show signs of opposition and a determination to have the present parliament changed or reformed. They hold largely attended meetings at a short distance from London, and on hearing of this, parliament assembled at once. Yesterday a formal Council of State was held

²¹ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Leyborne-Popham Mss.*, pp. 105-6. Lilburne's reply is in Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 80. On Jan. 24 and again on Feb. 2, the Council referred to the Irish and Scotch committee a letter to Cromwell from Col. Fitch, governor of Inverness, regarding fortifications there. A few months later Hane, the engineer, was employed to supervise the work. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 118, 140, 355.

²² Gardiner, ii, 233, from Paulucci to Morosini, Jan. 14/24, Letter Book, R. O.

²³ *Pr. in Merc. Pol.*, Feb. 3-10. *Cp. Perf. Diurn.*, Jan. 27.

to discuss the best means of appeasing them. I understand it was proposed to offer them a deliberative voice, which is tantamount to a speedy change of government, as they mean to purge parliament of the remaining Presbyterians, who are inclined to oppose the army, which will to a great extent give the law to this country. Cromwell covertly but shrewdly supports the military party, arousing the suspicions and mistrust of the parliament which is said to contemplate curtailing his authority. He, on the other hand, is equally resolved by address and dexterity, with the support of the military, to maintain his present position."²⁴

Whether or not Paulucci was correct in his details, it was apparent to everyone that the relations between Parliament and the army were becoming strained; nor was the army manifesto the only expression of discontent with the House. On the day it was sent to the regiments and garrisons, January 28, there was presented a petition to the officers from the Levellers in London "and places adjacent." It demanded that judges be replaced by local juries; that the collection of tithes be not enforced, nor goods of capital offenders forfeited; that the death penalty for theft be abolished; free trade; direct in place of indirect taxation; liberty of religion and prompt election of an annual Parliament without restrictions. Though it repudiated any thought of force, as of "dangerous consequence to government," it held a threat to the existing Parliament no less than the manifesto of the officers.²⁵

Parliament was well aware of that threat. It had, as the officers' letter admitted, long since taken up the problems of the reforms which were demanded. The committee on law reform which had been appointed twelve months earlier had included, in addition to the members of the House headed by Cromwell, Whitelocke and Lisle, twenty-one non-members,²⁶ men as different as Hugh Peter and General Desborough, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Matthew Hale, and among its numbers were some of the ablest of English lawyers. To men like Peter it may have seemed simple enough to dispose of the "delays, chargeableness and irregularities of the proceedings of the law" by one sweeping stroke. To men like Hale it was far from being so simple as it seemed. The lawyer-commissioners knew how deeply the apparent inconsistencies and anomalies were ingrained in the legal system, how difficult it was to untangle the essential from the non-essential, and the whole history of reforms of legal procedure since has revealed how dilatory and how complicated, as well as how slow, the process of law reform has been. Apart from the vested professional interest in complexity, it was not easy to alter the whole system of

²⁴ Paulucci to Sagredo, Jan. 14/24, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1653-4), p. 12.

²⁵ *The Only Right Rule for Regulating the Laws and Liberties of the People of England.*

²⁶ C. J., vii, 58, 67, 71-4. Cp. *Somers Tracts*, 2nd ed. ed. by Walter Scot (1811), vi, 177ff.

legal administration without disrupting the processes of the courts and producing widespread injustice. However impatient its lay members and the army reformers were, the commissioners had not been idle; and on January 20 and 21, 1653, it presented a "system of law" to the House,²⁷ followed by various bills designed to correct some of the abuses of which the reformers complained.²⁸

Among these one was of particular importance. On February 2, resolving itself into a grand committee, Parliament assigned the task of drafting a bill for county registers to a select committee, which, besides Cromwell, the two Vanes, Harrison, Marten, Scot, Haselrig and other leading members, included every eminent lawyer in the House. At the same time the Commissioners of the Great Seal were instructed to appoint circuit judges from time to time to prevent the law's delays.²⁹ These measures were followed by proposals for setting the poor to work, which endeavored to ameliorate the perennial difficulties of a problem which had been enormously complicated by the recent civil wars. Besides these, there were presented the measures which had been considered for a year by the committee for the Propagation of the Gospel, of which Cromwell was a member, as a result of the plan proposed by Owen and his colleagues a twelvemonth earlier. As in the case of law reform, the committee had not found the solution to their problem so simple as the reformers dreamed, but like the law committee it had not been idle. Its members had been less inclined to compulsion than Owen and his fellow-reformers. They had omitted the original provision for the suppression of "judicial astrology"; and they had refused to require persons dissenting from the approved forms of worship to give notice to a magistrate, or even to forbid those opposed to the Christian religion to teach their doctrines. In so far they were, as we should say, more "liberal." They refused to report these clauses, but the House insisted on hearing them,³⁰ though it was all but inconceivable that such highly controversial principles would meet with general approval.

Though the army officers, like most reformers, were impatient of Parliament's delays, viewed from this distance those delays are more understandable. Parliament had emerged from one series of wars only to enter on another. Its time and energies had been largely absorbed in clearing up the situation arising from the first and solving the problems which it was meeting in the second. Moreover there is a natural and inevitable incompatibility between the military and the political mind and method, and never more than at this crisis in

²⁷ *C. J.*, vii, 250.

²⁸ Drafts of these were printed on July 12, 1653, for the use of members of the House and repr. in *Somers Tracts*, *ut supra*.

²⁹ *C. J.*, vii, 253.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-9, 261.

the Commonwealth. The soldier is, in general, direct and impatient of delay; it is difficult for him to recognize the necessity of the often slow and tortuous process of political action. It is impossible for him to sympathize with it; and it is easy for him to despise its authors and to desire to reach by one stroke what politicians accomplish only after long and difficult negotiation, if at all. It is but one step from this state of mind to the thought of sweeping away all these delays and their authors and bringing about the desired result by direct action. In this circumstance lay much of the source of disagreement between the army and the House. Parliament and its committees do not seem to have been more than ordinarily idle or indifferent. They had only acted as all such bodies act; seeing the difficulties of the problems before them and seeking solutions which would be reasonably satisfactory to the various warring interests. That was not easy, nor was it made easier by the necessity of legislating under pressure and in the midst of war.

The details of that war meanwhile had pressed hard on the Council and the General, and the month of February was filled with references to his activities. On January 29, the Council recommended a Major Blake to him for employment,³¹ and on February 1 it ordered him to confer with Lord Grey and Colonels Sidney and Norton as to how many men could be spared from the army for service in the fleet. The next day, after long consideration of this problem of reinforcing the navy, it instructed him to write to the Admiralty Commissioners to "inform them of the sending down of land soldiers and officers, and that they may use their judgment as to whether they use the officers or not," but that they were "to provide for the land soldiers the same as for the others."³² Eleven hundred of these men now drafted for sea service were to be drawn from the regiments of Cromwell and Ingoldsby, and transferred to the pay as well as the service of the navy after February 21.³³ On that same day Cromwell was also instructed to send four files of musketeers to Lundy Island in Bristol Channel to secure it for the Parliament.³⁴

Besides these he was called upon for a great number and variety of

³¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 132.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140. There is something slightly mysterious in this order. Lundy Island was held for the King by Thomas Bushell, mining engineer, and made master of the Aberystwith mint by Charles I, whom he helped financially. It was claimed by Lord Saye and Sele in 1647, occupied by his kinsman, Richard Fiennes, and Bushell's delinquency and sequestration were discharged. Saye and Sele, disapproving of Charles I's execution, removed to Lundy, where he was living at this time. Bushell served Parliament after August 1652. See L. R. W. Loyd, *Lundy and its History*; and *D.N.B.* art. "Thomas Bushell."

other pieces of business, some echoing the past, some dealing with pressing problems of the moment. The first was a petition, presented on February 4 from that Major General Hugh O'Neill, who had so ably defended Clonmel against him, for leave to transport soldiers for service in Spain.³⁵ The next was a request on that same day from Sir John Bouchier for an army detail to suppress robberies by armed men in Yorkshire.³⁶ Three days later came a petition for his pay from a James Kendall who had transported several thousand men to Leith for the Scotch campaign;³⁷ a letter from Major John Wade concerning the lately reduced garrison of Gloucester that was referred to the Irish and Scotch committee, which apparently handled all such army business; and one from Nathaniel Reading, which was referred to the Admiralty committee. On February 11 he, with Vane and others, was instructed to confer with the Scotch ministers then in the Tower, in regard to a promise to live peaceably in Scotland if they were released. That evening, as the result of the conference, with Cromwell and Vane present, the Council voted to liberate two of them, Robert Douglas and James Hamilton; and two weeks later Cromwell was informed that two others would be freed unless he objected.³⁸ The case of another prisoner, Sir Thomas Urquhart, petitioning for his freedom, was sent to Cromwell by Thurloe on February 14, and on that day the General was instructed to give orders to recruit Ingoldsby's regiment to its former strength,³⁹ and signed a commission for Edward Hughes as captain in Monk's regiment of foot.⁴⁰

Such are the official records of Cromwell's doings in the month of February, 1653 when Westminster seethed with political intrigue; and it is evident that they do not represent his real interests or activities in that difficult period. The question of the disposition of Parliament and the choice of its successor was coming to a head; and it is apparent that, apart from the differences between the House and the officers, the latter were not united among themselves. Ludlow records what he alleges were Cromwell's own words on that subject, and adds certain animadversions of his own on the situation at that moment.

"He thought it not convenient yet to unmask himself," wrote Ludlow, but rather to make higher pretences to honesty than ever he had done before,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

³⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 147.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 156, 158.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 185. On March 7 the Council voted to communicate to Cromwell a letter from Col. Lilburne telling of the enlargement of another minister, John Robinson.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 163-4.

⁴⁰ The original then in the museum of Lewes Castle was cal. in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xviii, 62 (1866).

thereby to engage Major-General Harrison, Col. Rich, and their party to himself. To this end he took all occasions in their presence to asperse the Parliament, as not designing to do those good things they pretended to; but rather intending to support the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers. And tho he was convinced that they were hastning with all expedition to put a period to their sitting, having passed a vote that they would do it within the space of a year, and that they were making all possible preparations in order to it; yet did he industriously publish, that they were so in love with their seats, that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves. These and other calumnies he had with so much art insinuated into the belief of many honest and well-meaning people, that they began to wish him prosperity in his undertaking. Divers of the clergy from their pulpits began to prophesy the destruction of the Parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable. Insomuch that the General, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to Quartermaster-General Vernon, 'that he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair stand on end.' 'One of these,' said he, 'is headed by Major-General Lambert, who in revenge of that injury the Parliament did him, in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a character and conditions suitable to his merit, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution. Of the other Major-General Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent.'⁴¹

On the other hand, Daniel O'Neill, who was then in England, writing to Hyde at about the same time, describes the situation somewhat differently:

"The council [of the army]," wrote O'Neill, "is devided into two parties: (1) the faction of Cromwell; (2) the faction of Harrison. The heads of Cromwell's faction in the army are Whaley, Barkstead, Goffe &c., whose designe is to maintaine and continue the government in the hands of these men that are of the house at present, they knowing that if Harrison[s] partie prevaile Cromwell and his partie must downe. This partie of Cromwell consist chiefly of the meere Independants. The head of Harrison's partie in the army are Lambert, Rich, Pride &c., whose designe is to put the government into other hands and to rout the present members of Parliament, supposing them to be very corrupt, and that it is fitt that others should rule as well as they, the continuance of men in government tempting of them to corruption. . . . The common opinion of people is that Harrison's partie prevaile; this is also very evident. I have heard some that are of Harrison's private councill say that they doubted not but to bring their designe about before Midsomer next."⁴²

Ludlow credited Cromwell with a design to achieve supreme power by whatever means, and believed that the dissolution of Parliament

⁴¹ Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i, 345-6. Vernon left Ireland for England about June, 1653.

⁴² *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1893), p. 530.

was but one step in the accomplishment of that ambition, and apparently Clarendon shared that view; but what little information we possess does not prove that, whatever Cromwell's ultimate designs, the immediate dissolution of Parliament had any part in them at this moment. If he planned to seize supreme power, however, one circumstance had altered the situation. He had earlier professed his preference for a system with "something monarchical" in it; and it was reported that he had considered the elevation of the young Duke of Gloucester to the throne, with himself, perhaps, as Protector. That was now out of the question. The young Duke Henry had been long kept a prisoner by Parliament, possibly with a view to some such solution as was credited to Cromwell. While the fortification of the Isle of Wight was being planned, Parliament had ordered on December 7 that he be removed from his prison at Carisbrooke to the Continent, on the curious ground that he was in danger of being captured by Tromp.

The reasons for this decision and the delay in carrying it out are still obscure. Clarendon, who has most to say about it, does little to clear up the mystery:

"Whether this reproach and suspicion [of the death of the princess Elizabeth in September, 1650 by poison, which Clarendon repudiates] made any impression in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealousy that the duke of Gloster . . . might . . . be made use of by the discontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would shew the contempt he had of the royal family, by sending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to his council, that he was well content that the son of the late King should have liberty to transport himself into any parts beyond seas . . . which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed, and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it."⁴³

The news was conveyed to the Prince, who sent his tutor, a Mr. Lovell, to London to solicit his release. Lovell's mission, according to Clarendon, was so successful that the Council not only gave him the desired permission but five hundred pounds to defray the cost of the voyage.⁴⁴ Naturally this gave rise to a flood of rumors. It was thought by some that it was done to frustrate Cromwell's design to have the young Duke crowned, but the French envoy, Bordeaux, who presently arrived, expressed his disbelief in that story and said that Cromwell was opposed to the move. Heath in his *Chronicle* declares that Cromwell carried the motion to send the Duke away under pretence of lessening expenses, but in reality to remove an heir to the throne.⁴⁵ On the slender evidence we have it is equally possible

⁴³ Clarendon, *History*, xiv, 87.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 231; Heath, *Chronicle*, p. 331.

to argue that Cromwell gave up the idea of restoring the Stuarts for that of becoming the head of the state himself, and, on the other hand, that he had no such plan and the removal of the Duke was a mere incident of no political significance. It seems probable that, whatever his reasons, the General had a hand in it, for, disagreeing in all else, the witnesses are at one in this. Yet, though there is a natural tendency to attribute every move at this moment to Cromwell's influence, it seems at least possible that this was done by the Republicans to prevent the restoration of the Stuarts, with or without a regent or Protector. In any event, on February 11 the Duke was sent to Flanders.

Amid these events it seems fairly certain that there were forming, or had formed, two groups in the Council, in Parliament, and even in the army, one supporting Cromwell, the other opposing or presently to oppose him. Milton's list included Fleetwood, Lambert Desborough, Whalley, Overton, Whitelocke, Pickering, Strickland, Sydenham, Montague, Lawrence and Sidney.⁴⁶ In addition to this, Hyde's correspondent O'Neill, writing in March 1653, reckoned as Cromwell's followers Whalley, Barkstead, Goffe, St. John, Lord Lisle, Scot, Carew, Cawley, both Stricklands, and—though they presently changed sides—Allen, Salwey and the two Vanes.⁴⁷ Three of these, Barkstead, Goffe and Whalley, with Worsley, Hacker and Okey, had presented the Army Petition. Though O'Neill noted the divergence between this group and Harrison's allies, who, according to him, included Lambert, Pride and Rich, whether Harrison joined Cromwell or Cromwell gave way to Harrison, when the crisis came they were united; and it is perhaps noteworthy that while Harrison, Lambert and Rich fell out with Cromwell in later years, Pride became a member of his "Other House."

This is, indeed, only a rough approximation of the elements which formed the core of the Cromwellian group, of whom most were officers and members of Parliament, with many regicides. On the other side stood men like Marten, who had always opposed Cromwell; Republicans like Sidney and Ludlow; and a Parliamentary group including such men as Sir Peter Wentworth, Dennis Bond and Colonel Morley, all members of the Council of State, all having been nominated to the High Court of Justice, on which the first two refused to sit and the third withdrew, and all retiring from politics with the rise of Cromwell to supreme power. To these may be added again the younger Vane and Major Salwey, who broke with Crom-

⁴⁶ Milton, *Defensio Secunda* (Columbia Univ. ed. 1933), p. 233-5. Cp. above p. 544. Sidney, of course, was presently bitterly opposed to Cromwell.

⁴⁷ *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1893), p. 529n.

well on the question of dissolution, though the latter, while reproving the General, remained on friendly personal terms with him.⁴⁸

In such troubled and shifting times as these, it is, of course, impossible to define with exactness the precise position of individuals or groups over any extended period. Yet in general it may be said that as the issue of the dissolution of Parliament grew more and more acute, the so-called Presbyterians in the House, with most of the lawyers and all of the Republicans, opposed while the Independents and soldiers supported that measure. Thus as Cromwell committed himself to the policy of dissolution, not a few of his former friends and supporters broke with him; and, apart from the time-servers who inclined to this side or that as fortune seemed to frown upon or favor any given policy, men tended to divide into Cromwellians and anti-Cromwellians. Nor is it possible to draw any hard and fast line between "Presbyterians" and "Independents." Some of the former, like Hacker, were devoted followers of the General, while some of the latter, like Vane, came to oppose him bitterly; and it is evident that the new division, whether on the grounds of policy or personality, cut sheer across the older lines of political and even religious differences.

It certainly appears, however, that Cromwell was now, consciously or unconsciously, approaching, if he had not already reached, the parting of the ways. Thus far his opponents seemed to have a slight tactical advantage. They had apparently blocked his foreign policy; they had done what they could to diminish his prestige; they had even proposed to sell the palace of Hampton Court which had been voted to him with such enthusiasm only twelve months before; they presently even ventured to suggest that he might be displaced as Lord General. On his part he had begun to seek strength outside of Parliament. He was still commander of the army with all the power that office carried with it; he was the chief figure in the administration. He had resurrected the Council of Officers, which might conceivably act, as it had acted before, as a counterweight or curb on Parliament. He had sought support on every side—from his devoted following of officers, from the clergy, from those in any way dissatisfied with the existing government, especially the Parliament. If he had not exactly founded a cave of Adullam, if he still took his place in Council and Commons, it was apparent there, and scarcely less apparent outside, that a trial of strength between his party and that of his opponents could not be delayed much longer. A multitude of little incidents revealed the growing antagonism which, however much under the surface as yet, was bound to break through the crust of conventional proceedings when opportunity offered. For as his party de-

⁴⁸ The list of the Nominated Parliament (noted later) gives a clue to the larger group of Cromwellians proper.

veloped, the fear of a military *coup d'état* increased among his opponents, as that of a parliamentary *coup d'état* spread among the officers around him.

The technique of the situation which now developed was essentially the same as that which had preceded and accompanied the army councils of 1647 and the march on the capital. It began with isolated protests against the dilatory proceedings of Parliament; it went on with meetings of the officers, the drawing up of a programme, and its promulgation throughout the army; prayer-meetings, propaganda, and public or private denunciation of the politicians of the House; and, finally, the preparation of a plan of action, designed to put an end to delay. It had this advantage over the previous design. The leading officers were now in London, with a considerable body of trustworthy troops at their command. The General was at the Cockpit; his regiment was appointed to guard the House; and if he and his colleagues chose to use it, they had force near at hand to impose their will upon its members, even more than at the time of Pride's Purge. Whether or not they were to use it now, depended not only on circumstances but on the decision of the General and his supporters.

There were other grounds for his dissatisfaction with Parliament besides its delay in dissolving itself. On February 18, there was addressed to Cromwell and Harrison jointly a pamphlet in regard to the question of the tithes.⁴⁹ Exactly a year earlier Harrison had signed the ministers' plans for the propagation of the Gospel, and a week before the issue of this pamphlet those proposals had been brought before the House which postponed consideration of them for a fortnight,⁵⁰ adding to the irritation of men who, like Harrison, were deeply concerned in this matter, and no doubt to that of Cromwell. This was reflected in their attitude toward the Council, which Cromwell only attended occasionally and from which Harrison absented himself the entire latter half of February,⁵¹ possibly in Wales enlisting men or concerned with the problem of providing preachers there.

Despite the turbulent situation of domestic politics in which he was so deeply involved, the General was busy with the duties of his office, which at the moment pressed hard upon him in view of the approaching crisis of the war. The ships were being put in condition as rapidly as possible with a view to intercepting Tromp who was about due to return from his station in the Bay of Biscay conveying the inward-bound East Indies fleet. As part of that preparation the General was summoned to consult with the Admiralty Committee in

⁴⁹ *For the Right Hon. Capt. Gen. Cromwell, Maj. Gen. Harrison . . . a few Humble Proposals.* (Lond. 1653).

⁵⁰ *C. J.*, vii, 258-9.

⁵¹ *Cp. Gardiner*, ii, 250.

regard to supplying the navy with twelve or fifteen hundred men. At the same time he was called upon to answer the request of Colonel Lilburne to send food for the army in Scotland.⁵² On February 22, he signed two official documents, one a request to the Admiralty commissioners for supplies to be furnished ships at Portsmouth and surgeons for the fleet;⁵³ the other a certificate that a certain Henry Stanborn had been killed in the service of Parliament and asking the justices of Hertfordshire to provide for his widow.⁵⁴

The critical moment of the trial of naval strength had already arrived. A fleet had been made ready early in February and by the 12th it lay in Dover Roads to intercept Tromp who was approaching, unaware of the trap set for him. The first squadron, commanded by Generals Blake and Deane on board the *Triumph*, was followed by General Monk acting as Admiral of the White on the *Vanguard*; Penn, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, acting as Admiral of the Blue in the *Speaker*; and Lawson, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, as Vice-Admiral of the Red in the *Fairfax*.⁵⁵ Each squadron was composed of three divisions and the fleet consisted of some sixty men-of-war, well built and, thanks to the aid from the regiments of Cromwell and Ingoldsby, heavily manned. To oppose them the Dutch admiral had some seventy men-of-war, but though he believed himself outnumbered, he lost no time in taking the offensive. As the English went westward they met Tromp off Portland. Dividing his fleet into three or four squadrons, he took advantage of his position to the windward, left his convoy and fell upon Blake and Penn, while Lawson bore away until he could attack the Dutch in the rear, and Monk was engaged by Evertsen. The first day's fighting was not unfavorable to the Dutch, but Tromp, fearful of his convoy, drew off toward night to protect it. The next morning he was on his way up the Channel between the English and his merchant ships, and there took place off the Isle of Wight another engagement, on the 19th, in which the English had the best of it. The next day's action, with the Dutch fleet short of powder and reduced to thirty-five by sinking, capture and withdrawal, went wholly in favor of the English. Four or five Dutch men-of-war were taken and as many sunk, and between thirty and fifty merchant-ships were captured; while the English lost but four or five in all from various causes. Their greatest misfortune was the wounding of Blake, which put him out of service for a considerable period. But

⁵² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), pp. 174, 175.

⁵³ Noted in *ibid.*, p. 179.

⁵⁴ *Cal.* by W. J. Hardy in *Hertford County Records*, i, 106. Sessions Rolls, 1652-6, no. 398.

⁵⁵ For the account of the battle off Portland, see Gardiner, Clowes, and Ballhausen, as above; the Generals' official report of Feb. 27 in *Perf. Diurn.* of March 1, reprinted in Deane's *Life of Deane* with the official report of Tromp. Tromp reports that the English numbered eighty ships, and that, including all auxiliaries, is possibly true.

the effect was to restore to England the command of the Channel which she had lost after Tromp's earlier victory; and this, among other things, released the energies of her authorities to pursue their political activities unchecked.

Of Cromwell's immediate connection with the engagement, apart from supplying the fleet, there is but one insignificant record left:

For Captain Penn, Vice-Admiral of the Navy: These

The bearer hereof, Mr. William Stuard, my kinsman, having as he saith formerly served under your command, is very desirous further to serve the State under your immediate command wherein I desire you to accommodate him and to show him such countenance and encouragement as you find him to deserve, wherein you will oblige,
Cockpitt,
Feb. 25, 1652.

O. CROMWELL.⁵⁶

The month of March began, then, with a renewed sense of security on the part of the English authorities; a relaxation of the tenseness of the situation caused by the Dutch war; and relief from the more pressing concerns of administration. None the less the war went on and with it Cromwell's duties arising out of the conflict. On March 4, besides appointing an officer to conduct the Dutch prisoners from Dover to Canterbury⁵⁷ and considering a letter from Scotland which proposed the transportation of Irish to some of the Western Islands apparently to rouse resistance there,⁵⁸ the General was ordered to report to Parliament the draft of a reply to a proposal from the Swiss cantons to mediate between the English and the Dutch. This, the first of many such conversations and negotiations among the three Protestant powers which marked the ensuing years, posed a difficult problem. Flushed with victory, the English were not disposed to treat at this moment and the Swiss cantons seemed not important enough to undertake such a negotiation, but it was undesirable to offend the susceptibilities of a friendly Protestant state. In consequence a dignified and courteous refusal was drafted, reported four days later and approved,⁵⁹ and the war went on.

It did not interfere with the consideration of the problem of the Parliament. It was reported by a news-writer at this moment that

⁵⁶ *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept., Portland Mss.*, ii, 85; cal. in Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 76. Because of Monk's electing to command the White squadron, with which command went the title vice-admiral of the navy, Penn commanded the Red which should have been taken by the rear-admiral of the fleet.

⁵⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 187.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 190. Referred by the Council to the Irish and Scotch committee with orders to designate vessels to ply in those waters to prevent the execution of the scheme.

⁵⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 197; *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1653-4), p. 30.

"Monday next [March 7] his Excellency and all the Major-generals and other commission officers are desired to meet to consider what is fit to be done by them in relation to a new representative either by petition or otherwise."⁶⁰ The meeting was evidently held, as the writer reported later that "a committee was appointed yesterday [March 7] by the officers to attend and advise with his Excellency concerning a new Representation (the subject matter of the then debate)."⁶¹

Absorbed in such matters, as in the duties of his office, Cromwell attended but six meetings of the Council in March, and four of those meetings came on two days, the 4th and the 8th, when the question of ordnance for the fleet was discussed and a list of guns in several garrisons ordered sent to him with instructions to forward them to the ports. In consequence of this, a week later the General ordered a certain Anthony Robins to bring ordnance, powder, shot and cartridges from Gloucester, Bristol, Chester, Worcester, Liverpool and Beaumaris, supplying him with a warrant for the governor of each place.⁶² Besides this, on March 9, as a result of frequent desertions from the fleet, the Council instructed the General to post guards drawn from the troops in the west on the roads between Guildford and Portsmouth, and Farnham and Portsmouth, to take up all seamen without passes.⁶³ At the same time Harrison was ordered to advise Cromwell that the Earl of Traquair, then a prisoner on parole, was to be allowed another six months' visit to Scotland unless the General objected.⁶⁴ On the next day he signed a certificate for Hugh, Viscount Montgomery, sometime commander-in-chief of the royal army in Ulster who had surrendered under the Articles granted to the Protestant party in Ireland. His estates had been exempted by the Articles, but had been none the less listed for confiscation by the English authorities:

Certificate

These are to certify that Hugh, Viscount Montgomery, is a person comprised within the Articles, promise and Declaration by me made and agreed unto with Colonel John Daniel and others on the behalf of the Protestant party in Ireland, then under the obedience of the Lord Marquess of Ormond dated the 26th of April 1650, and did on all things on his part do and perform what was to be by him performed by the said Articles for ought that I know

⁶⁰ Clarke Papers, newsletter of March 2, quoted in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii, 527-8.

⁶¹ Clarke Papers, newsletter of March 8, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 528.

⁶² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), pp. 202-215.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* He was ordered to go on March 22. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

to the contrary, and ought to save the full benefit thereof to all intents and purposes. Given under my hand and seal the 10th day of March 1652.
 Ex. T. Pauncefoote, Esq. O. CROMWELL.⁶⁵

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL.

The defeat of Tromp had powerful repercussions on each side of the Channel. On the one hand, it brought to a head the movement in Holland to put an end to the war. That movement had begun in January with the action of a secret committee of the States of that province and West Friesland, under the guidance of John de Witt, in endeavoring to open a negotiation through two English officers in Dutch service, Sir Robert Stone in Holland and Lieutenant-colonel Dolman, then, apparently, in England. A letter had been sent to England to initiate the negotiation, but it seems that 'because of the manner of its address,' Dolman advised that it should not be delivered, though news of its existence got about. Meanwhile the English peace party had bestirred itself and the question was brought up in Parliament. Debate on it was postponed until March 10, when Vane and Cromwell as tellers were successful in securing further delay until the next day against the party led by Haselrig and Gurdon. When it was brought up again, the debate was once more postponed until March 22, by which time a formal communication dated March 8/18 and signed by the representatives of Holland and West Friesland was read, translated, discussed, brought in again on the 24th, and referred to the Council of State.⁶⁶

Such a move by two provinces without consulting the States General or securing the approval of the other provinces was unprecedented and unconstitutional. It reveals not only the overwhelming desire for peace of the rich and powerful commercial element, especially in Amsterdam, but it suggests some underground relationship between that party and a group in the English Council which apparently included both Vane and Cromwell. The proposal to negotiate was favorably received. On April 1 Parliament replied in a letter which noted the common Protestantism of England and the Netherlands and offered to resume peace negotiations where they had been left off by Pauw.⁶⁷ Meanwhile there appeared in Amsterdam an extraordinary pamphlet⁶⁸ professing to be the report of a speech made

⁶⁵ *S. P. Ireland*, 286, 63. Cal. in *Cal. S. P. Ireland* (1647-1660), p. 582. Tracy Pauncefoote was registrar to the Court of Articles.

⁶⁶ *C. J.*, vii, 265-6, 270-1. *Nicholas Papers* (Camden Society), ii, 1-2.

⁶⁷ *C. J.*, vii, 220.

⁶⁸ *Olivier Kromwels Oratie gedaan nade zee-slag tusschen de Nederlandsche Republije ende die van Engeland, den 6 maart, 1653, over dese hedendaagsche en schadelikke oorlogen.*

by Cromwell in Parliament urging the stop of this "heathenish and harmful war." There are various circumstances which make this seem spurious. But whether it represents, in whatever garbled form, a speech which he actually delivered; whether it is merely a product of the peace propaganda; whether it derives in some obscure way from Cromwell himself; or whether it was due merely to some book-seller's enterprise, it is an interesting example of the peace movement then on foot, which, it would seem, Cromwell favored.

If Blake's victory stimulated the movement for peace on each side of the Channel, it also opened the way for rivalry between the groups of which the English revolutionary party was composed. Relieved of the last danger which threatened their supremacy, they turned to more serious consideration of the settlement of the kingdom, and on that question soon revealed the differences between the various elements of which their party was made up. It is apparent from the evidence we have of the situation that it was highly confused. After the entry in his journal which records Blake's triumph, Whitelocke goes on to say that Cromwell and his officers,

"now began to assume to themselves all the honour of the past actions, and of the conquests by them achieved, scarce owning the Parliament, and their assistance and provision for them; but taxing and censuring the members of Parliament for injustice and delay of business, and for seeking to prolong their power, and promote their private interest, and to satisfy their own ambition. With these and many others, the like censures, they endeavoured to calumniate the Parliament, and judge them guilty of those crimes whereof themselves were faulty; not looking into their own actions, nor perceiving their own defaults, yet censuring the actions and proceedings of the Parliament very opprobriously."⁶⁹

A newsletter of March 11 notes that:

"The Council of Officers at St. James's had resolved to turn them out . . . had not the Generall and Colonell Desborough interceded, [asking] them if they destroyed that Parliament what they should call themselves, a State they could not be; they answered that they would call a new Parliament; Then, sayes the Generall, the Parliament is not the supreme power, but that is the supreme power that calls it, and besides, the House is now endeavouring a treaty with Holland (which is the only way that we have left for the destroying of the combinations of our ennemyes both at home & beyond sea)

Na de cotype gedrukt tot London. There is no doubt that this is spurious, and internal evidence makes it seem certain that it was issued in 1653. The facts that it begins with a reference to "my great grandfather," Thomas Cromwell, that it attributes the execution of Charles I to the fact that Henry VIII had Thomas Cromwell executed, and that no English tract of like nature has been found, reveal its character.

⁶⁹ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 552.

and if we destroy them [the Parliament] neither Holland nor any other Prince or State will enter into a treaty with us."⁷⁰

In some measure these reports are confirmed by the words which Ludlow puts into Cromwell's mouth at this time—that he was pushed on by two parties, that of Lambert and that of Harrison, who, for different reasons, urged "that, the consideration of which . . . makes my hair stand on end." However the details may vary, two things seem clear. The first is that the officers were opposed to Parliament and determined to get rid of it, but that they were divided among themselves as to the next step. The second is that some of them, at least, were contemplating the erection of another system temporarily or in permanence. On the other hand it was rumored that Cromwell's opponents were endeavoring to enlist the aid of Lambert and Fairfax to remove the General from command of the army; and Cromwell, angered by this move, refused to receive "bottomless Lambert," as he called him, when Lambert came to see him on March 15, and later turned him away again when he came with Fairfax.⁷¹ The tension of the situation was obviously increasing. If the more extreme members of the army were for direct and immediate action, Parliament's delay seems to have been due in part to that very fact, for its members were unwilling to debate and especially to decide their own fate under threat of force. Meanwhile they went on with the Bill of Elections from week to week. It was no easy measure to frame, for apart from the disinclination of certain members to go beyond the vote to dissolve on November 3, 1654, there were many delicate and difficult questions involved.

The chief of these was what should take the place of the existing House and how its successor should be chosen. What restrictions should be put upon that choice? Was the existing body to be retained and the other places filled up, as men like Vane and Marten argued? Should the existing body be dissolved and an election held in which the members then sitting should take their chances of re-election, or even be deprived of that opportunity by some sort of a self-denying ordinance? If there was an election, should it be open to all electors who had previously chosen members of Parliament; should there be a sifting out of that electorate all supporters of monarchy, whether Anglican or Presbyterian; or should the Presbyterians be allowed a

⁷⁰ *Clarendon Mss.*, quoted in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii, 528. A letter of March 2 from O'Neill to Hyde says that the circular letter of Jan. 28 to the regiments suggests that government be put in the "hands of a number of people" for "a certain time." Gardiner denies this is in the letter and suggests that it was Harrison's plan. Whoever suggested it, there seems no question that it was contemplated by some of the officers, and, judging from some of his later utterances, by Cromwell. Gardiner suggests that Ludlow's report refers to late February, but it may be dated at any time between then and April.

⁷¹ Gardiner, i, 246, from newsletter, March 25/Apr. 4, in *Clarendon Mss.* 1056.

vote? Should there be, as the officers argued, a new electorate created, of the "honest" or "godly" party only—and how should it be selected? Or should Parliament be dissolved and government handed over to a new body? In whatever case, how should all of this be done? There was in this not merely matter for argument and negotiation, but for honest differences of opinion; and it was evident to many men, inside and out of Parliament, that the mere dissolution of the existing House urged by the army extremists, with no plan as to what should come after, was no real solution of the problem of setting up a system to replace monarchy.

Meanwhile the business of drafting provisions for a new electorate went on. The list of constituencies was virtually completed, and on March 30 a franchise requirement of £200 in real or personal property was voted. But these prosaic details of practical politics were too slow and too precise to satisfy the army idealists. On April 1 a newsletter reported:

"Our souldiers resolve to have speedily a new representative, and the Parliament resolve the contrary. The General sticks close to the House, which causeth him to be daily railed on by the preaching party, who say they must have both a new Parliament and General before the work be don; and that these are not the people that are appointed for perfecting of that great worke of God which they have begun. There came a regiment of horse to towne this week, full mouth'd against the Parliament, but were not suffered to stay here above two days before they, with 3 violent regiments more, were despatcht out of the way towards Scotland." A week later he added, "We heare no talke now of our new representative, the heate of the souldiers being somewhat abated by the Generall's sticking close to the House, and sending some of the maddest of them into Scotland."⁷²

The reports were not all like that. In the *Life* of that "good Commonwealthsman," Henry Neville, it is asserted that Cromwell used his best endeavors to convince the London clergy that it was necessary to dissolve the Parliament. As that document declares:

"Cromwell, upon this great occasion, sent for some of the chief city divines as if he made it a matter of conscience to be determined by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr. Calamy, who very boldly opposed Mr. Cromwell's project, and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell answered readily upon the first head of 'unlawful,' and appealed to the safety of the nation being the supreme law. 'But,' says he, 'pray, Mr. Calamy, why impracticable?' Calamy replied, 'Oh! 'tis against the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten against you.' 'Very well,' says Cromwell, 'but what if I should disarm the nine, and put a sword into the tenth man's hand; would not that do the business?' "⁷³

⁷² *Clarendon Mss.* quoted in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii, 528-9.

⁷³ Forster, *Cromwell (Statesmen of the Commonwealth)*, v, 52-3, from *Life of Henry Neville*, p. 35. Also quoted in Bisset, *History of the Commonwealth*, ii, 444.

To these stories the Venetian envoy added his report of a scene in the Commons at about this time. On April 19 he wrote to Sagredo:

"Recently a great war of words was waged about the dissolution between General Cromwell and a leading member, who retorted that there was no more fitting moment to change the Lord General. This led to a warm altercation between the two which was stopped by the majority; so much bad blood exists between Cromwell and Harrison, who both covertly and openly seeks to deprive the former of his command in the army. He is unlikely to succeed in this considering the influence and address of Cromwell. In proof of this he [Cromwell] lately offered to surrender his commission into the hands of any one who liked to take it whom Parliament approved, and as no one dared to attempt so great an undertaking, he may be considered more firmly established than ever, although much exasperated at bottom. Since this incident I hear he has ceased to attend the House as usual, and that he is continually devising plans of personal aggrandizement out of doors with his own adherents. His designs may also be for the good of the state, as if these heart burnings continue, it can hardly fail to suffer."⁷⁴

From these various pieces of evidence one may gather that Cromwell, though he attended Parliament for a time and fought for dissolution on the floor of the House, was defeated there; finally withdrew and sought support outside of Parliament; and that he was threatened with dismissal from his post as General. On one thing news-letter writer, envoy and member of the Council were agreed; it was that the controversy threatened the most serious consequences for the Commons and the state. The news-writer even declared that Harrison, who had apparently gone to Wales as a commissioner to enforce the act for the propagation of the Gospel, varied his activities against the Anglican clergy by enlisting four thousand men "for his own purposes," but when charged with this by Cromwell, denied it, and had his denial accepted.⁷⁵

This was accompanied by other disturbances. A certain Welshman, Vavasor Powell, having roused his fellow-countrymen by his revivalistic activities, sought a wider field in London; attracted a huge audience at Charterhouse, planned a monster outdoor meeting at Smithfield, and stirred the animosity of the London mob, which blamed Parliament for protecting "such rogues," as well as for the hardships caused by the war. In general the materials were being gathered for an explosion; and it is evident that, whatever his position and his plans, Cromwell was at the heart of the disturbance. As in that earlier period when the controversy arose between the Independent army and the Presbyterian Parliament, he kept his place in the House almost to the last, but was in close touch with the elements

⁷⁴ Paulucci to Sagredo, Apr. 19/29, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1652-3), p. 60. The "leading member" is supposed to have been Vane, but the retort sounds more like Marten.

⁷⁵ Newsletter Mar. 25/Apr. 4, Macray, *Clarendon Papers*, ii, no. 1056.

which were contemplating the overthrow of the authority of that House.

Of all this, as of most such periods in his career, there is no record from his pen. In the midst of these matters of deep politics, the only documents are insignificant—a note which suggests some disagreement in the Dunch family which had appealed to him; a pass; and a commission for a preacher, or chaplain—none of them of any consequence, and none of them providing any clue to his thoughts or actions:

For my Honoured Cousin, Edmund Dunch esquire at Dounamnie, these

SIR,

I received this enclosed from your lady, to which I returned this answer, I wish you always both of one mind in that which is your duty one to another and to your children, and rest,

Your affectionate cousin,

Cockpitt,

March 19, 1652 [-3].

O. CROMWELL.⁷⁶

Pass

For four gentlemen to travel, with their servants and horses, throughout England. March 31, 1653.

O. CROMWELL.⁷⁷

To Henry Flamock, Preacher

Oliver Cromwell, Esq. Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Armies and forces raised, and to be raised, by Authority of Parliament within the Commonwealth of England,

By virtue of the power and authority to me derived from the Parliament of England, I do hereby constitute and appoint you preacher to the garrison of Pendennis, whereof Sir Hardress Waller, knt. is governor. Which said place you shall, by virtue of this commission, receive into your charge. You are therefore, diligently to intend the execution thereof, and faithfully and duly

⁷⁶ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Repts. Various Collections*, iii. (Papillon Mss.) p. 257. (1904) Lomas-Carlyle, Supp. 149. (Holograph and seal of arms.) Edmund Dunch of Little Wittenham, Berks, was the son of Cromwell's aunt Mary, father of John Dunch of Pusey, who married Anne Mayor, Richard Cromwell's sister-in-law. Edmund Dunch was M. P. for Wallingford, created Baron Burnell by the Protector, though the title was not recognized after the Restoration. His wife who was descended from the Burnell family, was the only daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford of Down Ampney, Gloucestershire, a great heiress, a "fine" woman, and "a great favorite with the Protector." [Summary of Mrs. Lomas's note]

⁷⁷ This pass belonged, in 1886, to a friend of "H. N." Cp. *Notes and Queries*, 7, i, 469 (1886).

to execute and to found all things incident and belonging thereunto. And the officers and soldiers of the said garrison are hereby required to acknowledge you as their preacher. And you are likewise to observe and follow such orders and directions, as you shall from time to time receive from myself, the governor, and the superior officers of the said garrison, according to the discipline of war. Given under my hand and seal this ninth day of April, 1653.
O. CROMWELL,⁷⁸

Apart from these, the other notices of him at this critical moment are chiefly official. To fill the ranks of the fleet after the engagement with Tromp and the ensuing desertions, he sent 270 more men to the ports from Ingoldsby's regiment, which, with his own, seemed to form a recruiting and training unit for troops sent to sea. To prevent their running away, they were shipped off at once; and a few days later he prepared to send after them another thousand men from his own regiment and that of Barkstead.⁷⁹ Besides this and the report that he was sending to Scotland the soldiers most violently agitating for a new Parliament,⁸⁰ about the middle of April he wrote to Deane:

To General Rich. Deane.

"Hinting that he had been pressed by Major Rich. Salwey and Jno. Carew Admiralty Commissioners, and others, to send a speedy despatch to Deane to sail with as much of the fleet as is ready, to join Vice-Admiral Penn. The Admiralty Commissioners have been very active to further all things."⁸¹

Meanwhile there had arisen the question of a new commander in Scotland to replace Deane. On the evening of April 7 the name of Lambert was brought before the Council, where Cromwell was present by request.⁸² On April 14, with Cromwell again present, the Council authorized him to give a commission to Lambert to command in Scotland for six months,⁸³ though there seems no evidence that Lambert ever received such an appointment, and it is certain that he

⁷⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxi, 919 (1791), with facs. of signature and seal, as communicated by B. B. Hayden from the original "in the possession of a gentleman of Cornwall." It was sold by Henkels for Rodney in 1920 for \$112.50, and for Welles in 1924 for \$61. *Am. Book Prices Current*, 1920, 1924; Henkels Catalogue, Jan. 1924. Mr. Flamock was ejected from his chaplainship and rectory of Lanivet for nonconformity, in 1662.

⁷⁹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), pp. 261, 269, 559.

⁸⁰ Newsletter, 8/18 Apr. in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii, 529.

⁸¹ Deane to the Admiralty Commissioners, April 22. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 289.

⁸² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1652-3), p. 260. Petitions from the Earl of Dumfries and Lt. Gen. David Leslie for their liberty had been left to be discussed on Cromwell's first appearance at the Council. *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 267.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 279. On April 11 a committee, including Cromwell, had been named to consider a paper and book sent to him from Scotland. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

did not go. Of these moves, taken in connection with the exile of the Duke of Gloucester, there have been two very different interpretations. On the one side it has been argued that they were intended to suppress the agitation to dissolve the Parliament; on the other that they were designed to remove from Cromwell's path any individual or any party that threatened his own ascendancy, or might serve in any way to interrupt his plans, whatever those plans were.⁸⁴ That he, in common with the leaders of the army and the Parliament, had designs for the settlement of the government, there can scarcely be a doubt. That those designs were fully formed can only be believed on the ground that Cromwell had perfected a plan for dismissing Parliament and seizing supreme power for himself. But if one may judge by his proceedings in the past, he waited the event and took advantage of the situations as they presented opportunities for him to achieve his ultimate aim, whatever that may have been, rather than formulating a deep-laid scheme. One thing, however, seems certain; it is that the situation which had now developed presented to any officer who had the desire to seize supreme power and a sufficient following in the army an almost ideal situation for a military *coup d'état*. And if Cromwell or any other aspirant for supreme power helped to create that situation that he might take advantage of it, for his cause or himself or both, it was not the first time nor the last that happened.

⁸⁴ Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ch. xxv; Clarendon, *History*, xiv, 87.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

By the beginning of April, 1653, the situation of affairs was obviously approaching a trial of strength between the Cromwellians and the anti-Cromwellians, between those who were determined to go on with the existing Parliament in some form and those who were equally determined to put an end to it. The House had discussed the "Act appointing a certain time for the Dissolving of this present Parliament and for the calling and settling of future and successive Parliaments" every Wednesday since the preceding February. It had settled on the places to be represented, the representation of Scotland and Ireland, the franchise qualifications and the infinity of details in the form of amendments which such a sweeping measure inevitably brought forth. Despite the complaints of the army, the progress of the bill was much what one might expect as such things go in the House of Commons.

None the less the irritation of the army had grown apace with the progress of the bill and, no less, its suspicions of the motives of those who had it in charge. In this the General had shared and it was evident to all who were in touch with the situation that matters were rapidly approaching a crisis. It so happened for some reason that on April 6 the usual discussion on the Bill was omitted, to Cromwell's disgust—and on that day Whitelocke records, "Upon discourse with Cromwell I found him in distaste with the Parliament and hastening their dissolution."¹ According to a news-writer at the same time, though he appeared to disagree with the design to dissolve Parliament, he was "conceived to be a great stickler" among the party in the army resolved to have a new representative,² although another writer reported on the same day that he sided with the House and was sending "some of the most violent" of the army to Scotland.³ Still another wrote on April 9 that "His Excellency's not going to the parliament or Council these three weekes or month occasions many reports and as various interpretations . . . our counsells are private & high; something extraordinary is speedily expected." A week later

¹ Whitelocke, p. 553.

² Newsletter, Apr. 8/18, *Clarendon Mss.*, quot. in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii, 529. Macray, *Clar. Papers*, ii, 194 (no. 1083).

³ Newsletter from *Clarendon Mss.*, quot. in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii, 529.

he wrote, "Friday his Excellency was at the House which cleared some former and vulgar jealousies."⁴ It was further reported that this appearance on the 15th was to plead for a "general" as against a "partial" election, which it seemed the House favored; and that the plan was for the House to adjourn after giving power to the Council of State, whose majority was opposed to the General in domestic affairs.⁵ To these rumors Sagredo added:

"Weary of the promises and irresolution of Parliament, they [the officers] have at last resolved on its dissolution. Cromwell in particular was offended at the incident I reported [the threat of being replaced] and also because his views in favour of peace had been rejected by the majority. He also resented being locked out on one occasion when he had gone out, remarking at the time that just as the door had been shut upon him that day, it would be closed against the whole Parliament on some other."⁶

Monk's biographer declares—perhaps too boastfully—that by April 16 Cromwell was ready to dissolve Parliament but dared not move until satisfied that Monk would acquiesce.⁷ The breach between the General and his opponents in Commons and Council was widening rapidly. There is a suggestion⁸ that the House leaders even considered dropping the bill, though there seems no evidence for that save the report of a news-writer, to which the omission of its consideration on April 6 probably gave rise. That omission also probably produced or precipitated another petition from the army on April 7, demanding that the measure be proceeded with and attention be given to excluding improper persons from future Parliaments.⁹ On the 13th, very likely in consequence of that petition, an amendment was carried excluding all who were not "persons of known integrity, fearing God and not scandalous in their conversation."¹⁰ That was the last, or almost the last, of the changes necessary to perfect the measure which was due for final consideration and, it seemed, probable passage on the next Wednesday, the 20th of April.

So far as external appearance went, there seemed no reason to object to it. Members of Parliament and officers were agreed on the dissolution of the existing Parliament and there appears to have been no longer any quarrel as to the date. The qualifications for franchise

⁴ Clarke newsletters, Apr. 9, Apr. 16(?), *ibid.*, p. 528.

⁵ Newsletter, Apr. 29, *Clarendon Mss.*, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 533; Hyde to Rochester, May 6/16, *Clar. Mss.*, no. 1141, possibly based on newsletter quoted in Gardiner, ii, 254n.

⁶ Paulucci to Sagredo, Apr. 22/May 2, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1653-4), pp. 64.

⁷ Gumble, *Life of Monk*, p. 73.

⁸ Made by Gardiner, quoting newsletter, Apr. 8, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii, 529.

⁹ Bordeaux to Brienne, April 21/May 1, 1653. *Arch. des Aff. Étrangères*, lxii, fol. 117, quot. in Gardiner, ii, 253n.

¹⁰ *C. J.*, vii, 277.

and membership offered a more difficult problem. Army and Parliament alike recognized that anything like a general election on the old basis would drive them both from power. Each was therefore careful to look to the exclusion from political activity of what Cromwell called "neuters, . . . or such as had given testimony to the King's cause."¹¹ Finally, repudiating a complicated property qualification, in its last vote on the question, the House limited the county franchise to those who had £200 in real or personal property.

Thus far there seemed no ground for serious dispute. But there remained to be taken into account certain suspicions and certain incompatibilities, as well as a fundamental antagonism between the political and military temperaments. On the basis of the arguments advanced thus far, it would seem that the issue hung not on the question of dissolution or on the issue of "future and successive parliaments." It seemed to depend on whether the members then sitting should be continued in their seats and supervise, or even select, their new colleagues as they had been doing for some nine years, and especially on the qualifications for electors and elected. Each side obviously feared that the other might determine the constitution of a new House of Commons, if one should be chosen—the Parliamentarians or "commonwealthsmen" that it might be dominated by the army, the officers that it might be manipulated to the advantage of their opponents.

It would seem, then, a struggle for control between the two wings of the revolutionary party, and measurably between the soldiers and the civilians. More especially it was a struggle between what may be called for convenience the Cromwellians and the anti-Cromwellians; between the men who suspected, feared and hated the idea of a forcible dissolution and a military dictatorship, and the men who suspected and hated the Commons politicians and feared that they might put an end to military dominance.

The plan of recruiting was essentially that of the anti-Cromwellians, men like Vane, Marten, Haselrig, Scot, Bond, Sidney and the "commonwealthsmen" of whom the Republicans were the majority. It was their design, however feeble their strength in the face of the army, to continue the Commonwealth and to prevent military dictatorship under whatever name. Despite the bitter denunciation of them by Cromwell and his followers, their plan was not unreasonable. Not only had they all, Cromwellians and anti-Cromwellians alike, in large measure owed their own seats to just this process and sworn to support the Commonwealth, but as Marten's classic jest had it, in comparing the young Commonwealth with the youthful Moses, it "was yet an infant, of a weak growth and a very tender constitution;

¹¹ Speech, July 4, 1653.

and therefore his opinion was, that nobody would be so fit to nurse it as the mother who brought it forth, and that they should not think of putting it under any other hands until it had obtained more years and vigour."¹²

It has been generally assumed that this was the whole of the issue between the Parliamentarians and the officers—or more correctly between the Cromwellians and the anti-Cromwellians, for there were officers among the latter group and civilians in the former. But there is another aspect of the matter, which has been perhaps too little considered. It is that there was more in the discussion than merely the time of dissolving Parliament and the method of choosing its successor. That was a matter which could be settled by argument and negotiation, which, in fact, had in large measure been determined by the vote of the preceding December and the discussions since. The army council seems to have had more in its mind than this. What was to happen when and if Parliament was dissolved?

That question did not much disturb the army extremists. As in the execution of the King, they saw only the destruction of what seemed to them the stumbling-block in the way of their design to remake England in accordance with their dreams. Ludlow testifies that when Major Salwey "desired of them that before they took away the present authority, they would declare what they would have established in its room; to which it was replied by one of the General's party, that it was necessary to pull down this Government, and it would be time enough then to consider what should be placed in the room of it. So," he concludes significantly, "both parties understanding one another, prepared to secure themselves."¹³ How imminently change impended is revealed in the remark attributed to a Major Streater who, replying to Harrison's assertion that "he was assured that the Lord General sought not himself, but that King Jesus might take the sceptre," observed cynically that "Christ must come before Christmas, or else He would come too late."¹⁴ Yet despite these utterances of Cromwell's followers, which no doubt represented the ideas of many who were now aligned against the Parliament, there must have been in the minds of some of the army council a notion, however vague, as to how government was to be carried on, once Parliament was gone.

That there was such a notion there can be but little doubt. It was voiced in Whitelocke's account of the meeting between officers and

¹² Clarendon, *History*, xiv, 6.

¹³ Ludlow, *Memoirs* (Firth ed.), i, 351.

¹⁴ Heath, *Flagellum*, (1672), p. 126. Major John Streater, then quartermaster-general in Ireland, whence he came to protest, was author of a pamphlet, *Ten Queries*, against dissolution. For that he was cashiered and imprisoned. He later wrote another, for which he suffered a like fate. (See *D.N.B.*). No copy of his *Ten Queries* appears in the catalogue of the British Museum, or in those of the Thomason or McAlpin collections, unfortunately, for it might throw some light at this point.

Parliament men in the form of a suggestion of a committee of forty—which he opposed, he says, because he was afraid that he might be chosen to share what he regarded as a hopeless and thankless task. But there is other evidence to the same effect. The first is a speech made by Haselrig in Richard Cromwell's Parliament describing the meeting on April 19:

"I heard," he said "being seventy miles off, that it was propounded that we should dissolve our trust, and dissolve it into a few hands. I came up and found it so; that it was resolved in a junto at the Cockpit. I trembled at it, and was, after, there and bore my testimony against it. I told them the work they went about was accursed. I told them it was impossible to devolve this trust."¹⁵

The second is a passage in Heath's account of the proceedings, which, laying aside its animus, is not unlike that of Haselrig:

"The next scene . . . was laid at the Cock-pit by Whitehal, where Cromwell . . . declared to his Council of Officers 'that if they should trust the people in an Election of a new Parliament according to the old Constitution, it would be a tempting of God . . . and that five or six men, and some few more, setting themselves to the work, might do more in one day than the Parliament had or would do in a hundred, as far as he could perceive; and that such unbyassed men were like to be the only Instruments of the peoples happiness.'"¹⁶

The third is that of Cromwell himself:

"We humbly proposed—when neither our counsels, objections to their proceedings, nor their answers to justify them, did give us satisfaction, nor did we think they ever intended to give any, as some of them have since declared . . . so we desired they would devolve the trust over to persons of honor and integrity that were well known, men well affected to religion and the interest of the nation."¹⁷

The *Declaration of the Officers*, issued two days after the dissolution of Parliament, confirms these statements, as it were, officially. "After some debate," it says,

"it was judged necessary, and agreed upon, that the supreme authority should be by the parliament devolved upon known persons, men fearing God and of approved integrity; and the government of the commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, reform the laws, and administer justice impartially. . . ."¹⁸

This was echoed again in the declarations of April 30 and May 3,

¹⁵ Thomas Burton, *Diary* (1828), iii, 98.

¹⁶ Heath, *Flagellum* (1672), p. 127.

¹⁷ Speech, July 4, 1653.

¹⁸ *Declaration of the Lord General and his Council of Officers*, Apr. 22.

the first signed by Cromwell alone, the second by him and the new Council of State,¹⁹ and may be regarded, therefore, as expressing not only the views of the officers but of their General.

In short, it seems to have been the idea to set up in place of Parliament and Council some new committee system, whether provisional or in permanence, whose constitution offered at least as great a problem as that of a new Parliament. Whether it should be a committee of forty to act until a Parliament should be elected, as Whitelocke seemed to think, or a "Sanhedrim" of seventy, as Harrison presently proposed, or a small council, which seems to have been Lambert's suggestion,²⁰ it seemed a threat to the parliamentary system as it had hitherto existed. It is small wonder, then, that the commonwealthsmen feared that it meant the end of the Commonwealth—nor were they wrong.

There was in this another element which touched Cromwell still more closely. As he himself said later, he and his party desired to know "what security lay in the way of their proceeding . . . having our interest, our lives, estates and families therein concerned."²¹ If there was suspicion of dissolution by force and a military dictatorship on the one side, there was on the other the suspicion of a design to deprive the army of its position in the state. What, then, of the head of that army? If there was a fear that some military leader might head a movement to overthrow the existing government, there was no less fear that Parliament might replace Cromwell with another commander. Parliament had commissioned him; it was not inconceivable that it might withdraw that commission and confer it on some one else. It was suspected that there were men who would not have been unwilling to take his place. There seemed reason to believe not only that Lambert might have been a receptive candidate but that he had been considered by Cromwell's opponents as a possibility. Whether Harrison desired the post or not, he had become the idol of the "fanatic gathered churches," especially the Fifth Monarchists, and headed an active party of his own. From whatever motive Cromwell had done everything he could to conciliate these potential rivals. Harrison was gained by apparent agreement with his religious-political conceptions, Lambert by convincing him that Parliament had done him a great injury in preventing him from becoming Lord Deputy in Ireland.²² But there was an even greater danger than

¹⁹ *Declaration of Oliver Cromwell, Capt. Gen.* . . . ; and *Another Declaration wherein is rendered a further account . . . by the Lord Gen. and his Council.*

²⁰ According to Ludlow, these suggestions were made in May, 1653, in a discussion as to what form the new government should take. Ludlow, *Memoirs* (Firth ed.), i, 358ff.

²¹ Speech, July 4, 1653.

²² Clarendon asserts that Lambert was promised the reversion to supreme power by Cromwell. *History*, xvi, 78.

either Lambert or Harrison. It was that Fairfax might be persuaded to emerge from his retirement and, with the support of the Presbyterians, wreck all the hopes and plans not only of the Lord General but of the Independents.

This, then, was the situation at the middle of April, 1653. If Parliament passed the measure which Vane championed²³ and which apparently the majority of the House desired, it seemed to the officers, headed by Cromwell, that this might well be only the first step in their downfall. If, on the other hand, there was held a "general" election, as Cromwell pointed out, there was "danger of it in the drawing of the concourse of all people to arraign every individual person, which did indeed fall obvious to us that the power would be put into the hands of men that had very little affection to this cause."²⁴

It would certainly appear from this that the officers were not only opposed to the continuance of the members of the Parliament in their seats, but against any kind of an election until the qualifications for membership had been passed on by themselves. Meanwhile they sought means to keep power in their own hands. But it was no simple division between officers and politicians, for there were officers in the House like Haselrig and Salwey who favored the continuation of Parliament, and politicians like St John who opposed it. It has been said that those who leaned toward Presbyterianism favored "recruiting" and those who leaned toward Independency a "general" election; but so far as the testimony of those most immediately concerned seems to indicate, the issue lay rather between those who favored the uninterrupted continuance of Parliament and those who pressed for an interim council of some sort, until, if ever, the country was ready for a new system. Behind that lay a deeper issue—it was that of the man on horseback whose shadow deepened across the path of the Commonwealth.

The critical trial of strength between the two plans and their supporters was set for Wednesday, April 20, when the completed bill was due to be finally considered. In a last desperate effort to prevent what seemed the almost certain passage of the measure, a final conference was held, of which Whitelocke's account remains the best statement:

"Yesterday," he wrote under the date of April 20th, "there having been

²³ Though Harrison had been appointed chairman of the committee on the bill for the new representative, it is generally agreed that Vane was the leader of the party favoring it at this time. To him is attributed the introduction of the clauses obnoxious to the officers, though there is no testimony adduced to support that charge. (Cp. Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 253). Without more evidence the matter remains obscure.

²⁴ Speech of July 4, 1653.

a great Meeting at Cromwell's Lodgings in Whitehall of Parliament-men and several Officers of the Army, sent to by Cromwell to be there, and a large Discourse and Debate having been amongst them touching some Expedient to be found out for the present carrying on of the Government of the Commonwealth, and putting a period to this present Parliament:

It was offered by divers as a most dangerous thing to dissolve the present Parliament, and to set up any other Government, and that it would neither be warrantable in Conscience or Wisdom so to do; yet none of them expressed themselves so freely to that purpose as Sir Thomas Widdrington and I then did.

Of the other opinion as to putting a Period forthwith to this Parliament, St. John was one of the chief, and many more with him; and generally all the Officers of the Army, who stuck close in this likewise to their General.

And the better to make way for themselves and their ambitious Design of advancing them to the Civil Government, as well as they were in the Military Power.

They and their party declared their Opinions, that it was necessary the same should be done one way or other, and the Members of Parliament not permitted to prolong their own Power.

At which Expression Cromwell seemed to reprove some of them; and this Conference lasted till late at night, when Widdrington and I went home weary, and troubled to see the Indiscretion and Ingratitude of those Men and the way they designed to ruin themselves."²⁵

Whitelocke's story is confirmed by the testimony of two others present at the conference—Haselrig and Cromwell²⁶—and it appears from the latter's statement that it was he, in fact, who set forth the position of the officers. As he said later "it pleased . . . the officers of the army to desire me to offer their sense to them, which I did." That "sense" was that the officers desired to know not only "what security lay in the way of their proceeding," but "how the whole business should be executed." Failing any answer, he declared, beyond the assertion "that nothing would do good for this nation but the continuance of this Parliament," Cromwell retorted that their way was "impracticable . . . to send out an Act of Parliament . . . with such qualifications to be a rule for electors and elected and not to know who should execute this; . . . whether the next Parliament were not like to consist of all Presbyterians?" He declared that "persons of that judgment having deserted this cause and interest upon the King's account . . . we had as good have delivered up our cause into the hands of any"; and reasserted the determination not to allow any "neuters, or such as had given testimony to the King's cause" to be admitted to the electorate. Receiving, as he declared, no satisfactory reply to this, he "proposed to them our expedient,"

²⁵ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 554. This is confirmed by Haselrig's testimony as to his own opposition. See above.

²⁶ Speech, July 4, 1653.

to "devolve the trust over to . . . men well-affected to religion and the interest of the nation . . . no new thing when these nations had been under the like hurlyburly and distractions." This proposal the Parliament men declared was of such "high nature and of tender consideration, for how should money be raised?" that they desired to "sleep upon them," and "two or three of the chief ones, the very chiefest of them,"²⁷ did tell us that they would endeavour to suspend farther proceedings about the bill for a new representative until they had a further conference."²⁸

He was evidently, from his own account, as always, vehement. We offered them, he said "an expedient five times better" than theirs; and he was indignant at their disinclination to accept it without consultation with their friends, though there were twenty of them at the conference and "not above fifty-three in the House."²⁹ This seemed to him a mere pretext for delay and his temper was not soothed by the episode.

Thus the meeting broke up that night without reaching any more definite conclusion than that though the Parliamentarians agreed to further discussion, they were bent on passing their bill and the officers were determined they should not. That conclusion was, perhaps, definite enough, but there is one other point which emerges from the reports of the conference. It is the suggestion that there might be some "other form of government," which Whitelocke and Widdrington obviously feared and at which Cromwell's report of the discussion pointed, however discreetly and indirectly. It was natural that Parliamentarians and lawyers should ask how government could be carried on if Parliament were dissolved, in particular how money could be found. It was inconceivable to men who had fought through the days of Noy and Weston, the Ship-Money levies and the dispute over non-parliamentary taxation like the revival of feudal obligations that there should or could be taxes raised without consent of Parliament. That was one of the chief causes of the civil wars—that and legislation by edict.

To Cromwell and his followers this did not matter much. To them the important thing was to get rid of the existing Parliament, put power into the hands of a group of "well-affected" men and let them carry on. To some of them, no doubt, that seemed simple enough to do, but it involved another step in the progress to a new order. Who should compose that group?

That point had been considered in the debates in the Council of Officers. The obvious solution was that Parliament should delegate

²⁷ It has been suggested that this was Vane.

²⁸ Speech, July 4, 1653.

²⁹ He judged from the usual attendance on routine matters; but there were nearly a hundred present on the next and critical day.

its powers *ad interim* to the Council of State. But it seems apparent from various indications—and from the event—that the Council was as much out of favor with Cromwell and his followers as the Parliament which had created it; and Whitelocke's next words indicate that by this time the officers had more or less agreed upon a plan:

"I came early again this morning," he wrote under date of April 20, "according to Appointment to Cromwell's lodgings, where there were but a few Parliament-men and a few Officers of the Army, of whom Colonel Ingoldsby was one.

A point was again stirred which had been debated the last night, whether forty persons or about that number of Parliament-men and Officers of the Army should be nominated by the Parliament and empowered for the managing of the Affairs of the Commonwealth till a new Parliament should meet, and so the present Parliament to be forthwith dissolved.

I was against this proposal and the more, fearing lest I might be one of these forty, who I thought would be in a desperate condition after the Parliament should be dissolved, but others were very ambitious to be of this Number and Council, and to be invested with this exorbitant Power in them."³⁰

This was as far as the matter had proceeded by the morning of April 20. Before leaving the conference at Cromwell's lodgings the night before, according to the *Declaration of the Officers* issued two days later, the members of Parliament had agreed to meet in the same place on the morning of the 20th, and "endeavors should be used that nothing in the meantime should be done in Parliament that might exclude or frustrate the proposals" made the previous evening. While, as Whitelocke says, he and some others were continuing the discussion at Cromwell's lodgings on the morning of the 20th, the House met, and after debating some business connected with the question of the Irish Adventurers, took up the disputed Bill of Elections, whether by arrangement among the leaders or by pressure from the members is uncertain. Most of them had apparently been informed of the meeting the night before and it is possible that the anti-Cromwellians planned to forestall any move on the part of the officers by calling up the bill, which, it seemed evident to the army representatives present, would probably pass and so present the officers with an extremely awkward *fait accompli*. It is also possible that the anti-Cromwellians were present in unusual numbers, for though Cromwell later asserted, what was the fact, that only some fifty were customarily in their seats, it would appear that there were nearly twice that number there on this fateful day.

It had now come to a matter of minutes and a final trial of strength. To the meeting at Cromwell's lodgings, therefore, word was brought

³⁰ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 554.

that the House was in session and discussing the Bill of Elections. As Whitelocke records:

"Cromwell being informed during this Debate that the Parliament was sitting and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves; which would be the most honourable dissolution for them;

Hereupon he broke off the meeting and the members of Parliament with him [including Whitelocke] left him at his Lodgings and went to the House and found them in Debate of an Act which would occasion other Meetings of them again and prolong their sitting.

Thereupon Colonel Ingoldsby went back to Cromwell and told him what the House were doing, who was so enraged thereat, expecting they should have meddled with no other business but putting a period to their own sitting without more delay;

That he presently commanded some of the Officers of the Army to fetch a Party of Soldiers with whom he marched to the House and led a File of Musqueteers in with him, the rest he placed at the Door of the House and in the Lobby before it."³¹

Cromwell's own testimony is to much the same effect:

"The next morning [April 20]," he declared in his speech of July 4, "We considering how to order that which we had farther to offer to them in the evening, word was brought they were proceeding with a Representative, with all the eagerness they could. We did not believe persons of such quality could do it. A second and a third messenger told us they had almost finished it, and had brought it to that issue, with that haste as had never been known before; leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the qualifications; and, as we have heard since, resolved to pass it only in paper, without engrossing it, for the quicker despatch of it. Thus, as we apprehended, would have thrown away the liberties of the nation into the hands of those who had never fought for it. And upon this we thought it our duty not to suffer. And upon this," he concludes laconically, "the House was dissolved even when the Speaker was going to put the last question."

As to what happened in the next few minutes we have the accounts of various eye-witnesses, which have often been re-written and paraphrased but despite their natural, minor discrepancies never been improved upon. The first—and mildest—is that of the Republican Algernon Sidney, as he told it to his father, the Earl of Leicester:

"The Parliament sitting as usuall, and being on debate upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have bin passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes, with gray worsted stockings, and sate down as he used to do in an ordinary place.

After a while he rose up, put off his hat, and spake; at the first and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament, for theyr paines and care of the publick good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them

³¹ Whitelocke, p. 554.

of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest and other faults; then he sayd, perhaps you thinke this is not Parliamentary language, I confesse it is not, neither are you to expect any such from me; then he putt on his hat, went out of his place, and walked up and down the stage or floore in the midst of the House, with his hat on his head, and chid them soundly, looking sometimes, and pointing particularly upon some persons, as Sir R. [sic] Whitlocke, one of the Commissioners for the Greate Seale, Sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharpe language, though he named them not, but by his gestures it was well known he meant them. After this he sayd to Corronell Harrison, (who was a Member of the House) "Call them in," then Harrison went out, and presently brought in Lieutenant Collonell Wortley, (who commanded the Generall's own regiment of foote,) with five or six files of musqueteers, about 20 or 30, with theyr musquets, then the Generall, pointing to the Speaker in his chayre, sayd to Harrison, "Fetch him downe"; Harrison went to the Speaker, and spoke to him to come down, but the Speaker sate still, and sayd nothing. "Take him down," sayd the Generall; then Harrison went and pulled the Speaker by the gowne, and he came downe. It happened that day, that Algernon Sydney sate next to the Speaker on the right hand; the Generall sayd to Harrison, "Put him out," Harrison spake to Sydney to go out, but he sayd he would not go out, and sate still. The Generall sayd again, "Put him out," then Harrison and Wortley putt theyr hands upon Sydney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out, then he rose and went towards the doore. Then the Generall went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carried before the Speaker, and sayd, "Take away these baubles"; so the soldiers tooke away the mace, and all the House went out; and at the going out, they say, the Generall sayd to young Sir Henry Vane, calling him by his name, that he might have prevented this extraordinary course, but he was a juggler, and had not so much as common honesty. All being gon out, the doore of the House was locked and the key with the mace was carried away, as I heard, by Corronell Otley."³²

Such was the story told to Leicester by Sidney. To this White-locke, who was also present, added some vivid details. As he tells it:

"Entering the House [Cromwell] in a furious manner bid the Speaker leave his Chair, told the House, that they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good: that some of them were Whore-masters, looking then towards Henry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth. That others of them were Drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust Men and scandalous to the Profession of the Gospel, and that it was not fit they should sit as a Parliament any longer, and desired them to go away . . . Some of the members rose up to answer Cromwell's speech, but he would suffer none to speak but himself. Which he did with so much Arrogance in himself and Reproach to his Fellow members that some of his Privadoes were ashamed of it."³³

Finally Ludlow, who seems to have got his account from various

³² R. W. Blencowe, *Sydney Papers* (1825), pp. 139-41.

³³ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 554.

eye-witnesses, chiefly Harrison, provides the most striking picture of the scene:

Parliament "had resolved, without any further delay, to pass the Act for their own dissolution; of which Cromwel having notice, makes haste to the House, where he sat down and heard the debate for some time. Then calling to Major-General Harrison, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him, that he judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it. The Major-General answered, as he since told me; 'Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.'

"'You say well,' replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the Bill being to be put, he said again to Major-General Harrison, 'this is the time I must do it;' and suddenly standing up, made a speech, wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do anything for the publick good, to have espoused the corrupt interest of Presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, accusing them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, had they not been forced to the passing of this Act, which he affirmed they designed never to observe, and thereupon told them, that the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy. This he spoke with so much passion and discomposure of mind, as if he had been distracted. Sir Peter Wentworth stood up to answer him, and said, that this was the first time that ever he had heard such unbecoming language given to the Parliament, and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their servant, and their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged: but as he was going on, the General stept into the midst of the House, where continuing his distracted language, he said, 'Come, come, I will put an end to your prating'; then walking up and down the House like a mad-man, and kicking the ground with his feet, he cried out, 'You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament; I will put an end to your sitting; call them in, call them in': whereupon the serjeant attending the Parliament opened the doors, and Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley with two files of musqueteers entred the House; which Sir Henry Vane observing from his place, said aloud, 'This is not honest, yea it is against morality and common honesty.' Then Cromwel fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane.' Then looking upon one of the members, he said 'There sits a drunkard'; and giving much reviling language to others, he commanded the mace to be taken away, saying, 'What shall we do with this bauble? here, take it away.'"

When the Speaker refused to leave his chair at Harrison's suggestion, the latter helped him down. "Then Cromwell applied himself to the members of the House, who were in number between 80 and 100, and said to them, 'It's you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.'"

Thereupon Cromwell "ordered the guard to see the House clear'd of all the members, and then seized upon the records that were there, and at Mr.

Scobell's house. After which he went to the clerk, and snatching the Act of Dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak, and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall."³⁴

Nor was this quite the end of the episode. It appears that while all this was going on, the officers who were not members of Parliament remained in the General's quarters in the Cockpit, to which he hurried from the Parliament. The mace was tossed into an outer room, according to Forster, and he threw the key of the House before them on the table at which they sat and told them what he had done.³⁵ "When I went there," he said, "I did not think to have done this. But perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would not consult flesh and blood."³⁶ Some of the officers were not satisfied and reproved him, "conceiving that the way they were now going tended to ruin and confusion. To these . . . he professed himself resolved to do much more good, and with more expedition, than could be expected from parliament . . . But Colonel Okey, being jealous that the end would be bad, . . . inquired of Col. Desborough what his meaning was, to give such high commendations to the parliament when he endeavored to persuade the officers of the army from petitioning them for a dissolution, and so short a time after to eject them with so much scorn and contempt;—who had no other answer to make, but that if ever he drolled in his life, he had drolled then."³⁷

At long last, in 1660, when he was tried for his life and presently executed, Harrison, according to the alleged conversations with his friends, further amplified the account—and minimized his share in the transaction.

"The breaking of the Parliament was the act and design of General Cromwell, for I did know nothing of it; that morning before it was done, he called me to go along with him to the House, and after he had brought all into disorder, I went to the Speaker and told him, Sir, seeing things are brought to this pass, it is not requisite for you to stay there; he answered he would not come down unless he was pulled out; Sir, said I, I will lend you my hand, and he, putting his hand into mine, came down without any pulling."³⁸

Apart from the dubious character of the compilation, the story there attributed to Harrison has certain discrepancies from the known facts, which may charitably be attributed to Harrison's defective memory, or less charitably to the fact that the writer, whoever he was, merely put these words into Harrison's mouth. Like many of

³⁴ Ludlow, *Memoirs* (Firth ed.), i, 351-5.

³⁵ Forster, *Statesmen*, v, 66.

³⁶ Heath, *Flagellum* (1663), p. 135.

³⁷ Ludlow, *op. cit.*, i, 356.

³⁸ *A Compleat Collection of the Lives, Speeches, etc. of those Persons lately executed* (1661). A very questionable compilation.

the pleas in confession and avoidance in the collection in which it appears, it is an obvious attempt to put the blame on a dead man—though if Ludlow may be believed, Harrison had shrunk from the final step.

There is no official note in the *Commons Journals* of the dissolution; but again in 1660 we find this entry, which has some interest:

“Whereas this House find an Entry in the Journal-Book, the 20th of April 1653, in these Words; viz. ‘This Day his Excellency the Lord General dissolved this Parliament:’ Which was done without Consent of Parliament: Resolved, That the Parliament doth declare, That the same is Forgery. Resolved, That Mr. Scobell be sent for to the Bar of this House.” Mr. Scobell soon after appearing there, “the said Entry in the Journal-Book was shewed unto him: And, being examined, Who made the aforesaid Entry in the Journal-Book, he acknowledged, That it was his own Hand-writing; and that he did it without Direction of any Person whatsoever. Resolved, That the said Entry be expunged out of the Journal-Book. Ordered, That it be referred to a Committee, to consider, Whether the Act of Indemnity extends to pardon this Offence.”³⁹

Such was the last repercussion of the dissolution of the Rump by Cromwell, and it appears that before its members went, their clerk jotted down the method of their going. His entry was expunged, and in so far at least, there remains no official account of the most important part of that day’s proceedings.

What the public, or at least the newspaper-reading public, learned of the situation is revealed in the obviously inspired account of the incident in the issue of *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, which appeared the day after the dissolution:

“The Officers of the Army have, for 16 weeks past, or more, used all possible means to have persuaded the parliament to have passed such things as might be for the common good, and proposed the particulars to them; then many endeavoured to present Petitions from several parts of the nation to the officers, but they refused to meddle, leaving it to the parliament, desiring that all might be acted by them. The officers used all private means to persuade them, as they had occasion from time to time, telling them, ‘How the country people did expect it;’ and, after all that, sent a letter, and had meetings with divers whom they looked upon as most ready to promote the public good; and at one time met with almost 30 and endeavoured to engage them to act therein; giving them reasons for the passing of those things which they proposed, for the general good of the people; but the members only answered, ‘That when they were in parliament they had the liberty of their Yeas and their Noes.’ The last night before this dismission, there were near 20 members with the General, to whom the danger of the Act, for calling a new Representative, was declared, as the house was about to pass it; giving so much liberty that many disaffected persons might be chosen; and by the said Act these

³⁹ C. J., vii, 805 (Jan. 7, 1659–60).

present members were to sit and to be made up by others chosen, and by themselves approved of; hereupon they engaged not to meddle with it this day; and when Major gen. Harrison saw, this morning, that they fell upon it, he most sweetly and humbly desired them to lay it aside, shewing them the danger of it; but they going on, the Lord General required them to depart the house; and lieut. col. Worsley, with some soldiers came in and ordered the house to be cleared; took the mace away, and caused the house to be locked up. The next day there was a Paper by somebody, posted upon the Parliament House door, thus; *This House is to be Lett, now unfurnished.*"⁴⁰

The account given by the unusually well-informed Venetian envoy agrees in the main with the others, but adds a few details. The House being dissolved, he goes on to say:

"The doors being then opened, the troops entered and the Speaker was made to depart, passing through a file of 200 men, without the mace, which always used to go before him as a mark of authority, and of the session of parliament, whose arms it bore. He was then conducted to his coach and proceeded to his house, the whole city perceiving that he had been deprived of the public badge, which remained in the hands of the troops, and so the authority of the parliament was entirely dissolved and abrogated . . . The abolition of parliament has necessarily entailed that of the Council of State, though a proclamation has been issued that all the other courts of judicature are to continue sitting as usual."⁴¹

It was, as Paulucci indicates, not the end of the episode of the fall of the Commonwealth. The Parliament had gone, but the Council of State remained, and to that Cromwell at once turned his attention. That afternoon he heard that it was in session as usual and was engaged in the election of a new chairman to take the place of Dennis Bond, whose term of office would expire on April 23, whereupon, accompanied by Lambert and Harrison, he went to their chamber. There, according to Ludlow, whose account is supported by other evidence, he

"told them at his entrance; 'Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a Council of State, there is no place for you; and since you can't but know what was done at the House in the morning, so take notice, that the Parliament is dissolved.' To this Serjeant Bradshaw answered; 'Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that.' Something more was said to the same purpose by Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot; and then the Council of State perceiving themselves to be under the same violence, departed."⁴²

⁴⁰ Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.*, iii, 1381-2, from *Sev. Proc.* Apr. 14-21.

⁴¹ Paulucci to Sagredo, Apr. 22/May 2, 1653. *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1652-3), pp. 64-5.

⁴² Ludlow, *Memoirs* (Firth ed.), i, 357.

This, then, was the last scene in the history of the Commonwealth experiment. This, too, was the end of the long journey which had begun with Cromwell's entry into public life as a member for Huntingdon. He was now the master of England. It remained to see under what title, and what form of words would be devised to conceal the fact that the country was under a military dictatorship.

The dissolution of Parliament marked the climax of Cromwell's ascent to power and the end of the Commonwealth experiment in fact though not in name. It is not merely the most dramatic event in his spectacular career, it has become in a sense a measure of his character. In consequence it has absorbed the attention of historians and biographers from that day to this and its every detail has been examined with minute, even microscopic, attention. Yet with all the patient investigation which has been lavished on the incident, there are many things about it which are still hidden from us. No one now knows exactly what was in the bill which the General thrust under his cloak and carried away with him on that fateful day. No one, apparently, has ever seen that document from that day to this, nor has there come to light any such statement of its contents by those who framed and favored it as those which emanated from its enemies. All that we know of its purport is derived from the words of those who, like Cromwell, opposed it so bitterly that they were prepared to dissolve the Parliament by force rather than let it pass.

Its history and some of its provisions are clear enough. It—or a like measure—had originated in a petition for such a Bill presented to the House by Fairfax and the Council of Officers on January 20, 1649, ten days before the execution of the King. It had pursued a long if often interrupted and stormy course until February, 1653. Then under Vane's guidance⁴³ it had become the order of business every Wednesday until it was ready to pass early in April. At last, on April 13 or 20, the date of dissolution, originally set for November 3, 1654, was advanced a twelvemonth, so that the existing Parliament had at most eight months to sit and the arrangements for its successor were complete.⁴⁴ The details of the new electorate were based, in general, on those in the *Agreement of the People*, and it has been noted that they bore a certain likeness to those of the Reform Bill of 1832. It may be reasonably supposed that the long delay was due not only to the disinclination of the House to pass the bill but at least in part to pressure of other business and efforts of the champions of constitution-

⁴³ The bill had been placed in Harrison's charge in January, but Vane had apparently superseded him.

⁴⁴ For the date see *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii, 532, quoting an undated newsletter which says "last Wednesday." Gardiner assumes the date was a compromise between the parliamentarians who "dropped the design of perpetuating their position in the next Parliament" and the officers who abandoned their demand for immediate dissolution.

cies marked for reduction or extinction to evade that fate. The divisions on the amendments indicate, in fact, that the struggle, both in length and character, was not unlike that which raged over the reform measures of the nineteenth century.

To what, then, did the officers object, apart from the delay which they attributed to the basest of motives? Their objections were frequently and forcibly expressed. They had begun by protesting the admission of "malignants" and "neuters," especially Presbyterians, to the electorate or the House. From that they had advanced to an objection against "recruiting" Parliament with men "of the same temper and spirit" as those then sitting; and so came to the charge that those members intended to perpetuate this Parliament "forever" as an "arbitrary" power.⁴⁵ Though no other evidence has been discovered which confirms or denies these accusations, save for the sinister implication in the last, as expressed by Cromwell, they are not improbable,⁴⁶ and historians have, with certain qualifications, accepted them as true.⁴⁷ Though for nearly a decade Parliament had been made up by "recruiting," and many if not most of the officer-members had thus gained their seats, and though the parliamentarians naturally regarded the House as the best judge of its own membership, to the officers it appeared—what was almost certainly the fact—that if this, or any Bill not dictated by themselves, were passed and a new Parliament chosen under its provisions, they would lose control of the situation. As Cromwell said again and again, power must rest in the hands of those who had risked their lives in the late wars. Vane's party seemed about to win the parliamentary fight; they were evidently not afraid of a return to something like a more general representative system; but the army dared not risk that move. If they were to continue to dominate the situation, if Independency was to be saved, power must be kept in their hands at all costs, even if it meant the destruction of Parliament as it had earlier meant the destruction of the King.

It has been urged that the existing Parliament "had no claim to represent the people, and for many a long day it had acted in its own name rather than that of the nation. Yet, forsooth, this mutilated body had resolved to constitute itself the kernel of future assemblies,

⁴⁵ See the semi-official *Narrative* of April 21; the *Declaration of the Lord Generall and his Counsell of Officers* . . . Apr. 22; *Another Declaration . . . by the Lord Gen. and his Council*, May 3; and Cromwell's speeches of July 4 and Sept. 12, 1653.

⁴⁶ It should be said that there is no evidence that the bill originally introduced is the same as the measure before the House in 1653, though they were probably alike, if not identical.

⁴⁷ Carlyle, Masson and Jenks accept them. Forster argued that Vane's bill would have continued parliamentary government, but the Cromwellians were bent on 'paving as smooth a way to tyranny as possible.' Gardiner leaned to the idea that Cromwell

and to admit or reject to seats in a future Parliament as seemed good in its eyes."⁴⁸ It has argued on the other hand that the Cromwellians had a strong following in the House which they would keep under the Vane plan and so have a voice in determining the choice of future members. Neither argument need detain us. The army had never questioned the supremacy of the House until its members seemed likely to oppose the plans of the army leaders. Nor was there ever any question of representing the "people" within any reasonable interpretation of that phrase. Whichever party won, the new House would represent only the dominant faction in the state. Nor did the officers perceive any safeguard in having a minority in the House. They had been outvoted once, they would be again. If they would maintain their position, they must get rid of the Rump as they had got rid of the Eleven Members, of the Presbyterians, and of the King.

What, then, of Cromwell himself? Was he driven to this step by forces beyond his own control; did he seek a compromise between the extreme factions of Vane and Harrison, and only failing that, resort to dissolution; or did he, as his enemies then claimed, further this design in which he saw another opportunity to seize on his way to supreme authority? To two of his wisest biographers it has seemed that his dissolution of Parliament was worse than a crime, it was a mistake from which he never recovered. To the one it appeared that his act bred "deep misgivings as to . . . whether the whole movement since 1641 had not been a grave and terrible mistake . . . and a growing desire to return to the old order."⁴⁹ To the other it appeared that "when the nation had come to its senses it would realize that . . . it was wandering in an uncharted wilderness of first principles, with nothing to rule it but the sword."⁵⁰

To these judgments may be added certain corollaries. The chief is that there is every reason to believe that the nation had come, or was coming, to its senses; that this was, in effect, what the officers, even Cromwell, feared, though they voiced it in very different terms. They did not dare let the nation express itself even in the muffled tones of a Rump Parliament. Everything from that moment until the restoration of Charles II indicated that if it could express itself,

pleaded for a "general" election as against recruiting, and after his usual interpretation of Cromwell's character, pictured him as seeking a compromise between Vane, Lambert and Harrison. Buchan sides in general with Gardiner; but Morley inclines to believe with Forster that Vane was right, that a self-denying ordinance was fatal, and Cromwell's blaming Vane for "fettering the popular choice" was absurd.

⁴⁸ Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, ii, 265.

⁴⁹ Morley, "Oliver Cromwell," *Century*, lx, 594. The last phrase was omitted when it was published in book form.

⁵⁰ Buchan, *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 347.

the men who now turned out the Rump would themselves be turned out overnight, as in the end they were. If they were to remain in control, the dissolution of Parliament was a political necessity.

Whether Cromwell dissolved the Parliament, as he had pushed forward the execution of the King, as a step toward seizing power for himself, short of more definite evidence than we possess that must remain a matter of dispute, of moral rather than historical certainty and depending on the interpretation of his character. Yet one may venture to question three assumptions which, whether tacit or expressed, have played a great part in that long controversy. The first is that a man may become a dictator as it were involuntarily or unconsciously, driven on by forces beyond his own control. It may be that this was Cromwell's situation, as he himself declared; but it is difficult to find another instance in history. The second is that he never contemplated becoming the ruler of England, under whatever title. All the evidence, including his own words, seems to be against this assumption. The third is that his attacks on Parliament were justified and—avoiding the word "sincere"—entirely ingenuous. That he was "sincere" at the moment of dissolution no one can doubt, for no one is ever more sincere than an angry man, and he was very angry at that moment. Yet, viewing all the elements in the case, it is hard to escape the conclusion that at least part of his denunciation of the House and its members—like his attacks on the Parliaments of his own creation—was in the nature of self-justification and for political purposes.

To these may be added a fourth consideration. It is the contention that the dissolution was the result of a sudden fit of anger. That is in one and the most immediate sense the fact; but it is not all the fact. All the evidence we have seems to show that, like the execution of the King, it was not the result of a single, sudden burst of temper but of long and careful consideration. The actual dissolution was the work of one man and it took only a few minutes, but the decision had been long in the making and it was the work of a group of men of whom Cromwell was the leader as he was the agent. They had determined that, in some fashion or other, this Parliament must be removed, as the King had been; and the means for the one had been as carefully canvassed as the means for the other. There is something of the same quality in each; not least that of haste; and Cromwell's own words, "This is the time I must do it," reveal the fact that it had been considered.

Moreover in this case as in his flight to the army and the execution of the King there was another important, if personal, element. What was the alternative? If Parliament were not crushed, what would happen to his cause, his followers and himself? It is not even necessary to assume that he meant to seize power; it is only necessary to

consider here as in his two other great decisions what his fate would have been had his opponents had their way. They did not need to disband the army—indeed they would scarcely have dared attempt that at this moment. They needed only to set some one in his place, and, short of another civil war between his supporters and the rest of the country, and his victory, he was done. Not only his cause but his career would have gone down in ruin, and no one knew this better than Cromwell himself; for, as throughout the whole revolutionary movement it had always been, as it always is, what it was between Pym and Strafford, "My head or thy head!" Self-preservation is the first law of politics as it is of nature, and the necessity for remaining in power knew no law but that.

Yet to assume that Cromwell and the officers, any more than Vane and his followers, were inspired only by sentiments of self-interest or even self-preservation would not only do them a grave injustice but would miss the whole meaning of the movement for which they had fought. Whatever some of them gained in worldly goods and power, whatever the character of some of their camp-followers, their frequent and fervent declarations that they were no mere mercenary hirelings, no soldiers of fortune, but champions of a great cause, were true. They had not risked their fortunes and their lives for glory or for gain. They had proved that they were prepared to die for their ideal of religious liberty as they saw it. They were determined to make England over according to that ideal. If their methods were harsh and some of their members visionary even to fanaticism, if to later generations and even to many men in their own, the language in which they clothed their dreams seemed to savor of hypocrisy, all this does not detract from the deep and genuine enthusiasm which inspired their leaders. And even though in the end the sons of Zeruiah were too strong for these children of light, though they did not succeed in building a new Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land, they did manage to alter the whole course of her thought and life.

It was on the question as to how this great result should be achieved that the groups of which the revolutionary party was composed had found themselves at odds. To the one the slow and tortuous ways of politics and politicians seemed to offer little hope of the reforms in law and legislation which they sought. To the other there seemed no course but that which led through Parliament. The one sought to cut the Gordian knot, the other to unravel it; and it was on the question of means, not ends, that they divided. To the Republicans England seemed about to enter on the Promised Land; to the officers she seemed as far as ever from that glorious goal, if not, indeed, turning away from the road which led to it. To Vane and his followers there

was no salvation to be found outside of parliamentary processes; to Cromwell and his followers these offered little hope of satisfying their desire for complete and immediate reformation. Behind all the charges and counter-charges of hypocrisy and double-dealing, dishonesty and dictatorship, there lay this fundamental antagonism.

All this, however, is far from saying either that Cromwell's dissolution of the Parliament was justified or that the country was satisfied with the solution offered by the officers. However unpopular this Parliament may have been, the parliamentary system was supported unquestionably by the great majority of the English people. Nor did the Rump lack friends and defenders. From that day to this the argument has raged between them and Cromwell's champions, and, as in many such arguments, the advocates of each side have argued on somewhat different planes. On the one hand Parliament has been attacked on the ground that some of its members were selfish and corrupt. On the other it has been defended on the ground that, even admitting this, its public achievements make it worthy to be set among the greatest of such bodies in history, and that without its capable and efficient administration, the army could never have accomplished what it did.⁵¹ Into that argument it is not necessary to enter, save to observe that two wrongs have seldom, if ever, made a right and that, as Morley pointed out, it was the business of a statesman to hold his party together and to reform rather than to destroy the Parliament.

To extenuate or justify his act it was necessary for Cromwell and it has seemed necessary to his champions to blacken the reputation of the Parliament and to declare that only by its dissolution was England saved from something worse. One need hold no brief for the Rump Parliament to question that assumption. It is never difficult to discredit any such group by describing it in terms of its worst members. It is always easy to gain a dialectical victory by comparing the worst of one side with the best of the other; yet there were men high in the army whose records would bear inspection as little as some of those among the parliamentarians. It has been aptly asked how,⁵² if the favorite Puritan figure of speech, the "winnowing of the seed," holds good, the Cromwellians could hope for a better Parliament unless it was composed of their own little group. The existing House had been purged again and yet again; it had been recruited from the faithful and even some of those had been found wanting and driven out. If the remainder were not "honest" and "godly," where were such to be found?

It may be admitted at once that the Rump was not popular, but

⁵¹ For the first view Cromwell is the chief advocate; for the second, Ludlow, Sidney, Mrs. Hutchinson, and even the Royalist Roger Coke, among contemporaries.

⁵² By Morley.

it would be a false view of the situation to assume that the officers better represented the "people" or that they were more popular than the Commons; much less that if the "people" had been permitted to choose they would have chosen either; least of all that they would have chosen the army or its leader before the Parliament. That, like the assumption of the superior morality and political wisdom of the Cromwellians, is incapable of objective proof and therefore an admirable basis for subjective argument. At this particular juncture of affairs there was enough unpopularity and political ineptitude on both sides to nullify that argument.

It has been easy for some of his biographers to defend, even to glorify Cromwell as the saviour of society, to paint him as one who preserved the last vestiges of English liberty with his files of musketeers, as he himself declared. Yet from what did he save England? Not from anarchy; for, with the Council of State and Parliament backed by the army, there was no breakdown of authority. Not from military rule, for that was the result; not from dictatorship, for he became dictator. To say rhetorically that he "saved England from herself" would have appeared to the enormous majority of the men of his time the bitterest of jests; nor even to later generations can it seem more than a refuge from the facts. To say with the great historian of the Puritan Revolution that "in his deed he was a truer representative of the feeling of the nation than the men who posed as its representatives"⁵³ is to give way to an assumption if not, indeed, a dogma, again incapable of proof.

The effect of the dissolution on the country at large is not easy to determine. Cromwell himself exulted that not a dog barked at the going out of the members. That is not surprising for one does not argue with the master of thirty thousand men. There were many reasons why the dissolution was not unpopular, aside from the fact that men are inclined to welcome anything which promises to put an end to such confusion and uncertainty as had existed in England for more than a decade. They always welcome the prospect of a "settlement of the kingdom" especially in such cases as this. It was noted by the Venetian envoy that the London crowds welcomed the dissolution—as seven years later they welcomed far more extravagantly the downfall of the Cromwellians. The army leaders were naturally elated at the final overthrow of the last of their opponents. Those who had suffered at the hands of Parliament were pleased to see their persecutors punished. Men of affairs, as always, were inclined to favor any move which made for peace, stability and better business. Even the Royalists were encouraged to believe that it would forward the break-up of the revolutionary party.

⁵³ Gardiner, ii, 265.

Yet the very number and vehemence of the explanations and apologies of the General and his officers indicate that they perceived the necessity of justifying their activities. Men may have disliked the existing House. It does not follow that they approved of its dissolution by force, much less that they looked forward with any confidence to what might follow this unprecedented and illegal act. It was pointed out that no one drew a sword in its defence; but at this moment no one had a sword to draw except those who did away with Parliament.

In later years the "intelligencer" Scot declared, in reply to a statement that "the Parliament went out and no complaining in the streets, nor enquiry after them":

"That is according to the company men keep. Men suit the letter to their lips. It is as men converse. I never met a zealous assessor of that cause, but lamented it, to see faith broken, and somewhat else. . . . A petition, the day after the Parliament was dissolved, from forty of the chief officers, the Aldermen of the city of London, and many godly divines (except the rigid Presbyters, too well-wishers to Mr. Love's treason) besought to have that Parliament restored. But the Protector, being resolved to carry on his work, threatened, terrified and displaced them; and who would, for such a shattered thing, venture their all?"⁵⁴

Thus he summed up the situation; yet he did not, even so, touch the root of the matter. That was the determination of Cromwell and his officers to dominate affairs; and that came down, in the longer resolution of events, to the will of Cromwell to rule England according to his own ideas, with or without a Parliament, and in whatever capacity.

If Scot summed up the situation in his fashion, the observation of Dorothy Osborne in one of her letters to Temple at this moment has even more penetration and pertinence:

"If Mr. Pim were alive again," she wrote, "I wonder what hee would think of these proceedings, and whither this would appeare as great a breach of the Priviledge of Parliament as the demanding the 5 members. But I shall talk treason by and by if I doe not look to my self."⁵⁵

The circle had come round at last to arbitrary power again, more arbitrary than before. Louis XVI to Napoleon, Louis Philippe to Napoleon III, Nicholas II to Stalin, Charles I to Oliver Cromwell, the tale is always the same. The dissolution of Parliament broke down the last pretence that England was a free Commonwealth ruled by a Parliament and a Council of State, more or less in accord with

⁵⁴ Burton, *Diary*, iii, 112.

⁵⁵ *Letters*, ed. J. C. Moore Smith (1928), p. 39.

the will of the people. It destroyed the fiction that the army was the creature of Parliament in whose name it fought, and that its Lord General, though perhaps the first among equals, was only a simple member of Commons and Council. His files of musketeers did more than drive out the Rump; they revealed the army as the master of England and its General in fact the head of the state. It only remained to find a form of words to cover that fact with the decent garb of constitutional forms made to fit the case.

That he was merely an instrument in all of this, that he had no desire to play the part of dictator, that he was driven on by circumstances to this hard decision, that he had no other alternative, would have seemed absurd to many, if not most, of his contemporaries, friends and followers as well as enemies. All his opponents, Royalists, Presbyterians, Levellers, even Independents, believed, or came to believe as his career developed, that whatever his aim, whether or not he planned it from the first, he turned every crisis to his own advantage in the spirit of the famous saying credited to him that 'no one ever rises so high as he who knows not whither he is going.' It may be that he considered only the eternities and immensities of the struggle for liberty, that he was driven on by a blind instinct toward its achievement, ignorant of the effect on his own personal fortunes, or indifferent to it. But it is hard to believe, in the face of all the facts we know, that he did not have, if only as a part of his passionate determination to direct events as he thought they should go, something of the motive of rising to the top whence he could direct them best. It is even difficult to believe that he was wholly devoid of that last infirmity of noble minds, ambition. Whether or not his motives were selfish, whether he sought power for himself merely for the sake of power; whether he was wholly unselfish and sought it as a means to further the divine will as it revealed itself to him; whether the vision came to him at the beginning or just as he neared the goal, in the long resolution of events the result was the same. His own worldly elevation coincided with the worldly triumph of his cause and every step in the victory of Independency brought him nearer the throne of grace—and of England. Viewing his career and the hints of his character that may be derived from its incidents, is it inconceivable that, whether or not he identified himself with the manifestation of divine purpose, whether or not he deceived himself, his worldly and his spiritual motives were, as often happens, inextricably mingled. For to the Puritan mind—and to many more—the "outward dispensation" is convincing proof of "inward grace," and worldly success the indisputable demonstration of divine approval, so that the two come in time to be identical. To such minds the end not merely justifies, it even sanctifies the means.

It was a far cry from the tenant-farmer of St. Ives, whose most eminent share in public affairs was choosing road- and green-keepers, to the Lord General of the armies of the Parliament who, on that 20th of April, 1653, revealed himself as the master of England. It is small wonder that from his day to ours such a career has fascinated men and that every effort has been made to plot the course he trod, to plumb the heights and depths of his nature, and to evaluate the qualities and the circumstances which made him what he was. From nearly three centuries of Cromwellian historiography there have emerged two widely different patterns of his life and character. There is, on the one hand, that of the great, bad man, who from the beginning strove to raise himself from obscurity to the headship of the state after the manner of the tyrants of antiquity and the Renaissance. There is, on the other hand, the pattern of a noble, selfless champion of freedom embarked on a glorious crusade for religious and political liberty.

There is in the one something of Machiavelli's *Prince*, in the other suggestions of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. In the one view, the career of Cromwell was not unlike that of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, with which it was compared, who, as Machiavelli wrote, "rose not . . . by the favor of any man, but by the steps and gradations of war, with a thousand difficulties and dangers," by "his dexterity in encountering and overcoming of dangers, his courage in supporting and surmounting his misfortunes," until he became the dictator of Syracuse. In the other view, like Bunyan's Christian, the Puritan hero, setting forth from the City of Destruction, made his way past the Slough of Despond and the Plain called Ease, the Hill of Difficulty, Doubting Castle and the Valley of the Shadow of Death. He killed the Giant Despair, drove Apollyon from his path, and so gained the Celestial City and "all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."

Such, in greater or less degree, are the two patterns of Cromwellian biography. It is conceivable that one of them is right; it is even conceivable that both of them are wrong. It seems more probable that each holds elements of truth, that Cromwell had in him qualities of both Prince and Pilgrim. It is not possible to believe that he was wholly black; it is difficult to believe, in the face of the evidence, that he was wholly white. Least of all is it possible to conceive of him as gray. If his portrait is to be painted at all, it must contain high lights and deep shadows; and it must have some color in it. Human nature being what it is, there must be in every such leader as Oliver Cromwell something of that nature, high and low; for, much as we like to believe it, men do not rise so high by pure or even applied goodness, nor by the eternal rightness of their cause. They must be capable of great thoughts and heroic actions, of courage and discretion, of ruth-

lessness and dissimulation. And Cromwell was, in war and politics, a first-class fighting-man. He was a son of thunder; he snuffed the battle from afar; the smoke of it was in his nostrils. Nor was he a mere soldier. He was a master politician, skilled in the management of men, in council as in field.

He was, in short, a complex and elusive character, prince or pilgrim as the case might be, depending, in no small measure, on whether one takes his words or acts as the clue to his real character. To his supporters his words seemed to reflect the meekness of the dove; to his opponents his actions partook more of the subtlety of the serpent. Yet one may even take his words at their face value and evade the charge of hypocrisy so often levelled against him. In one sense his life and cause were one; and his own elevation was merely the triumph of his cause, as he continually claimed. It was true that as he rose to power the worldly strength of Independency rose with him; it reached its zenith with his supremacy; it fell with his death; and in that sense his whole career seems justified.

But it is also true that the real weapon of Nonconformity was not the sword of the flesh but the sword of the spirit. Its greatest triumphs were not achieved, then or thereafter, by the destruction of its opponents and its own worldly dominance. They were gained by the winning of men's minds and hearts, not by force but by persuasion. It was not a matter of conquest but of conscience. It is, in effect, the ancient parable: "And behold the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire; and after the fire a still small voice."



Appendix and Index



APPENDIX

It is unfortunate, though unavoidable, that it is never possible to include all items which should be printed in the first edition of a work like this. Inevitably some are discovered later, some are drawn out by the work itself. Of these the following have come to attention since the foregoing pages were printed. None of them—fortunately or unfortunately—affect the narrative, though they add some details.

To Mr. Percevall

MR. PERCEVALL, Mr. Goshall the Treasurer undertook to pay Col. Russell sixty pounds for me. I pray demand it of him.

Yours,

OLIV. CROMWELL.¹

No. 29th, [1644].

To Gregory Gawsell

MR. GOSH[ALL], According to your promise I expected you had satisfied Col. Russell the sixty pounds, I wonder you should fail me. I pray you do it upon sight hereof. I rest,

Your servant,

Take Mr. Percevall's receipt for it. No. 29, [1644].

OLIVER CROMWELL.²

To the Citizens of Bristol

We do hereby promise and engage ourselves, that all such citizens of Bristol, now inhabiting within the said city, which shall from hence forth forbear to resist the army under our command, in the attempting to enter the said city, and the lines of defence, and forts made about it, and shall appear to do their best endeavour for the delivering in of the same city into our hands, for the use of the Parliament, shall (in case the said city be delivered into our hands) be secured and protected by the authority of the Parliament, in the enjoyment of their lives, liberties, and estates, as freely as in former times, and as any other persons under the obedience of the Parliament, notwithstanding any past acts of hostility, or any other thing

¹ Pr. by Godfrey Davies in *The Journal of Modern History*, March, 1938, from the original among the "Commonwealth Exchequer Papers," Public Record Office. A Mr. Percivall was secretary to Sir John Russell, the son of Col. Russell, in 1667.

² Pr. by Davies, *loc. cit.* Gawsell was one of the treasurers for the Eastern Association. The other treasurer, William Leman was ordered by Manchester and others, on Jan. 4, 1644-5, to pay sixty pounds "according as is inclosed unto Lieutenant Gen. [Cromwell] upon his accompt."

by them done in the former delivering up of the said city to the enemy, or maintaining of it against the Parliament, or otherwise in assistance of the enemy, for assurance and in testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 25th of August 1645.

THOMAS FFAIRFAX
OLIVER CROMWELL

Further instructions to the citizens of Bristol that shall endeavour the delivering up of that city to the Parliament's forces.

1. That if any doubtful expressions or defects be conceived to be in the notes herein under hands, the said citizens shall have any other draught to the same purpose, signed and sealed by us in as full and ample terms as themselves shall devise and send forth to us.
2. That what liberty, freedom or immunity the said citizens shall find needful to promise to any common souldiers or officers of the enemy within the garrison (not exceeding the degrees of colonel) for the more sure and speedy delivering up of the said city unto us, shall be fully made good by us.
3. That they fall to some speedy resolution, and attempt for the purposes aforesaid, because else we shall fall to some attempt by our own forces and (if thereby through God's blessing it be taken) we shall hardly be able to withhold the souldiers from doing that violence and damage to the city which we earnestly desire and study to prevent.
4. For the particular way of their attempt, we must expect advertisement from them, and cannot particularly direct them, but in general we offer, that might be either by seizing the Prince, or possessing or delivering up some fort or work which we may enter, or setting open some port, or by a general rising to assault and oppose the Prince's forces, or otherwise as they shall find any speedy opportunity. And upon the perceiving of any such rising, or attempt of theirs within, we shall apply our forces accordingly to enter for their assistance. And if by any such means of theirs we enter, we shall undertake to secure the city from loss or violence by our souldiers.
5. If they think themselves by their own force able to master the enemy, or by any design to make themselves masters of the commanding forts, without our assistance, we shall not bring our army into the city, unless they desire it.³

To all Officers and Soldiers or whomsoever this may Concern

Whereas Sir Francis Monckton hath lately received extraordinary abuses by some soldiers threatening his Lady's and his own life, desperately wounding one of his servants, and taking his horses, without any order or authority: These are therefore strictly charging and commanding that no person whatsoever, under any pretence, offer the like violency either upon person or

³ From a contemporary copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, by whose kind permission this and the following documents from that collection are here printed. Cp. vol. i, p. 370.

goods (without some special authority from a superior officer) as they will answer the contrary.

Given under my hand and seal the 18th of November, 1648.

O. CROMWELL.⁴

For the Right Honorable the Lord Wharton: these

MY LORD,

My honest, good friend, Mr. William Sykes, whose affections to the Parliament hath been very great by his voluntary lending of large sums of money to the Parliament for which he hath been a great sufferer even from the beginning, and in particular by the late revolt of Pontefract Castle, who upon their revolting came to this town and plundered his warehouse, carrying away, as I am given to understand by his neighbors, betwixt four score and a hundred cart load of merchandize, besides other goods to the value, as is conceived, of above one thousand pounds, and whereas divers of the said revolters have estates in or near Leeds, part whereof are as yet concealed and the rest under sequestration, it is the desire of the said Wm. Sykes that he may have the said estates assigned over to him to be in his possession till that his losses be repaid, for which I desire your Lordship's furtherance and assistance, which will be an act of great justice, and very much oblige, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

From my quarters before
Pontefract at Knottingley,
the 27th Novemb. 1648.

O. CROMWELL.⁵

To Henry Jubert

Oliver Cromwell Esq. Lieutenant General of the Forces under the com[mand of] his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax and Lieutenant General and Governor General of the Dominion of England for the Parliament of England and Captain General of all the forces in Ireland.

By virtue of the power and authority to me derived from the Parliament of England I do hereby constitute and appoint you captain of a company of foot in the regiment of Colonel Hercules Huncks. You are therefore immediately to repair unto the same and taking charge thereof as Captain duly to exercise the inferior officers and souldiers of the said company in arms and to use your best care and endeavour to keep them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their captain and you to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall receive from myself or the superior officers of the said regiment and army according to the discipline of the army.

Given under my hand and seale at ***** the first day of September, anno dmi 1649.

O. CROMWELL.⁷

⁴ Pr. in Edward Peacock, "The Monckton Papers," p. 64, *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society*, xv (1877-84).

⁵ From the original in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

⁶ Word omitted.

⁷ From the original at Trinity College, Dublin, copied and transmitted by the kindness of Professor E. Curtis.

Pass

I do hereby give leave unto Col. Charles Fairfax to repair into England about some urgent occasions and to make his return back to his charge here within the space of eight weeks next ensuing the date hereof, requiring all officers and soldiers under my command to permit him with his servants and horses quietly to pass and repass as aforesaid without any trouble or molestation. Given under my hand and seal the first day of March 1650[-1].

Suffer Ensign Tobias Lambert to pass with the said Colonel for the same time.

O. CROMWELL.⁸

To Sir John Wollaston, Kt. and the rest of the Treasurers-at-War, or their deputy

These are to desire you forthwith out of the money remaining in your hands sent down for payment of the army under my command in Scotland to pay unto Capt. Robert Hutton the sum of one thousand five hundred eighty seven pounds and twelve shillings upon account for eight and twenty days pay for the officers and soldiers in Sir Arthur Hesilrige's, Major Sydenham's, Capt. Hutton's, and Capt. Robinson's troops of horse in Sir Arthur Hesilrige's regiment according to the muster of 24th March last together with the allowance of two pence per diem for each noncommissioned officer and private soldier of the said troops for billet money and additional pay according to the last resolves of Parliament. And for so doing this warrant together with the said Capt. Hutton's receipt shall be your discharge. Given under my hand this 16th of April, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.⁹

To Sir John Wollaston, Knt. and the rest of the Treasurers-at-War, or their deputy

These are to desire you forthwith out of the money remaining in your hands for payment of the army under my command in Scotland to pay unto Major-General Lambert the sum of fifty-six pounds for fifty-six days pay as major-general to the said army. And for so doing this warrant with receipt under his hand shall be your discharge. Given under my hand the second of July, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.¹⁰

⁸ The original, with the signature and the last sentence autograph, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

⁹ The original, with Hutton's receipt underwritten, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

¹⁰ The original, with Lambert's receipt dated July 16, underwritten, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

To all Officers and Soldiers under my Command

Suffer the bearers hereof, Mrs. Ann Bruce, George Arnett, Elizabeth Arnett and Margaret Bruce to pass unto Kerney and receive their goods there with which they are to return and pass to Kennasquid to Mr. George Bruce's house there without any let or molestation. And you are also to forbear to offer any violence to the person of the said Mr. Bruce or any of his family or to take away any of his goods whatsoever (except corn or forage for horsemeat and by orders). Given under my hand at the camp near St. Johnstons the third of August, 1651.

O. CROMWELL.¹¹

¹¹ The original, with a note underwritten by Overton: "Permit the goods of Mrs. Annie Bruse to passe to Kinnaskitt accordinge to his Excellency's expresse, given under my hand this 20th of August 1651," is in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME I

Page

- 4 note 7. For "Francis" read "Frances."
 14 line 4. For "five" read "three."
 21-22. For "Wickham" read "Chaderton."
 29 line 32. For "wthdall" read "wthall."
 31 " 9. Sir James Ley died in 1629 but his reports were not printed until 1659.
 49 lines 9 and 11. Read "elections" and "their results."
 60 line 26. For "brother" read "son."
 69 note 44. For "Cambridge" read "Huntingdon."
 112 line 35. For "Manchester" read "Kimbolton."
 120 note 4. Mr. C. E. Lucas Phillips, (*Cromwell's Captains*, p. 54) adds that the "shadow cabinet" of Pym, Hampden and their followers, met in secret at Lord Saye's house at Broughton, Oxfordshire; at the younger Vane's house at Hampstead; and at the house of Hampden's son-in-law, Sir Richard Knightley at Fawley, Northamptonshire, where there was a private printing-press. He also notes their "most efficient intelligence service . . . in every tavern and in the inner circles of the court."
 153 line 1. For "Edward" read "Edmund."
 161 " 7. Clotworthy was not a member of the Com. of Both Kingdoms.
 192 " 37. For "Haselrig" read "Hewson."
 193 " 22. For "Duke" read "Earl."
 193 " 26. For "Sir Charles Cavendish" read "Charles Cavendish."
 200 " 7. Delete "and."
 207 " 32. For "Marquis" read "Earl."
 211 " 12. Omit "threatened."
 222 " 27. For "Ruthin" read "Eythin."
 228 " 33. "Your" might be read "our."
 233 " 21. Northumberland was only accused of complicity.
 240 " 20. This Charles Cavendish was not Newcastle's younger brother.
 252 " 32. Insert "to get" before "endeavouring."
 291 " 9. Insert before "Captain Castle," "Major Ireton and Captain Husbands and one committed by." Insert in note 43, "Original in the Gratz Collection in the Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania."
 313 " 16. Hooper was only a captain.
 335 " 40. For "Bridport" read "Bridport."
 367 " 26-7. For "Martook . . . southwest of Bridgewater" read "Martock . . . southeast of Bridgewater." See map.
 370 " 29. Omit "and," and for "Chue" read "Chew." Add to note 159, "Now in the Pierpont Morgan Collection, New York."
 386 not. 196. Add "Colonel Dalbier, who had been at the expedition to Rhé, according to Heath (*Flagellum* (1672), p. 31), taught Cromwell a good part of his military lessons, and Cromwell "by great sums of Advance-money and as extraordinary pay, allured [him] to his side."
 395 line 23. For "Worcester" read "Winchester."
 399 line 8. For "Thomas" read "William."
 402 " 12. For "Hampshire" read "Oxfordshire."
 416 " 7. For "Hereford" read "Hertford."

- 437 " 1. For "Colonel" read "Major."
 614 " 19. Saunders did not sit on the High Court of Justice.
 615 note, line 2. For "of" read "to."
 616 line 23. The modern spelling is "Julians."
 644 " 26. Carlyle read Birch's transcript of Cromwell's letter "*we* serve our generation." Mrs. Lomas changed "*we*" to "*so*," which, judging from the transcript which is the on'y known source, was probably unwarranted.
 663 line 4. For "Cassell" read "Cassilis."
 705 subtitle. For "1647" read "1648."
 722 note. For the quotation from Calvin, insert footnote, "*Institutes* (ed. T. Norton, Lond., 1634), Bk. V, ch. xx. See also his *Civil Government* at the end of Bk. XV."
 723 line 1. For "members already drawn and" read "members was already drawn."
 729 " 4. Potter was a colonel in 1651 and a commissioner to Scotland in 1652.
 729 " 37. For "John" read "Richard." He was of the Inner Temple, later serjeant and Justice of the Upper Bench. Cp. *Cal. of Inner Temple Records*.
 738 note. When Charles asked how many there were in the Court and was told there were over sixty, according to Herbert he observed that he knew only Grey of Groby, Monson, Mildmay, Danvers, Cromwell, Harrison and Hammond.
 742. "In the list of signers, for "Davers" read "Danvers."

VOLUME II

- 26 note 52. For "Traits" read "Tracts."
 33 line 29. For "Justice" read "Baron."
 119 " 25. For "deserted" read "defeated."
 243 " 27. For "or" read "of."
 326 note. For "Lisle" read "St. John."
 452 line 2. For "blanket" read "bankett" (i.e. banquet).
 480 " 33. Before "Walter" add "William and."
 488 " 21. Chaloner did not sign the death-warrant.
 505 " 16. Widdrington was not at this time Commissioner of the Great Seal.
 644 note 35. See also Thos. Malbon, *Memorials of the Civil War* (ed. J. Hall) p. 224; and Echard, p. 703.

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